

VOL I
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AFL-CIO
CONSTITUTIONAL
CONVENTION
1957



DAILY
PROCEEDINGS



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL
CONVENTION
OF THE
AFL-CIO

VOLUME I
DAILY
PROCEEDINGS

Atlantic City, New Jersey
December 5-12, 1957

★ ★ ★

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 16th St., N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Walter P. Reuther	George M. Harrison	Harry C. Bates
Wm. C. Birthright	James B. Carey	Wm. C. Doherty
David Dubinsky	Chas. J. MacGowan	David J. McDonald
Emil Rieve	Wm. L. McFetridge	James C. Petrillo
Joseph Curran	M. A. Hutcheson	A. J. Hayes
Joseph D. Keenan	L. S. Buckmaster	Jacob S. Potofsky
A. Philip Randolph	Richard F. Walsh	Lee W. Minton
Joseph A. Beirne	James A. Suffridge	O. A. Knight
Karl F. Feller	Paul L. Phillips	Peter T. Schoemann

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

George Meany	Harry C. Bates
Walter P. Reuther	David J. McDonald
George M. Harrison	David Dubinsky
James B. Carey	William F. Schnitzler



Printed in U.S.A.

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

	<i>Page</i>
First Day (Dec. 5)—Morning	1
First Day—Afternoon	21
Second Day (Dec. 6)—Morning	51
Second Day—Afternoon	106
Third Day (Dec. 9)—Morning	125
Third Day—Afternoon	186
Fourth Day (Dec. 10)—Morning	254
Fifth Day (Dec. 11)—Morning	306
Fifth Day—Afternoon	380
Sixth Day (Dec. 12)—Morning	462
Convention Delegates	562
Fraternal Delegates	593
AFL-CIO Constitution	594
Report of Executive Council.....	VOLUME II, Page 1
Supplemental Report.....	VOLUME II, Page 401
Second Supplemental Report.....	VOLUME II, Page 599

(An index covering both Volumes I and II will be found at the end of Volume I. A separate table of contents for the three principal Executive Council Reports will be found at the beginning of Volume II.)

PROCEEDINGS

Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

**FIRST DAY — MORNING SESSION
THURSDAY, DEC. 5, 1957**

Pursuant to law the Second Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations convened in Convention Auditorium, Atlantic City, New Jersey, at 10:30 o'clock A.M., Mr. John Moretti, President of the Atlantic County Central Labor Union, presiding as temporary Chairman.

While the delegates and guests were assembling they were entertained with musical selections by Harry Chazin and his orchestra.

Miss Lillian Hayes sang the National Anthems of the United States and Canada.

CHAIRMAN MORETTI: Monsignor George Higgins, Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference will now deliver the invocation. Monsignor Higgins is a man whose life has been devoted to the cause of the working man and woman. We are proud to introduce a great friend of the labor movement, Monsignor Higgins, to deliver his invocation.

INVOCATION

**Very Reverend Monsignor George G. Higgins
Director, Social Action Department, National
Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.**

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

"He that loveth gold shall not be justified; and he that followeth after corruption shall be filled with it. Gold is a stumbling block to them that sacrifice to it; woe to them that eagerly follow after it." Ecclesiasticus, Chapter 31.

O God, the father of all men, who inspired the sacred writer thus to condemn the sin of avarice—the root of all evils, as the Apostle Saint Paul described it centuries later—, give us the strength of character to be guided accordingly in the performance of our appointed duties in the labor movement. Help us to understand, in the familiar words of your Divine Son, that no man can serve two masters, that we cannot serve both God and Mammon. Ours is indeed a noble calling and a very sacred trust. We are elected representatives of millions of men and women who look to us not only for efficient service but for inspiration, too, and for an example of perfect integrity and completely unselfish devotion to the cause of justice and human brother-

hood. There can be no double standard of morality, no conflict of interests in our lives. We are no longer private citizens; we are public servants pledged to serve our members and our fellow-citizens above and beyond the call of ordinary duty.

We humbly acknowledge before God and man that the movement which we are privileged to represent is far from perfect. We have our faults and imperfections, all of us, leaders and members alike. There is widespread apathy and indifference in our ranks and a measure of corruption in high places. We are firmly resolved, with the help of Thy divine assistance, to eliminate these faults and imperfections. We are determined to put our house in order and to do so as rapidly as possible. We do not want it said about ourselves—as was said by the Prophet Isaias about the unfaithful rulers of his own people—that “the very shepherds have forgotten their craft,” that “all have turned aside into their own way, every one (seeking) after his own gain from the first even to the last.” It is our sincere and constant prayer that it may rather be said of us that we have followed the advice addressed to Moses in the Book of Exodus to “provide out of all the people men, such as fear God, in whom there is truth, and that hate avarice, and appoint of them rulers of thousands, and of hundreds, and of fifties and of tens,” dedicated men who “will administer justice to the people from day to day.”

This is more easily said than done. Nevertheless we are determined, with the help of Thy grace, to do it as rapidly as possible—not only because it is manifestly right and just that it be done for its own sake, but because we humbly recognize that unless it is done, unless our house is put in order, the great movement which we are privileged to represent will be incapable of fulfilling its high purpose in society. It is our humble conviction, confirmed by the teaching of our religious leaders, that the labor movement has an indispensable role to play in establishing social justice and strengthening the bonds of human brotherhood among all our fellow-citizens, whatever their occupation or profession, and regardless of their race, color, or creed. Two years ago, when our united labor movement was established, we pledged ourselves to carry out this noble purpose with perfect fidelity as “an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.” Today, in the face of many unexpected problems and difficulties, and in the face of many dangers, we solemnly renew this pledge. We do so very humbly, fully conscious, in the words of the Psalmist, that “unless the Lord build the houses, they labor in vain who build it,” but confident, too, that God will not be outdone in generosity, that He will never deny his divine assistance to those who sincerely ask for it. “Ask and you shall receive, seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you.” In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

CHAIRMAN MORETTI: Thank you, Father Higgins, for such an inspiring invocation.

MESSAGE FROM GOVERNOR ROBERT B. MEYNER

CHAIRMAN MORETTI: I have with some regret to make this announcement: Because of conditions beyond our control, the Governor wires us this morning as follows:

Trenton, N. J.
December 5, 1957

John Moretti, President,
Atlantic City Central Labor Union,
Convention Hall,
Atlantic City, N. J.

Ice conditions at Mercer and Bader Airport oblige me regretfully to cancel today's engagement to address National AFL-CIO Convention. New Jersey is happy to be playing host to this great gathering.

You have my best wishes for a most enjoyable and productive convention.

(Signed) Robert B. Meyner,
Governor of New Jersey.

Now I have the extreme pleasure of presenting to you a man who has been in public service the majority of the years of his life and has done an outstanding job. Atlantic City is proud to present as its Mayor a man of experience and accomplishment, a man who was prosecutor of Atlantic County for many years, a former member of the Legislature, whose stature was so recognized that he was elected the Speaker of the House, and who promoted and assisted in the passing of many effective labor measures.

Ladies and gentlemen, I present our friend, the Honorable Joseph Altman, the Mayor of Atlantic City.

HON. JOSEPH ALTMAN
Mayor of Atlantic City

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. This brief resume by my friend about myself—please don't take it for granted that I am a remarkable person. I am not. The years in public life during which I have served in public office are directly attributable to a very fine political organization of which I am a member.

May I briefly intrude upon your time to greet you, on behalf of our citizens, and bid you the most cordial welcome to Atlantic City. I am sorry about this unusual weather. Speaking of the snow, we have a slogan: "No snow on the Boardwalk." You will find that is true. Our Street Department is now busy cleaning it off.

Besides, this is "he-man" weather. If you walk from this Convention Hall to your hotels, which is a short walk—they are all within close proximity to this place—you will get a ruddy glow on your cheeks. You will eat a good lunch or dinner, whatever it may be, and have a good night's sleep, and you won't run the risk of getting hit over the head with a falling cocoanut.

This Convention Hall that you are now in is of considerable size. This room has a capacity of 5,000. Our hall to the rear has a 40,000 capacity where people actually can be seated. We have had real collegiate football games within its enclosure, and a few years ago we had a Marian Mass for 60,000 people assembled under that roof. I wish you would look at it on your way out. This building cost the taxpayers about \$15 million. Don't look at me—I wasn't in office at that time.

In bidding you welcome, may I briefly do it in some concrete fashion by presenting to your President, Mr. Meany, what I think is a beautiful souvenir key to the City of Atlantic City. Mr. Meany, it looks like gold but it is not. It is very expensive. It cost the taxpayers about three bucks. We have been very discriminatory. We don't give them out to many. Yours is about the five hundredth I have given out this year. Take it with our good wishes, sir.

Then again, may I make you a special detective of the City of Atlantic City. You are now Special Detective A-36. With this badge go a few admonitions, sir. It is not good until you use it, and then you will find it is no good. I say that advisedly. I gave one of these to a friend of mine. He was in a little difficulty with the state police on our highways. He distainfully flashed this badge and was immediately arrested. His fine was greater than usual, and I am sorry there are ladies here today because I would tell you what he told me to do with it.

I also want to make of you an honorary lifeguard of the City of Atlantic City. This is a heck of a thing on this cold day. Any time you hear a cry of help, you are a lifeguard. Do your job.

CHAIRMAN MORETTI: Thank you, Joe.

In keeping with the spirit, you needn't worry about getting bitten by an alligator, either, when you walk out in the Highlands out here.

Now, I have the extreme pleasure of presenting to you people a man who has, with inspiration and determination, done a job in New Jersey that we feel is second to none.

Lou Marciante, of course, was elected president of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor more than a score of years ago. He is also a member of the Executive Board of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and has long been active for the good of organized labor in this State, including an effective part taken in legislative matters.

Ladies and gentlemen, with extreme pleasure I present to you our good friend, Lou Marciante.

MR. LOU MARCIANTE

President, New Jersey State Federation of Labor

President Meany, Monsignor Higgins, members of the Executive Council, guests and delegates:

I suppose it is my role here this morning to issue a word of welcome to the delegates to the great State of New Jersey. I am advised that I should talk about five minutes. I say to you in sincerity that I have no desire to take up a great deal of your time, but what little time I do have I would like to devote to the history of the State Federation of Labor, which I have the honor to represent.

George Meany may disagree with me when I say this is the oldest State Federation of Labor in continuous operation. George contends New York is, I think. We have never conceded that. We know that for two years before the formation of the American Federation of Labor we were in business. We stayed in business.

We were the first State in the Union to adopt a legal Workmen's Compensation Act. It is true that Wisconsin and New York in the same year adopted Acts, but the Supreme Court, I believe nullified them. Ours was the first Act to be so recognized.

Of course, it has been the duty of the State Federation of Labor to keep abreast of the times so far as social legislation is concerned, and we think we have done just that in every category of beneficial legislation to those who toil, whether it is workmen's compensation, whether it is temporary disability benefits, or unemployment compensation. We are one of the four states in America who enjoy temporary disability benefits at the same scale and the same rate that we receive for unemployment. We are very proud of that fact. We are proud of the fact that our Secretary wrote the original draft of the Unemployment Compensation Act in this state and fought it through with a minority report and had his minority report adopted.

New Jersey has over 400,000, around 425,000 people who are part of the old American Federation of Labor. In my own trade alone, the electrical trade, we have 52,000 people who belong to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

We are a growing labor movement in the State of New Jersey. I have been very proud of the way our International Unions have come into the state and done a job of organizing. I am very proud of the fact that our officers have never failed at any time to lend them the assistance that might be necessary when they needed them.

The Mayor, of course, made the apologies for the weather, and not being connected with the Chamber of Commerce, I am not going to offer any apologies. I say to you, however, that I have always felt, without any undue local pride, that Atlantic City has what no city has so far as conventions are concerned, except, of course, the weather. We have, I think, the greatest meeting hall, the greatest array of hotels concentrated in one place, and it is a convention city. We hope, those of us in the State Federation of Labor, that your stay here will be enjoyable, that you will like it. We hope that this convention is a constructive convention and enacts legislation that is of real benefit to the rank and file members throughout the United States and Canada.

Thank you so much.

CHAIRMAN MORETTI: Thank you very much, Louis. Incidentally, I was Lou Marcianti's apprentice boy a couple of years ago.

Now, we have this morning another pushing and going youngster, a fellow who is now head of the State CIO Council, Paul Krebs, who was elected President of the New Jersey State CIO Council only a few years ago but has been a long-time member of the labor movement. He is a member of the United Automobile Workers and back through many years has been one of the leading battlers for the interests of working men and women, especially in matters before the State Legislature. For his message here is our good friend Paul Krebs.

MR. PAUL KREBS
President, New Jersey State CIO Council

Mr. Chairman, Reverend Clergy, distinguished guests, officers and delegates to this Second Convention of the AFL-CIO: I am indeed

privileged for the opportunity of welcoming you to our great State of New Jersey. I believe that this Convention is perhaps far more significant than the ordinary labor convention in that it represents the first regular convention after the merger Convention of 1955.

I believe, too, that it is significant that this Convention is being held in the extremely historic city of Atlantic City. I know that many of you sitting in this Convention Hall today are thoroughly familiar with the rich history of the struggles within the American labor movement that have taken place within a radius of one mile of where we are sitting here today.

I believe, too, that we ought to very proudly hold our heads high by virtue of the accomplishments that have been made by the united labor movement nationally in these last two trying years, despite the critics of organized labor who at this time seem to be girding themselves for a field day which I know we are going to fight back with all the vigor in our bodies.

I believe it is a tribute not only to our country but to the philosophy of the democracy that is so important to all of us that two organizations could be put together despite the divergent points of view. And, yes, while there are differences I believe that tremendous progress has been made in these last two years toward truly and genuinely uniting the American labor movement as it has never been united before.

I want to say that I wish you Godspeed and good luck in these, your most important historic deliberations, during the following nine days of this Convention.

Thank you for letting me be with you, and good luck.

CHAIRMAN MORETTI: Thank you very much, Paul.

CHAIRMAN JOHN MORETTI

As president of the Atlantic County Central Labor Union, and in behalf of all AFL-CIO members in Atlantic City, I welcome you to your convention in Atlantic City.

As Paul said, twenty-two years ago, the American Federation of Labor met here in this city in one of the most historic conventions of organized labor. Some of you will recall that your sessions were in the Chelsea Hotel just a few blocks away, and that incidents there occurred of grave consequence to American labor. I was present on that occasion and recall those hours most vividly. It is fitting indeed that American labor, once more united, has chosen Atlantic City for the first convention since the members of our trade union were again merged into a single federation. We are proud that we have been chosen as the site of another historic convocation.

Problems will come before this convention. Men of good will, present here, will have differing opinions. But we are met to consider and work out these issues as responsible trade unionists in a democratic manner. As members of united labor, the largest group of organized men and women in America, we have grave responsibilities—first to our members, but also to our nation, and to free men everywhere. I say that because these are challenging days.

They are challenging days within our own country, where there remain great numbers of American working men and women who have been deprived of the benefits of trade union organization, and where anti-union forces seek constantly to enact labor-destroying legislation. We owe to these people our supreme leadership so that they, too, can enjoy some of the benefits of freedom that belong to them.

These are challenging days abroad where men and women are enslaved behind the Iron Curtain, where men and women yearn for freedom behind barbed wires, shut off from basic freedoms—shut off from democracy.

As you meet here, against this national and world background, we of Atlantic City are confident you will meet these challenges with increased solidarity within your ranks, and with an intensified determination to serve your members, your country and your world.

Now I have the wonderful privilege that comes to only a few of us to bring to your Convention your permanent Chairman, a man who needs no words or pictures of introduction, a good-hearted, hard-working plumber, George Meany.

PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY

Chairman John Moretti, Monsignor Higgins, Mayor Altman, my good friends Paul Krebs and Lou Marcianite, officers of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations and delegates to this Second Convention: Two years ago in the City of New York the two national trade union centers then in existence merged into one united trade union center, thus ending 20 years of division in the American trade union movement and bringing 135 national and international unions, representing 15 million workers into one central national organization. This was the culmination of many months of tedious, patient conference negotiations by men whom I am convinced, from both sides of the table, believed that unity was imperative in order to protect the vital interests of the workers we represent and contribute to the welfare of the nation in which we live.

As I was convinced then, I am still convinced of the sincerity, good faith and high principle that went into those negotiations that brought about that merger.

We went through that convention with rather mixed feelings. Yes, there was a feeling of elation, that we had ended the years of division. We had high hopes and aspirations for the future, for the things that we might do to carry out the objectives and purposes of our movement and do better, if you please, than we had done before.

But there was also a feeling of heavy responsibility, knowing full well of the obstacles that lay in our path. I can say to you today, however, that those in positions of trust and responsibility in this organization were completely aware in 1955 of the many complex and difficult problems that lay ahead. We knew without question that we had not forged the perfect instrument to carry out our program.

We knew that which we had brought into being was, like everything else created by human hands, far from perfect, but we went into this merger and carried on from 1955 with the determination to eliminate from our structure and wipe out any obstacles that lie in

the path of success. Of course, we felt that these obstacles were in the field of relations between the various segments of the AFL-CIO. We knew that we had done our best, in keeping with the spirit of the trade union movement, in keeping with the ideals and traditions laid down by those who went before us, to build this structure, but we knew without question that we did not have nor had we achieved perfection.

During the two years which have elapsed, I can assure you that we encountered all the difficulties and all of the problems that we anticipated would lie in our way at that time. Yes, every problem, every difficulty that we had reason to expect would lie in our path, we encountered all of them and many, many more difficulties that we could not at that time foresee.

I can say to you quite frankly that the Executive Council and your officers have met all these problems. We make no claim by any means that we have solved the problems, but we feel that we have made progress, that we have met these problems in the same spirit that motivated those who brought about the merger two years ago, and with consistent adherence to the high ideals and principles that went into the merger.

So, we meet here today, just two years later, to review our experiences of the past two years, for the purpose of using whatever knowledge we gained so that we can plan ahead and turn our faces to the future better equipped to meet our future problems because of our past experience.

But I think we must remember that we are not meeting here today in a vacuum. No group of American citizens, in fact no group of free men and women anywhere in the world, can meet and be concerned only with their own selfish problems. All of our actions, all of our thoughts here today, meeting as trade unionists charged with the responsibility of directing and preserving the interests of millions of other citizens, must be conditioned by an overall central problem that confronts all lovers of freedom in our country and in every other free country of the world. We can not approach our problems solely as trade unionists. As much as we would like to say, well, we have enough troubles with our own problems and within our own ranks, that we can't be bothered with anything else. We cannot meet without being constantly cognizant of the central and overwhelming fact of our times, a fact before which all other matters fade. Everything that we do, our hopes, our ideals, our aspirations, our future, yes our very lives, must be conditioned by this central fact, and for us here in America it represents the number one problem of our day, the problem of all free people.

And very definitely this fact is the present day danger in which we find ourselves as we look upon the positive evidence of the great advances made by the Soviet Union in scientific and technological progress. Yes, progress which indicates without any question that the Soviets today definitely have the lead over the free world in development of the devastating weapons of mass destruction.

We must not run away from this fact, nor must we panic or become hysterical. We must face it. Soviet possession and development of nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missiles poses an ominous threat to each and every one of us as individual citizens in our country. Let us not forget that our nation of necessity, whether it is our will or

not, is the No. 1 target of those who would substitute dictatorial tyranny for the free way of life.

Two years ago when we met in New York many in the western world were being taken in by the so-called Soviet new look in foreign relations, by Moscow's propaganda about peaceful coexistence, by Soviet readiness and willingness to achieve an agreement on international disarmament. Yes, many were taken in by the purported trend toward liberalism within the communist world and even their supposed willingness to ease up a little in their grip on the captive nations.

All of this propaganda we realize now was for the purpose of dulling the vigilance of the free world, slackening of our defense measures if that could be brought about, — yes, to contribute to the thinking that called for cuts by Congress in our defense appropriations. In short, all of this propaganda was for the purpose of having the free world drop its guard.

While talking willingness to disarm and accusing the United States of warlike intentions, Moscow was systematically and energetically stepping up its rearmament, streamlining and strengthening its war machine and sparing neither effort nor money to promote scientific and technological advances.

It concentrated on designing and perfecting long-range missiles and thermo-nuclear war weapons. All of this now demonstrated by the launching of earth-circling satellites, and all of this now a definite indication that Russia will soon be in the production of an intercontinental ballistic missile which could seriously threaten our very existence as a nation.

This is no phantom danger we face when we face the advocates of world communism dominated by Moscow. We are not facing some abstract altruistic formula or some vague blueprint for Utopia. We face a militant ideology geared to war, continuous war with any and all means, against the free democratic way of life.

The present day world crisis is not a conflict between ideological abstractions; it is a conflict between democracy which, despite all its weaknesses stands for peace and freedom, and dictatorship, despite all its pretenses, that stands for war and despotism.

In this connection let us ask ourselves a question. Suppose it were Sweden, India, Brazil, Australia or Great Britain that had surprised the world with a demonstration of such great scientific and technological progress as would be indicated by their ability to send large earth circling satellites into outer space. Of course, if any of these countries had done this we would have been just as surprised as we were when the Soviets came up with this outstanding achievement.

Many of us might have wished it was our country which had been first in this field, but would we be unhappy or, might I say, fearful about our future because of this? If this were an achievement by Sweden, India, Brazil, Australia or Britain, no, we would not have been unhappy or fearful because these are not totalitarian, militaristic powers like Communist Russia, geared to the enslavement of the entire world. These countries, unlike Russia, are dedicated to peace and freedom.

If there were any doubts in our minds when we met two years ago as to the character of the threat that we faced from Soviet imperialism, evidence that has accumulated in the past two years should remove these doubts. During this time we have seen Soviet attempts to foment war in the Middle East by supplying arms to a puppet dictator in Egypt. We have seen its threats against Turkey, its constant propaganda against the United States as having imperialistic designs on some of the Arab nations. We have seen its actions in the Algerian situation, its representatives in the French Assembly voting with the Socialists for a get-tough policy in Algeria and its other representatives in Algeria working with the Nationalist resistance movement in itself.

We have seen its brutal actions in crushing the Hungarian people who in no way represented an economic, political or military threat to the Soviet Union, but who merely desired to co-exist peacefully with their neighbors. In this action we have seen thousands upon thousands of Hungarians cruelly crushed by the might of Soviet tanks and fire power. We have seen tens of thousands of young Hungarians deported to slave camps of Siberia and many more tens of thousands forced to flee from their homeland into voluntary exile.

We have also seen the rapid transformation from the collective leadership and the de-Stalinization policy proclaimed by the Twentieth Party Congress in February of 1956 to the one-man control of the entire Soviet economy and war machine by the new Stalin in the person of Nikita Khrushchev. Make no mistake about it; this present situation demands of America that it recognize clearly and unmistakably the menace to our way of life in the rapidly mounting power of the Soviet dictatorship.

The task before us—before our nation and ourselves—is as clear as it is urgent. We must be unsparing in our will, in our efforts to build the political, economic, social and military unity and strength of all the free people of the world. Only by developing such unity and strength to the point where we will have the power and the will to meet and deter aggression can we look forward safely to preserving world peace.

Only by the free world developing such unity and strength can mankind be spared the horror of a total hydrogen war and perhaps suicide for all humanity. Everything we do as a people, yes, everything we do as individuals here in the United States should be directed and dedicated to this one over-all vital purpose, which is to meet the most outstanding danger in the history of our nation.

What, therefore, is our special task as trade unionists, as representatives of American Workers, as we enter upon our second convention? What must we do to carry out the very simple purpose of bringing the greatest benefit to the workers we represent? What must we do as the representatives of 15 million workers, who also represent perhaps in a way their husbands and their wives and their children, their families? What contribution can we make to the thinking that goes into our nation's policy of relations with the other nations of the world? What thoughts, what ideals and what traditions and principles do we feel should go into that policy, which I am sure we can agree should represent the thinking of the people, all the people, and not just those in positions of responsibility in our diplomatic or administrative posts?

First of all, we must awaken the American people. We must see to it that the American people realize this danger. We must also see to it that nothing should stand in the way of our country's achieving a military posture strong and determined enough to deter aggression.

We cannot afford the luxury of big business domination today. It may be all right at times in the history of a Republic such as ours to have a change, yes, a change in the political complexion, in the executive branch, and perhaps even a change at times in the philosophical approach to some of our special problems. Under that system in peace-time I guess we could afford an administration dominated and officered by big business. But that's too expensive a luxury today. We can't afford it.

We do not have time now to carry on further experimentation under the trickle-down theory, under which the big corporations will wax fat enough so that enough flows down to take care of all the rest of it. We do not have time to make a fetish of balancing the budget, no time to make budget balancing our No. 1 objective.

One hydrogen bomb, which can be thrown at any of our major coastal cities from a submarine a few hundred miles away, with no question about accuracy in hitting the target—one hydrogen bomb can destroy millions of our people. That is not an exaggeration. Let that happen, and I submit to you that a balanced budget at that time would be a meaningless achievement.

Yes, maybe it will be good to reduce taxes in a campaign year, and we, like all citizens, like relief from taxes. But the American people must take the position that there is no sacrifice too costly, no sacrifice that we cannot and should not make to protect our security as a nation, and everything we do must be measured against that security.

Labor has consistently said—and, frankly, labor, has always been ahead of the rest of the nation in placing a practical assessment on these problems—Labor has consistently said, "We want tax reduction, but we do not want one single cent of reduction anywhere at the cost of any phase of our national security; our national security must and should always come first."

Then, too, we must use our influence and whatever prestige we have to see to it that never again will we allow a short-sighted, niggardly policy hold back progress in the field of scientific and technological research. Yes, we must devote a great deal of our attention to building up our educational system, encouraging our scientists to move forward, to make our educational system more inclusive, to make it possible, if you please, by the use of public funds, for the development of our most promising young students regardless of their personal economic status.

We must see to it that there is no price tag put on these matters of supreme importance. There is no price too high to pay for the preservation of national security and the individual freedom of our people, no sacrifice too painful to assure the survival of our country and the other nations of the free world. As a responsible element in the community, labor, I am sure, will accept its share of the burdens necessary to bring this about. Yes, I am quite sure we will do more than our share.

Then we must see to it that democracy has complete and full meaning and that it applies equally to all of the citizens of our nation. We cannot afford in these days, when millions and millions of people in Asia and Africa are awakening to a new sense of freedom, we cannot afford to stand before these millions as being lax here at home in the application of the high principles of democracy for which we stand.

We cannot afford to appear as a nation that allows some of its people to suffer indignities for being, as they say in the Irish ballad, for being what we are. We simply can't afford any more Little Rock incidents.

Further, we have a job to see to it that this narrow silly opposition to the Supreme Court decision on school integration is wiped out. We have got to educate, if you please, and take a part in educating the people of the South so that they will know that this policy of race discrimination, which they claim they inherited and which they cherish, has international repercussions and that it is detrimental and injurious to the standing of the United States of America before all the world.

Yes, we must continue our efforts to make democracy a living thing here at home and to unceasingly and unrelentingly carry on the fight until the last vestige of race and religious bias is wiped from the face of our nation.

And, we must use our influence with our Government to the effect that our allies in the free world, those who proclaim and cherish freedom, break all ties with the colonialism of the past. If we say that modern day colonialism under the so-called people's democracies of the Soviet Union is bad, then we say also that colonialism still continued on from the 19th century is bad, even if it is under the control of a nation that prides itself as being part and parcel of the free world.

Then we should try to impress our Government to extend intelligent aid and technical assistance to greater and greater areas of the free world that are under-developed, and this aid should be extended without strings and without hope of immediate profit or, for that matter, future profit because the improved conditions of the peoples in these areas is profit enough for us and for the rest of the world.

We must continue to do our share—yes, and more than our share—in cooperation with the United Nations' specialized agencies, the agencies that are to some degree unpublicized like the World Health Organization, UNICEF and the High Commissioner's Office for Refugees agencies that are doing a great deal of good in many parts of the world; agencies that justify the continued existence of the United Nations despite the fact that very little progress is made on the political front. In these agencies the attitude of our country should reflect the fact that America is made up of a warm-hearted, generous people.

All of these things are needed to make America a real bastion of freedom and the hope of humanity at home and abroad.

We have our job as workers, our job as trade unionists, to carry out our prime objective and purpose. Yes, we are a little different than many other groups, I am sure, that meet in this hall. We are dedicated to human values. We are dedicated to the idea of making

people's lives better through the application of a sound policy of trade unionism that will assure the worker of a fair share in the wealth he helps to create.

We have our part to play in the community. We have long ago gotten over the idea that workers were a class apart. We are the community, and more and more we are playing a part and a very vital part in the community. Then we have to follow up in the field of protective legislation, legislation to protect the worker and safeguard him against adversity and injury.

There is not time to talk about all of these things, nor time to talk about the past achievements in all of these fields and the things that we have to face, but just to mention a few there is our problem with automation; not to turn it back, not to stand in abject fear of it but to see to it that it becomes a blessing and not a curse on humanity.

Then there is our continuous fight against anti-labor legislation, right-to-work laws, the organized and well financed efforts of those who make a business of breaking down labor unions and labor standards. There must be efforts to improve social security, to bring about the creation of some sort of system under which all of the people of America would have available to them adequate medical care in all sorts of illness. We must further improve our housing situation and further eliminate slums, and continue our fight for greater Federal aid to education and for better civil rights legislation.

We must also continue our efforts to solidify free labor, to build up the standards of workers all over the world, to turn back the threat of poverty through the instrumentalities of the ILO, through our membership in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and our membership in the ORIT, the western hemispheric branch of that organization.

Yes, it is our task to go out and organize the unorganized, despite the obstacles, despite the difficulties, despite the fact that we cannot come to this Convention and tell you that we have had any great success in the past two years. Yes, there are obstacles and we know of them but we refuse to accept the idea of giving up the fight. So you see we have quite an ambitious program. All of these things and many more that I haven't mentioned we would like to do. It is quite obvious that to do these things, to do even a portion of them, to make even a little progress we need a strong, free, dedicated trade union movement. We need a union movement controlled by those whom it was set up to serve—a union movement that will not be diverted to other purposes, a movement not under political control, not under company domination, not under government control and not under underworld control.

I am not going into details attempting to rehash these problems. You know full well that none of us derives any pleasure in talking about them. We would like it much better if these problems weren't confronting us. But you also know full well that we can't delude ourselves or kid ourselves. We can't walk away from them and we can't wait for someone else to solve these problems for us. These are our problems.

We wrote a Constitution in New York two years ago and we put into that Constitution certain high principles which were part of the merger agreement, and we put them in there because we knew

of the threats to our movement. We knew the dangers our movement faced. We knew that there were more than just the dangers from the outside, the dangers of the NAM and Fred Hartley and his ilk. We knew that we had things to guard against within our own house. So we wrote that Constitution, and I say to you quite frankly we didn't know then that our action would be justified by events to the extent that it has.

We know, however, that this situation represents a threat to all of our achievements of the past. It represents a threat to our efficacy as a movement in the future. No one, as I say, likes to discuss this. No one enjoys sitting on the Ethical Practices Committee and working. But no one can deny that we do have this problem.

And let me say to you quite frankly all this business that you read about deals, Meany says this and Meany said that,—Meany says what the Executive Council says; Meany says what this Convention says. And the record is there in the book distributed to all. It is a very, very simple record based on a very simple declaration in the Constitution. It is all there. There are no deals. The only thing we have is the decision of this Council which will come to this Convention for consideration and disposition.

Yes, we know that this has been used by the press. Sometimes I think some of these fellows get great enjoyment out of playing this up to make us look bad. Well, there is one comforting fact. We don't kid ourselves on one side of this picture nor on the other. We know that this represents a very, very tiny minority of our unions. We know we have every right to be proud of the officers of our unions, every right to be proud of our members as citizens of this great nation. Without question and without hesitation we will compare them with any other segment of the population of this great country.

It is not with heads down or bowed, but it is with heads up and looking straight ahead that we are determined to see to it that 99 percent becomes 100 percent. We are not going to compromise with this evil or any other evil, because you just can't compromise with evil.

So there you have it, a big job. No small minority group now crying in the wilderness against oppression and ills, real or imaginary. You ladies and gentlemen represent a major segment of the population of this great country. You represent people in a group second to none in importance in peace and in war and in times of national crisis.

I haven't any doubt that this Convention, as representative of 15 million Americans, their wives, their husbands and their children, will measure up to the stern and vital demands of our times. Yes, I haven't any doubt that this Convention will meet head on and discharge fully and fairly its responsibilities to the workers we represent, to our neighbors here in America, and to the nation we are proud to serve.

Thank you very much.

... At this time the Convention picture was taken.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, Vice President Beirne.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: Mr. President, officers of the Executive Council and delegates to the Second Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations:

Your Committee on Credentials, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by the Executive Council as the Credentials Committee for the Convention, herewith submits the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 875 Delegates, representing 127 National and International Unions, 6 Departments, 33 State Bodies, 113 Central Bodies, and 51 Local Unions, and 3 Fraternal Delegates. The names of the delegates and their organizations will be printed in the record. We recommend that the Delegates indicated in the report be seated in the Convention for the purpose of conducting the business of the Convention.

(The complete list of delegates may be found at the end of this Volume.)

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH A. BEIRNE, Chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

JOSEPH D. KEENAN, Secretary

PRESIDENT MEANY: The motion is to seat these delegates, the names of whom will be printed in the record which will be given to you in tomorrow morning's session. Is there any objection to that procedure? Is there any objection to the motion? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for announcements as to Convention officers.

CONVENTION OFFICERS

. . . Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler read the names of the following Convention officers:

Mr. John Morretti, President, Atlantic City Central Labor Union, Assistant Secretary.

Mr. Paul Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department, Messenger.
Sergeant-at-Arms—George Richardson, assisted by
Irving Gould, Hotel and Restaurant Employees.
Bernard McGinley, Business Representative, Bartenders Union.
Ted Norton, President, Building Trades Council.
Lindsay Jackson, Business Representative, Hod Carriers Union.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for the announcement of the appointment of committees.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

. . . . Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler presented the following list of committee appointments:

COMMITTEE ON THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Chairman: Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers; Secretary, Paul L. Phillips, Papermakers and Paperworkers; Michael Fox, Railway Employees; Ralph Canary, Amalgamated Lithographers; William J. Farson, American Newspaper Guild; Chester A. Sample, Molders and Foundry; Ross D. Blood, Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, John O'Hare, Tobacco Workers; George Fecteau, Shoe Workers; Paul A. Nagle, Postal Transport; Alvin E. Heaps, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store; G. E. Leighty, Railroad Telegraphers; Fred Fulford, Furniture Workers; John Burke, Pulp and Sulphite; Sam Scott, Stone and Allied Products; Jesse Clark, Railroad Signalmen; Eugene E. Frazier, Transport Service; Clarence Sayen, Air Line Pilots; J. Cline House, Post Office Clerks; Russell Stevens, Technical Engineers; Joseph McCurdy, United Garment Workers; H. E. Gilbert, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen; Howard Coughlin, Office Employees; James M. Roberts, Stove Mounters; Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers.

COMMITTEE ON STATE AND LOCAL BODIES

Chairman: Lee W. Minton, Glass Bottle Blowers; Secretary: William Pollock, Textile Workers Union of America; Mario Azpeitia, Cigarmakers; William Snoots, Int. Union of Electrical Workers; Ray Mills, Iowa Federation of Labor; Richard Gossert, United Auto Workers; Joseph M. Rourke, Connecticut State Labor Council; Vernon Housewright, Retail Clerks; William Pachler, Utility Workers; Victor Bussie, Louisiana State Labor Council; Eric Peterson, Machinists; Steve Nakliski, Mechanics Educational Society; Gordon C. Preble, Nebraska State AFL-CIO; J. T. Marr, Oregon State Labor Council; Matthew Guinan, Transport Workers; Peter J. Cahill, Letter Carriers; E. M. Weston, Washington State Labor Council; Charles Weinstein, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Robert S. Ash, Alameda County AFL-CIO; Robert Soule, Alexandria, La.; Jack Weinberger, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Stanton Smith, Tennessee State Labor Council; William A. Webb, St. Louis Trades and Labor Union; Howard Hague, United Steelworkers; J. E. Sylvester, Railway Clerks; Robert Byron, Sheet Metal; George Lynch, Pattern Makers.

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Chairman: William Birthright, Barbers; Secretary: Albert Whitehouse, United Steelworkers; Larry W. Long, Longshoremen; George Smith, Broadcast Employees & Technicians; John M. Bishop, Masters, Mates and Pilots; Joseph Morris, Jewelry Workers; George L. Warfel, Special Delivery Messengers; Sol Stetin, Textile Workers Union of America; Howard I. Henson, Stonecutters; William A. Fleete, Switchmen; H. L. Daggett, Marine Engineers; William B. Dunne, Air Line Dispatchers; Costanzo Pagnano, Granite Cutters; Louis Hollander, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Charles D. Aquadro, Roofers; Ray Hackney, Communications Workers.

COMMITTEE ON APPEALS

Chairman: Alex Rose, Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers; Secretary: John J. Murphy, Bricklayers; Al Hartnett, International Union of Electrical Workers; A. J. Bernhardt, Railway Carmen; I. W. Abel, United Steelworkers; Felix C. Jones, Cement, Lime and Gypsum

Workers; John I. Rollings, Missouri State Labor Council; Harry Sayre, Papermakers and Paperworkers; Edward Leonard, Plasterers.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Chairman: Peter Schoemann, Plumbing and Pipe Fitting; Secretary: Emil Mazey, United Auto Workers; Eddie R. Stahl, Aluminum Workers; John McDougall, National Maritime Union; Norman Zukowsky, Leather Goods, Plastics; Donald W. Stone, Amalgamated Lithographers; Carl J. Megel, Teachers; William A. Smallwood, Communications Workers; James M. Roberts, Stone Mounters; Joseph F. Collis, American Newspaper Guild; M. G. Schoch, Yardmasters; Desmond Walker, Rubber, Cork, Linoleum & Plastics; H. L. Mitchell, Agricultural Workers; G. R. Hathaway, Packinghouse Workers; Charles M. Scheff, Flint Glass Workers; T. M. McCormick, Oil, Chemical and Atomic; James A. Campbell, Government Employees; Andrew Janaskie, Hosiery Workers; Edward J. Freeman, Leather Goods; George L. Russ, Insurance Agents; Joseph Baumgartner, Mechanics Educational Society; Carl Griepentrog, Allied Industrial; Lloyd Mashburn, Wire and Metal Lathers; Ray Muehlhoffer, Metal Polishers; George R. Petty, Flight Engineers; J. A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department; Harold McAvoy, Post Office & Postal Transportation; Harland Holmden, Theatrical Stage.

COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS

Chairman: Jacob Potofsky, Clothing Workers; Secretary: Joseph Lewis, Label Trades Department; Lloyd Gilmour, Bill Posters; John Chupka, Textile Workers; James J. Doyle, Coopers; Arthur Gildea, Brewery Workers; Edward A. Smith, Elevator Constructors; Thomas Durian, Glove Workers; William Gillen, Insurance Workers; George Miller, Horseshoers; E. L. Wheatley, Potters; Milton Weihrauch, IUE; Joseph A. Duffy, Leather Workers; Glenn W. McCabe, Glass Cutters League; John Mara, Boot and Shoe Workers; W. L. Allen, Commercial Telegraphers; Pat Somerset, Actors; James H. Sampson, Stereotypers and Electrotypers; Madge King, United Garment Workers.

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Chairman: Joseph Beirne, Communications Workers; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters; Joseph Keenan, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Chairman: George M. Harrison, Railway Clerks; Secretary: David J. McDonald, United Steelworkers; Walter P. Reuther, United Auto Workers; Harry C. Bates, Bricklayers; Arnold Zander, State, County & Municipal Employees; James B. Carey, IUE; John E. Rooney, Plasterers and Cement Masons; Emil Rieve, Textile Workers of America; Thomas E. Dunwoody, Printing Pressmen; William C. Birthright, Barbers; Joseph A. Fisher, Utility Workers; David Dubinsky, International Ladies' Garment Workers; James C. Petrillo, Musicians; Al. J. Hayes, Machinists; A. F. Hartung, Woodworkers; Ed. S. Miller, Hotel & Restaurant; Ed. Swayduck, Lithographers; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters; S. P. Ming, Grain Millers; Woodruff Randolph, Typographical Union; Joseph A. Beirne, Communications

Workers; Herman Winter, AFL-CIO Vice President; A. L. Spradling, Street and Electric Railway; Max Greenberg, Retail, Wholesale & Department Store; Lee W. Minton, Glass Bottle Blowers; Andrew Pettis, Marine and Shipbuilding; John English, AFL-CIO Vice President; Jacob Potofsky, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Charles J. MacGowan, Boiler Makers; Joseph Curran, Maritime Union; John H. Lyons, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; O. A. Knight, Oil, Chemical and Atomic; Joseph D. Keenan, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Peter Fosco, Hod Carriers; L. S. Buckmaster, United Rubber Workers; William C. Doherty, Letter Carriers; L. M. Raftery, Painters; Karl F. Feller, Brewery Workers; William E. Maloney, Operating Engineers; John J. Grogan, Marine and Shipbuilding; Richard F. Walsh, Stage Employees; Maurice A. Hutcheson, Carpenters; William McCarthy, Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers; Morris Pizer, Furniture Workers; James A. Suffridge, Retail Clerks; William L. McPetridge, Building Service Employees.

COMMITTEE ON THE CONSTITUTION

Chairman: L. S. Buckmaster, United Rubber Workers; Secretary, Gordon M. Freeman, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Patrick E. Gorman, Amalgamated Meat Cutters; Ralph Helstein, Packinghouse Workers; T. C. Carroll, Maintenance of Way Employees; Michael J. Quill, Transport Workers; William Tracy, Brick and Clay Workers; Lewis McCracken, Glass and Ceramic Workers; Wilfrid T. Connell, Photo Engravers; Anthony E. Matz, Firemen and Oilers; John P. Redmond, Fire Fighters; Frank Rosenblum, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Joseph Denny, Bookbinders; Sal B. Hoffman, Upholsterers; Leonard Woodcock, United Auto Workers; Paul Hall, Seafarers; Walter L. Mitchell, Chemical Workers; Harry Block, International Union of Electrical Workers; C. W. Sickles, Asbestos Workers; W. P. Kennedy, Railroad Trainmen; William A. Calvin, Boiler Makers.

INTRODUCTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES AND GUESTS

... PRESIDENT Meany introduced Donald MacDonald, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Labor Congress; Joseph O'Hagan, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress; Wilfred B. Beard, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, who was accompanied by Mrs. Beard; Arne Geijer, fraternal delegate from Sweden and representative of the ICFTU; Willi Richter, President of the DBG; and R. Barkatt, international representative of Histadrut.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Brother Carey.

VICE PRESIDENT CAREY: Mr. Chairman, I rise to move approval of the recommendation of the Executive Council on Convention committees.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

... President Meany announced the appointment of the following escort committees:

For Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell: Vice President Hayes, Vice President Reuther, Delegate Lawrence Raftery, Painters.

For Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare: Marion Folsom, Vice President Beirne, Vice President Walsh, President William Pollock, Textile Workers Union.

COMMUNICATIONS

... Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler read the following communications:

Roma

December 3, 1957

George Meany President AFL-CIO

Hotel Ambassador, Atlantic City, N. J.

It is with my sincerest admiration of your dynamic and progressive trade union organization that on behalf of my colleagues, officers and members of CISL I am sending you and the delegates participating at the first annual convention of the AFL-CIO, after their historic merger, our warmest and most fraternal greetings. Your trade union movement advocating the annual guaranteed salaries and the achievement of better economic and social conditions for all American workers and fighting against all forms of discrimination of misconduct and of oppression is a great symbol and a leading example to all other national free trade union organizations.

Giulio Pastore, Secretary General.

Wm. Schnitzler, AFL-CIO Convention Headquarters

Ambassador Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.

Washington County Labor Council wishes you a most successful convention bearing in mind united we stand divided we fall.

Charles L. Rilea, President

Joe Moharich, Secretary-Treasurer

Washington County Labor Council

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for an announcement on late resolutions.

... Secretary Schnitzler read the following announcement:

RESOLUTIONS REQUIRING UNANIMOUS CONSENT

The Special Subcommittee of the Executive Council has received the following resolutions and has recommended unanimous consent:

From the Associated Actors and Artistes of America—"Importation and Employment of Non-Resident Alien Artists".

From the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union—"Proposal for the formation of a Needle Trades Department".

From the Transport Workers Union of America—"Automation in the Railroad Industry, Railway Labor Act Amendment, Liberalizing the Railroad Retirement Act, Procedures for an Effective Interstate Commerce Commission, Enactment of a National Supplemental Surplus Food Bill to Aid the Needy of our Nation, Certified Aircraft and Engine Mechanics, Licensing of Flight Attendants, Calling upon Public Health Services to give the American People Facts and Information regarding Nuclear Radiation Hazards, Safeguarding Public Health by Stopping A-Bomb and H-Bomb Tests, Jurisdictional Disputes, and Birthday of Franklin Delano Roosevelt".

From the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union—"Support of Pending Strikes in New York City Department Stores".

From the American Federation of Teachers—"Reaffirmation of a Broad Education Program, and Reaffirmation of Federal Aid for Educational Activities".

From the Washington State Labor Council—"Television News and Commentary Program".

From the American Federation of Musicians—"Effective Presentation of American Life Against False Russian Propaganda".

From the Building and Construction Trades Department—"Building and Construction Trades Department Jurisdiction".

The subcommittee of the Executive Council has recommended that unanimous consent be given to the introduction of these resolutions.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the recommendation in regard to the introduction of these resolutions. Is there objection?

Hearing no objection, these resolutions will be accepted and referred to the proper committees.

... Secretary Schnitzler continued reading the announcements as follows:

In addition, the following resolutions were received by the Executive Council and were not recommended for unanimous consent by the convention:

From the Transport Workers Union of America—"Resolution on Ireland, Fifth Amendment and the Code of Ethical Practices, Reducing International Tensions and Achieving Disarmament Through Stopping A-Bomb and H-Bomb Tests".

The subcommittee of the Executive Council has recommended that they not receive the unanimous consent of this Convention for introduction.

PRESIDENT MEANY: This announcement speaks for itself. These resolutions will not be referred, because, as you know, resolutions received late cannot come before the Convention if there is one objection.

If there is no further business at this time, this Convention will stand adjourned until 2 p.m.

... At 12:15 o'clock p.m. the Convention recessed until 2 o'clock p.m.

PROCEEDINGS

Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

FIRST DAY — AFTERNOON SESSION
THURSDAY, DEC. 5, 1957

The Convention reconvened at 2:15 o'clock P.M.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Chairman Birthright of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business for the report of that committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BIRTHRIGHT: The Committee on Rules and Order of Business had a meeting at noon and we are now ready to make our report. The Secretary of the Committee will present the report.

... Committee Secretary Al Whitehouse submitted the following report on behalf of the Committee:

Pursuant to Section 9 of Article IV of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, the Committee on Rules and Order of Business recommends that the following rules and order of business be adopted by the second constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a.m. and remain in session until 12:30, reconvening at 2 p.m. and remain in session until 5 p.m. on the following days: Thursday and Friday of the first week of the convention. There will be no convention session on Saturday and Sunday of the first week. On Monday of the second week, the convention will be called to order at 9:30 a.m. and remain in session until 12:30, reconvening at 2 p.m. and remain in session until 5 p.m. On Tuesday, December 10, the convention will be called to order at 9:30 a.m. and remain in session until 12:30. There will be no afternoon session. On Wednesday, and every day following that is necessary to complete the work of the convention, the convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a.m. and remain in session until 12:30, reconvening at 2 p.m. and remain in session until 5 p.m.

Rule 2. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. No delegate shall speak more than once on the same question until all who desire to speak on that question shall have been heard, nor more than twice on the same question except by consent of the majority. Speeches shall be limited to 10 minutes except by consent of the majority.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise at the same time to speak, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. When a motion to table is made the motion shall not be put until the introducer of the original motion is given an opportunity to speak on the question.

Rule 6. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 7. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 8. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order. When such a motion is made and amendments are pending to the original motion before the convention, the motion to table shall apply to the amendment or amendments, and it shall require a new motion to table the original motion.

Rule 9. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained; unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority on the original question, and shall require a majority vote.

Rule 10. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had an opportunity to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

Rule 11. A roll call on any question before the convention shall be called upon the request of 30% of the delegates present.

Rule 12. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 13. When a roll call has been ordered no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 14. The convention shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order on all matters not herein provided for.

Rule 15. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in triplicate form.

Rule 16. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 17. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have preference in the order named.

Rule 18. The regular order of business for the second convention of the AFL-CIO shall be as follows:

1. Report on credentials submitted by the Committee on Credentials.
2. Approval of rules and order of business submitted by Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

3. Report of Convention Committees.
4. Election of Officers.
5. Adjournment.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY WHITEHOUSE: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business I move adoption of the rules I have just read to the Convention.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to thank the Committee for its services, and discharge it with the appreciation of the Convention.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to place in the record the report of the Executive Council and also the special supplemental report which has been distributed and copies of which are on the tables in front of you. They will appear in the Convention record at this point. [The Report of the Executive Council and the Supplemental Report of the Executive Council are printed as Volume II of these Proceedings.]

INTRODUCTION OF SECRETARY OF LABOR

James P. Mitchell

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Committee having escorted our guest speaker to address us at this time, I am going to present to you now a member of the President's Cabinet, in fact, one who holds what we feel is the most important post in the Cabinet, and who holds that post with a great deal of credit to himself and to the interest of the workers of this nation.

In a very difficult time under rather difficult circumstances he is making a splendid record, and while we are never satisfied completely with the workings of any government bureau, I can say here today that the workers of this country have in their Department in Washington a Secretary of Labor who has shown that his interest and his heart are concerned with the welfare of all those in America who work for wages.

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to present to you at this time the Secretary of Labor, our good friend, Jim Mitchell.

MR. JAMES P. MITCHELL

Secretary of Labor

President Meany, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen of the world's greatest labor organization:

I have the honor to bring to you a message from the President of the United States.

President Eisenhower's Message

"Dear Mr. Meany:

"May I offer my personal congratulations on the second anniversary of the merger of the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations.

"Your efforts during the past months to rid your great organization of corrupt elements have given the American people renewed confidence in our free labor movement's sense of public responsibility.

"You can be sure that this Administration, both by the recommendations it makes to the Congress as well as by every other means available to it, will support you in these efforts. Secretary Mitchell will discuss these recommendations with you when he addresses your convention. You can also be sure that this Administration will be guided in its actions by the principal that workers have a right to organize into unions and to bargain collectively with their employers, and that a strong, free labor movement is an invigorating and necessary part of our industrial society.

"The people of America look to the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations for an ever increasing contribution to our way of life. I am sure that the delegates to this convention will not disappoint the millions of working people whom they represent or the many more who are friends of labor throughout the land.

"I trust that you will be able, by wise and courageous action, to demonstrate once again that free men know the difference between liberty and license.

"You have my best wishes for a successful convention, and I am sure that I speak for all the people of the Nation when I wish you well. Sincerely, Dwight D. Eisenhower."

* * *

The thoughts expressed by the President reflect, I am certain, the attitude of the vast majority of American citizens who have been saddened and disappointed by the actions of some so-called labor leaders. This disappointment in a few, however, has been balanced by admiration and support of your great president, George Meany, and for the men like him, who were quick to join with their fellow Americans in condemning corruption wherever it was discovered.

The AFL-CIO, with the strength and wisdom of generations of great and true leaders is, I am convinced, doing everything in its power to correct what is wrong, to right what is evil, and to safeguard the integrity of the labor movement. In this effort every man of good will joins.

Strength it seems to me is the result of challenge. From crisis comes greatness. George Meany and his fellow men of responsibility have responded to the challenge and faced the crisis, and I believe that increased greatness for the organization will surely follow.

It is thus with profound confidence in the AFL-CIO that I pledge you here today the sympathetic support of the Executive Branch of your Government in your efforts to maintain the integrity of the American labor movement. And I am glad that here today for the first time, I am able to announce the specific proposals that the Administration will make to Congress to effect this support.

In announcing these proposals, I want to say that I have thought it proper and right that this great body should be the first to hear what is being proposed legislatively by the administration for the next Session of Congress.

Before I tell you of these proposals, however, I would like to set forth some of the general principles which have guided and will continue to guide the Administration with respect to labor-management relations.

First, it is the firm and permanent policy of our Government to protect by law the right of American working men and women to organize into unions and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.

Second, it is the policy of our Government that the proper functioning of labor-management relations depends on the actions and sense of responsibility of labor and management themselves; and that vital to the strength of American labor-management relations and the trade union movement is that each be free from governmental domination. We do not propose to depart from this basic principle.

Thirdly, it is the policy of our Government to provide a framework of laws to protect the basic rights of individuals when voluntary processes fail to do so.

These are the principles upon which we base our proposals for improvement in the framework of laws surrounding labor-management relations.

Now I do not think there is any question in the minds of any of us that some trade union officials have woefully abused their power and influence at the expense of many union members; that they have conspired with reprehensible employers or employer agents against the best interests of many working people; and that they constitute a threat not only to the trade union movement but to the Nation.

That being the case, I am sure you will agree, it has become necessary for the Government to act.

In acting, however, this Administration will not permit those who have never approved of organized labor or collective bargaining to use labor's present difficulties as a club to suppress unionism.

In President Eisenhower's words: "The American labor movement must be free to pursue efforts to achieve social and economic gains, which in the past have benefited the Nation as a whole."

I promise you here today that this Administration will not propose and in fact will vigorously oppose any legislation designed to bust unions. We will not recommend any changes in the Taft-Hartley Act having to do with the right of a union and an employer to enter into a voluntary agreement which provides for union security. In short, we will not recommend a so-called national right-to-work law and we will oppose such legislation if it is proposed.

Next I come to the question of the application of antitrust laws to unions. I believe that working men and women who choose voluntarily to join together for the purposes of collective bargaining have inherent rights and our laws should acknowledge and reflect those rights. The labor of man is not a commodity to be bought and sold in the market place like a sack of potatoes. I feel that it is an affront to the dignity of the American worker to assert that his work should be regulated by the same laws which are designed to preserve competition in business. I can assure you that this Administration is not proposing

any move to extend anti-trust laws to unions. As a matter of fact it should be remembered that these laws at present cover instances where a union and an employer conspire for the purpose of controlling the market. I would be against any further extension of the anti-trust laws to unions.

Now, there has been a great deal of talk about the political activities of unions. We agree with Mr. Meany that a labor union has a right to inform its members with respect to legislative matters that affect them. Of course, I don't always agree with the way you inform them.

Most people do not realize that already the law prohibits the use of unions funds derived from the individual members' dues or assessments in support of any political party or candidate for Federal office. That is a point that most people forget. There is a law now against the use of union funds in support of candidates for Federal office, or a party in Federal office. We don't propose to change this.

Furthermore, we honestly believe that a union member as an American citizen has a right to support voluntarily, without coercion, any political candidate or any political party he may choose, and we do not propose to change this, either.

Then what is the Administration going to do? These are the things which we will not do.

Administration Proposals for the Protection of Individual Workers

In the first place, the President's proposals to Congress will leave the basic responsibility for honest and democratic trade unionism right where it now is—with you. They will open to public view and inspection some of the areas of union and management affairs which are now hidden and in which crooks and racketeers have operated.

In addition, the President's proposals will correct certain conditions which appear to have encouraged abuse and oppression on the part of some people. I believe that these proposals avoid any head-long rush toward remedies which are only illusory, or which will unnecessarily hamper the ability of workers to organize and bargain collectively, or which will inject the Government needlessly into the internal affairs of unions. In no way do these proposals endanger the integrity of the labor movement or its component unions.

So, next month the President will make the following proposals to Congress for legislative action to protect the rights of individual workers and their union funds:

Reporting Requirements

Employee Welfare and Pensions Plans—The public has been aware for some time of financial irregularities in the administration of welfare and pension plans. We are proposing action on a recommendation which the President has made repeatedly since 1954 to protect the equity which millions of workers have in these plans. Our proposal would require registration, reporting and public disclosure of the operations of *all* health, welfare and pension plans—whether they are union financed and operated, employer financed and operated or jointly financed and operated. You have already indicated your general support for this recommendation.

We shall propose also that all labor organizations, local, national and international unions and local, state and regional conferences and councils, file annual financial reports with the Department of Labor. This proposal would require labor organizations as they do now in most cases to keep their books and records available to their members. It would also require that officers who handle union funds and property be held to a high degree of responsibility to union members and be subject to suit by them for failure to discharge this responsibility.

I know you agree with me that strong, fair, democratic procedures are the best safeguard an individual union member can have that the affairs of his union will not be taken from his hands by force or fraud. And I must here again state my belief that the American working man knows better than anybody else who is good for his union. We are going to propose, therefore, that all labor organizations file annually with the Department of Labor, as most do now, under Section 9(f) and (g) of the Taft-Hartley Act, copies of their constitutions and by-laws and report annually their procedures and practices with respect to such things as qualification for or restrictions on membership, election of officers, calling of regular and special meetings, levying of assessments, imposition of fines, authorization for disbursement of union funds and expulsion of members.

These reports would be made to the Department of Labor and would be open for inspection by the public and any union member.

In the same manner, we are going to propose that these unions be required to show by appropriate reporting that their members have the right and opportunity, at intervals of not more than four years, to elect their local officers directly by secret vote, and their national or other officers either directly by secret vote, or through delegate bodies elected directly by the membership by secret vote.

And finally, in this general area of reporting, we will propose that employers report annually payments made to employee representatives, either directly or through a third party, which run contrary to the rights and welfare of individual union members and are prohibited by law.

And we will also propose that labor organizations and their officers report annually financial dealings with employers or employers' representatives. It is the intent of this proposal to bring union-employer financial transactions into the open light of day, where conflict of interest, bribes and collusion cannot long abide.

The Administration will also propose that a new bribery section be added to the U. S. Criminal Code to make it a felony for employers or employers' representatives or union officials or their representatives to make or receive payments to influence the actions of either.

Under these proposals, the Secretary of Labor would have broad powers to investigate the accuracy of these reports, with the right to subpoena witnesses and evidence.

False statements could result in fines or jail for individual violators.

Embezzlement of welfare and pension or general union funds could lead to criminal prosecution of the individuals involved by the Federal Government, prosecution not now authorized.

And finally, any union that wilfully failed to file true and proper reports on general funds and organization could be compelled to forfeit its National Labor Relations Board status and its tax exempt status. This action, however, would be taken only after the full protection of administrative law and court review had been accorded in order to protect unions against hasty or capricious action.

To sum up this reporting process, all of these reports would be made to a Commissioner of Labor Reports, to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. He would serve directly under the Secretary of Labor and would exercise for the Secretary his powers of investigation for accuracy and subpoena of witnesses and evidence. All of these reports would be open to public inspection.

I would like to remind you that except for the requirement of a secret vote for the election of officers, these reports do not in any way dictate to unions what they should do about their internal affairs, but they do require that unions report accurately on what they are doing.

The second phase of the President's proposals will consist of additional amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act which we consider appropriate and timely.

On secondary boycotts, the President will repeat his 1954 recommendations to Congress that the law be changed so that concerted activity against employers performing farmed-out struck work and on construction project sites should not be considered as secondary boycotts.

There are, however, other secondary boycott activities which are definitely, we believe, contrary to the public interest and as undesirable as the secondary activities now prohibited by the Taft-Hartley Act.

We will propose, therefore, that any secondary boycott instigated by a union now covered by the Act would be prohibited if it coerces an employer directly, or induces individual employees, in the course of their employment, to refuse to perform services in order to coerce an employer to cease doing business with others. This proposal would apply to coercion against all employers, including those not now under the Act's definition of "employer", such as railroads and municipalities. It would prevent an employer from being coerced to enter into or perform on agreement to refrain from doing business with any other person.

Picketing—The Administration will also recommend that it be made an unfair labor practice for a labor organization to coerce, or attempt to coerce, an employer to recognize or bargain with it as the bargaining representative of his employers where:

1. The employer has recognized in accordance with law another labor organization as the representative of his employees and has executed a collective bargaining agreement, and a question of representation may not appropriately be raised under the Taft-Hartley Act; or

2. Where within the last preceding twelve months the NLRB has determined in a proceeding under Section 9 of the Act that the employees do not wish to be represented by a labor organization.

3. There is unquestionably much public sentiment against all organizational picketing and some responsible sources are advocating its complete elimination. The matter has been deeply considered and we believe that while the right of legitimate picketing must be preserved, there can be situations when no responsible labor organization could claim a coercive power to force a union upon employees who clearly do not want that union to be their bargaining representative. When it is clear that the employees of the employer do not desire a union as their bargaining representative, the use of a picket line to force that union upon an employer and his employees should we believe be restricted.

Other Proposed Taft-Hartley Amendments—The Administration will also propose that:

1. Section 302 of the Taft-Hartley Act be amended to:

a. Prohibit unauthorized payments made to employee representatives by employer agents or representatives, as well as those made directly by employers.

b. Cover employer payments to any employee representative, as distinguished from present coverage of employer payments "to and representative of *his* employees."

This is to prevent employer collusion or bribery in instigating action on the part of any employee representative against the union.

c. Prohibit payments over and above payments for regular job duties by an employer, his agent or representative to an employee or group or committee of employees to encourage, discourage or influence other employees of the employer in the exercise of their right of self-organization or the selection of a representative. And this is shades of Shefferman.

2. That other sections of the Taft-Hartley Act be amended to:

a. Eliminate the statutory prohibition which bars economic strikers from voting in representation elections.

b. Authorize the NLRB, under appropriate circumstances, to certify building and construction trades unions as bargaining representatives, without prior elections.

c. Eliminate the non-Communist affidavit requirement entirely.

d. Prevent parties to a valid contract from being required to bargain during the life of the contract unless there is a reopening provision or the parties agree to the contract being reopened.

e. Make clear that when the office of the General Counsel of the NLRB becomes vacant the President may designate some other officer or employee to serve as acting general counsel until a successor is appointed.

In the area of Federal-State jurisdiction in labor disputes affecting commerce, some problems have arisen, as you know, due to recent court decisions (Supreme Court in the Guss and related cases). We are not recommending concurrent Federal-State jurisdiction in labor-management disputes, which I feel would tend to break down uniform national labor-management relations. But we will recommend that these problems be met by amending the Taft-Hartley Act so that the

jurisdictional gap which now exists would be closed by authorizing the States to act with respect to matters over which the NLRB declines to assert jurisdiction.

These legislative recommendations we believe are designed to benefit and protect labor's many millions of fair, honest and decent members as well as curb abuses in labor-management relations. They are no cure-all. Much of the corruption and violence which has been disclosed can be traced directly to inadequate enforcement of existing laws, particularly at the local level. We should remember that there are laws already on the books, after all, against bribery, against fraud, against murder and embezzlement. These laws, of course, must be enforced to the hilt.

I believe this legislative program will be of great assistance, however, in helping the labor movement to regain the high position it deserves in the hearts and minds of the American people. I believe it deserves the support of every American who has labor's interest at heart, just as I believe other types of legislation that would cripple labor deserve their condemnation.

Behind these proposals is the conviction that America without strong and upright labor unions, America without great labor leaders, would not be America as we know and love her.

You may or may not agree, which is your right, to some of these proposals, but I believe that to face the challenge which is before you with courage, with resolution and with determination to make the labor movement completely free of all motives but the true and the right ones—this is the job that you have undertaken, and it is one that all men of goodwill everywhere will try to help you with. I have no doubt but what, under the leadership of George Meany and his associates, the result of this crisis will be a new and a proud chapter for not only the American labor movement but for our country.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure that I voice the sentiments of all the delegates present at this convention when I say to Secretary Mitchell that we appreciate his visit to us today, and also the very fine address that he delivered. He touched on a subject with which we are all concerned and upon which we will, before this convention adjourns, formulate a policy for the benefit of the workers and the community at large.

I express to Secretary Mitchell in your behalf our very sincere appreciation and thanks for his visit and fine address to us today.

Thank you very much.

Visiting Trade Unionists from Brazil

At this time I would like to present to you some visitors here today.

First we have a group of trade unionists from our South American neighbor country of Brazil. This group is composed of 12 trade unionists, 7 of whom are from the Commercial Workers Employees' Union. Three are longshoremen, one a textile worker, and one a brick and tile maker. I will call their names and ask them to stand up so that you can see them and know them when they leave the platform. Perhaps if

you can drum up your best Portuguese you might even be able to converse with them.

Guilherme Buch, Commercial Workers Employees Union; Carlos Cassou, Alexandre F. I. Evangelista, Odolon Figueiredo, Elpidio Machado, Paulo Maltz, Huberto Moritz, Walter Alves de Alcantara, Long-shoremen; Manoel Antonio Fonseca, Elysio Pestana, Natalio Correa Cardoso, Textile Workers; Osmar Leal Fernandes, Brick and Tile Makers.

To say a few words to you on behalf of this group, I have asked Brother Guilherme Buch, from the Commercial Workers Employees Union, to speak for this group.

. . . Brother Guilherme Buch then spoke to the Convention in Portuguese.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The message delivered by Brother Buch is a message of friendship to their North American companions which I will read:

"United with the sentiments which encourage the North American workers in the attainment of the ideals of social justice and peace which should rule among all people, the Unions of the Workers in Industry and Commerce of Blumenau, in the State of Santa Catarina, Brazil, by means of this message of friendship and esteem, fraternally greet the workers of our great friendly neighbor nation, with the un-failing conviction that our hopes to attain a better and happier world, most compatible with human dignity, are the same hopes which are the highest aspirations of the North American workers.

"Repeating our greeting of unity and friendship, the undersigned directors, representing the workers and commercial employees of Blumenau, Santa Catarina, Brazil, are delighted in being able to bring the workers of the United States of North America this friendly and brotherly message."

On behalf of the Convention I want to thank the workers of Brazil for this very kindly message.

Other Visiting Trade Unionists from South America

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to present a group of workers from Colombia so that you will know them when you see them. Of this group of ten, five are from the Oil Workers Union and five from the Cotton and Textile Industry. They are:

Oil Workers Union: Gregorio Castro, Manuel F. Garcia, Juan Jose Jaimes, Alfonso Nessman-Marcelin, Ramon Pinilla.

Cotton and Textile Industry: Jose Antonio Rojas, Pedro Luis Moreno, Jairo Antonio Gutierrez, Alfredo Castro Ernesto Brand.

We have two visitors from Costa Rica, two members of the Department of Labor and Social Welfare, Brother Al Marrero Palma and Brother Jorge Villalobos Fuentes.

We have one visitor from Ecuador, Brother Alfredo Ortiz Escobar.

We have three visitors from Peru, the Secretary of the Oil Workers Union of Talara, Brother Juan Taboado being one. This particular

gentleman is a member of the Textile Workers Union of Peru, and he is in the United States as the first trainee under the special AFL-CIO program financed by the AFL-CIO. He is the first trainee under this program to bring workers from South America to learn something about the American trade union movement. This boy is from the Textile Workers Union, Brother Ramon Solis Reano.

Now to say a few words in behalf of the Peruvian delegation I am going to call on the Secretary of International Relations of the Peruvian Confederation of Labor, Brother Francisco Taboada.

... Brother Taboada addressed the Convention in Spanish.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Romualdi, our Latin-American representative, will give you a translation of the remarks of Brother Taboada.

MR. ROMUALDI: Brother Meany and members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, delegates, distinguished representatives of the United States Government, sisters and brothers: I wish to express greetings to the Chairman and all officers of this Convention and to the members of the delegations present here.

The trade unionists of Peru who are present at this important labor convention wish most sincerely that the conclusions that will come out of this meeting will reflect the aspirations of the workers of this great country and will be in line with the great responsibility that this powerful trade union movement has acquired in this historic period facing the world.

The progress of the people of Indo-America, the future of democracy, the development of our economies and the special progress depend to a great extent upon the decisions of this Convention and other future conventions of the American labor movement.

I wish to conclude by reiterating our best wishes for the happy conclusion of this Convention. Our fraternal greetings to our brothers of AFL-CIO and to the delegates of other foreign countries who are present with us at this Convention.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I have one other group present. This group is from Uruguay, a delegation composed of nine workers, three from the Metal Workers Union, being Alberto Cabrera Milan, Gilverto Ramon Martin, Jorge Roberto Olivera Calamet.

The representative from the Hospital Employees is Walter Emilio Bernardi Fuente.

The representative from the Longshoremen is Alfredo Lamas.

The representative from the Bank Employees is Hector Eugenio Menoni Liberatore.

The representative from the Bakers is Pauline Lauriano Reyes.

And from the Cement Mixers, Anibal Remigio Rojas.

I will now introduce to you to say a few words on behalf of this group Brother Antonio Mihura Avila of the Sugar Workers.

... Brother Avila addressed the convention in Spanish.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Romualdi will translate.

MR. ROMUALDI: Brother Meany, representatives of the United States Government, delegates, sisters and brothers and fraternal delegates from other countries abroad: The group of trade union representatives of Uruguay has given me the honor to say a few words of greeting in our behalf. It is a privilege for any trade unionist from any country of the world to be present at this Convention. We feel the power that this representation has in this country. We feel with pride membership in the same family of organized labor.

The free inter-American trade union movement of Uruguay, represented by the trade union federation of my country, send to you sincere greetings and best wishes for success in this Convention. We pray God that the welfare of the trade union movement in the United States and the trade union movement in the Republics of the Americas and the world will be well served by the decisions taken in this Convention.

We hope you will be able to settle your problems in harmony and clarity so that the benefit of the working class may triumph above any other consideration. We hope that the concept of brotherhood and fraternity will be the guide of the trade union movement all over the world.

On behalf of the Confederation of Labor of Uruguay, we urge our brothers in North America to continue to cooperate with us with a view to maintaining higher and higher the flame that illuminates the path toward liberty and opposition to every form of dictatorship, because dictatorship is not only the enemy of labor but it is also offensive to the dignity of mankind.

PRESIDENT MEANY: In your behalf I thank these delegations for their remarks and again say to them that we are very happy to have them and that they are welcome here at this convention.

. . . At this time the Committee escorted the Honorable Marion B. Folsom to the platform.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I am very pleased to present to this convention another member of the President's Cabinet, a gentleman who presides over the affairs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department in which our interest is, I might say, perhaps second only to our interest in our own department, the Department of Labor.

I happen to have known this gentleman for many, many years. I had the pleasure of introducing him to you at the first convention of the AFL-CIO in New York two years ago. I have served on governmental boards with him, and while he came into this field of social welfare, social security, unemployment insurance as a representative of the employer group, I can say to you very frankly that his heart is in his work and that he represents pretty much the same viewpoint as does labor toward the problems of his Department.

It is a pleasure to present him to you not only as a very fine public servant but, if you will pardon me, as a close personal friend of many years' standing.

I take pleasure in introducing Mr. Marion Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

MR. MARION B. FOLSOM
(Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare)

Thank you, George.

President Meany, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am honored to be with you again. It was a memorable experience to have met with you 2 years ago at the historic first convention of the combined AFL-CIO.

At that founding convention, your thoughts naturally were focused on the future. Again this afternoon I ask you to consider a critical problem which bears very directly and importantly on the future of all of us. This problem is the status of education in America—today and tomorrow.

It is quite appropriate that I should discuss education with the leaders of the AFL-CIO. From its earliest days, labor in this country has been one of the major forces fighting for better schools, more and better teachers, and enlarged opportunities for learning for all American people.

You in labor may well join many other friends of education in a sense of pride at what has been accomplished. The American system of education provides a higher level of learning to more people than that of any other country in the world. It has shown flexibility and versatility in adapting to change. And it must continue to do so, for the need for further progress and further adaptability in education is very great.

In the past, it has been our custom to measure the adequacy of education by looking largely inward and backward. We have measured what we want in education by comparison with what we have provided for ourselves in the past. I suggest—in today's world—it is no longer valid to think we're doing enough just because we're doing as much or more than ever before.

Whether we like it or not, there is a new factor which we are compelled to take into account. One of the fundamental facts of our times is that America is a leader among the forces of freedom against the forces of tyranny in a contest which extends around the world. And education will play a crucial role in determining which system triumphs in the end.

In the Soviet system, and in ours, future levels of productivity and economic achievement, future skills in government and diplomacy, the scientific and cultural contributions and moral fiber of tomorrow's society—all these are being determined in large part in the classroom today. Tomorrow's spectacular weapons of military science also will spring from the developing minds of young people in school today. Education, from kindergarten through university, is a mirror of the future—their future, and ours.

It is clear that the enemies of freedom are increasingly using education as a means toward their proclaimed goal of world domination. And the emphasis and support they are giving to education may well pose a greater threat to our freedom—in the long run—than the spectacular sputniks or missiles of today.

In considering newly published information on education in the Soviet Union, I have been impressed more by the increasing momentum of expansion in the Soviet educational movement than by measurements of where they stand today.

A nation which was probably 60 to 70 percent illiterate in 1917 now claims to have virtually wiped out illiteracy and to have about 1 out of 4 of its people in some kind of school. The Soviets report that the number of students graduating from their 10-year school system has increased four times in four years, reaching 1 1/2 million last year.

Enrollment in semiprofessional Soviet schools is reported to have increased from less than 200 thousand in 1927 to almost 2 million in 1956. These are special schools to train single-specialty technicians to support the work of Soviet engineers, physicians, research scientists, and other professional personnel.

In higher education, the Soviets claim enrollments have expanded from 169,000 in 1927 to 1,867,000 last year. The number of students reported graduating from higher educational institutions increased about four times in the Soviet Union within the past decade.

A second important aspect of Soviet education is the intensive pressure placed on students to excel in scholarship. From their earliest years, young people are made to understand that their future jobs and income, their privileges, their status in society—all depend on their performance in school. Both the incentives for good work and the penalties for failure are very great. The hours are long, and the homework is heavy. Those who excel in scholarship and political reliability, on the basis of stiff competitive examinations, can gain the privilege of higher education—and the prestige, honor, and economic rewards that go with it. University training not only is free, but students receive pay according to their academic accomplishments.

A third significant factor is the high importance attached to the teaching profession. A teacher or professor with a good record enjoys public respect and relatively high income. There is no shortage of teachers, because teachers are trained and conscripted by the state as needed. Although the pupil-teacher ratio varies greatly, Soviet primary-secondary schools have reduced the average number of pupils per teacher from 33 in 1927 to only 17 last year. Teachers in United States public schools still have an average of about 27 students.

Fourth, the rigorous Soviet educational system gives great emphasis to those subjects which contribute directly to military power and to Soviet aims in the cold war—especially science, mathematics, engineering, and foreign languages. Under the required curriculum, foreign languages are introduced in the 5th grade and continued for at least 3 hours a week through grade 10. In the last 4 years of secondary or high school education in the Soviet Union, a student is required to spend 6 hours each week on mathematics and 8 hours each week on the sciences—about 5 or 6 times the requirement in many American high schools. Although the Russians lag far behind in the proportion of their young people who go to college, about 60 percent of their graduates are in scientific and technical fields, compared with 26 percent in the United States.

Let me make myself perfectly clear on this matter. For America to adopt the Soviet concept of education, or to imitate their ruthless

methods, would be a tragic error. Much of the Soviet record in education, as in other fields, has been paid for by the sacrifice of freedom, by injecting dictatorial requirements of political conformity. In the Soviet Union, the welfare of the individual has been largely submerged; education is centrally and firmly controlled to serve the political, military, and economic goals of the Soviet State. We in America should be true to our conviction that the purpose of education is the fullest development of free men and free minds. We believe that a system based on liberty of the mind and freedom of inquiry will accomplish more than a system based on conscription and regimentation.

It would be sheer negligence, however, if we in America complacently assumed that little or no increased attention and effort for education is required of us.

The training of young minds is one of the most powerful forces known to civilization. In the wrong hands—in the hands of ruthless men bent on world domination—education can become a dangerous thing. There is danger to the very freedom we cherish in the ominous fact that the Russians seem to be investing a greater share of their resources in education, for their communistic purposes, than we Americans are investing in education for our purposes of liberty and democracy and peace. And the greatest danger, I should like to emphasize, is not where we or they stand today—but where we might be standing 10 years from now.

How, then, does a free society rise to such a challenge?

It cannot be done simply by having someone in Washington push a button. We must not, in any sudden spurt of zeal to protect our freedom, inadvertently throw it away. Our National Government, for example, cannot and should not dragoon our young people into fields of science. It cannot and should not conscript college graduates for the teaching profession. It cannot and should not tell the schools what to teach, or how to teach it.

What is needed is a new understanding by the American people of the crucial importance of good education. A free people devote their interest and resources to the things they want most for themselves and their children. If enough people want it strongly enough, America will provide the more and better education so urgently needed in our times.

The fundamental question is one of assigning the proper priorities for the investment of our abundant resources.

We need to understand that freedom does not mean taking the soft and easy way, emphasizing short-term comforts and consumer frills. Freedom involves the responsibility to see what ought to be done and then voluntarily to buckle down and do it.

Millions of voters and taxpayers need to support bond issues or take other steps to help end a critical shortage of classrooms in many communities. Many parents need to take more interest in the education of their children, to encourage young people themselves toward more intensive and vigorous scholarship. Members of school boards and the city councils and State legislatures need to decide that education is important enough to justify better pay for the teachers and professors who provide it. Our corporations and labor unions and other private organizations need to invest more of their own funds in education,

because investments in education are sound investments in their own future as well as the future of the country. Our educators need to reexamine their own practices and methods to make sure they are making the most out of the means at hand.

It is obvious that one of the things needed for education is more money—far more than we have spent before for education, perhaps more than we ever thought we would spend for education. The American people, I believe, do not sufficiently understand the magnitude of the financial task ahead. In elementary and secondary schools, already handicapped by shortages of classrooms and teachers, we will need need teachers and classrooms for 8 million additional students by 1965—an enrollment increase greater than the combined total population of Chicago, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Boston, and Washington, D. C. In higher education, although colleges and universities already are overflowing, enrollments will more than double in 10 to 15 years.

From 1951 through 1955 this country spent an average of a little over \$9 billion a year for elementary and secondary schools, public and private. In the light of expected enrollment increases alone, if we merely maintain current standards as to facilities and the number of pupils per teacher and teacher pay, by 1970 we will need to be investing an average of more than \$14 billion a year in elementary and secondary schools.

In higher education, we have been spending on the average a little over \$3 billion a year in recent years. But in the period 1966 through 1970—just counting expected enrollment increases without any further improvement—we will need to invest an average of more than \$8 billion annually in higher education.

Altogether, for enrollment increases alone, average annual expenditure for education will need to be increased from about \$12½ billion in the period 1951-55 to almost \$22 billion in the period 1966-70—an increase of 75 percent over 15 years.

I should like to emphasize that these figures are not visionary. They merely apply current standards of educational costs to the enrollment increases which now seem quite certain to take place.

But we will need to do even better than these figures indicate if we are to serve adequately the future of our children and the future of our country. For there are grave deficiencies in the current level of expenditures for education—in the shamefully low salary now paid to many of our school teachers and college professors, for example, and in the serious lack of classrooms in many communities.

The increased funds needed for education can be met in part through the normal growth in our national income. But the facts of the situation also indicate we will need to invest a larger portion of our income in education than we are now doing. The dollar cost of meeting the future educational needs of the American people may seem immense by current standards. But our concern for the cost should center on the far greater cost—tangible and intangible—of not providing the education needed in our times.

The administration has been carefully considering the role of the Federal Government in the expansion and readjustment which lies ahead in education.

It seems to me that three fundamental points should guide our approach.

First, I believe firmly in the American tradition which has placed control of public education in our States and communities. Through State and local control, we enjoy the benefits of a rich diversity of ingenuity and initiative in education, and we avoid the pitfalls of nationally controlled education—pitfalls of rigid uniformity, of indifference to the special needs of the community and the personal needs of the individual.

Second, our method of State and local control does not and cannot deny the national interest in education. Today, perhaps more than ever before, education is truly one of the keys to national survival. The Federal Government, as an instrument of the people, would fail to serve the people's interest if it stood idly by, inactive and indifferent to grave deficiencies in education which threaten our national security and our freedom itself.

Third, by the nature of our educational system, the great bulk of funds in the future, as in the past, must come from State, local, and private sources. Federal funds for education will continue to be a small part of this country's total investment in schools and colleges.

In its broadest perspective, then, the role of the Federal Government in education is clear. It is to foster and encourage education—but not to control it. It is to obtain and disseminate nationwide information and provide broad national leadership in education—but not to dominate it. It is to identify certain areas of acute need, where limited Federal funds can be applied most effectively and constructively in the national interest—and to help meet these needs by methods that encourage and emphasize private, local and state responsibility. These are the tasks of national statesmanship in education in our times.

Several areas of critical need are receiving careful consideration for Federal support at this time.

One problem of far-reaching significance is the large number of young people with high potential ability who are unable or unwilling to continue their education. This is a tragic waste of individual opportunity and of the most valuable resource of the Nation as a whole—the talents of its young people.

It is a shocking fact that almost 40 percent of the young people who enter high school do not graduate. And even among the upper fourth of the class of high school graduates, nearly 1 out of 3 does not go on to college. And half of those who enter college drop out before graduation. There may be good reasons why many of these people do not continue their education. But in far too many cases, the reason is chiefly lack of desire for education or lack of money to pay for it. A society which needs trained minds as never before can ill afford to accept either of these as good reasons.

We need to do more to identify earlier in their school career those young people with high native aptitude and great potential ability. And the identification of such young people should be the signal to their teachers, their parents, and their community at large to encourage them to stay in high school, to stress the basic academic subjects which lead to higher education, and to go on to college and as far in education as their talents permit. We also need to do more to identify aptitudes

for many of the careers that do not require traditional university education and to develop potential skills through semiprofessional and technical training. To advance all these aims we need earlier, improved, and more systematic testing and identification of talents and improved guidance and counseling services in many schools. Too few of our schools now give enough good guidance to young people to help them see their own potential and to encourage them to make the wisest choices.

It does little good, however, to identify potential leaders and encourage them to prepare for higher education if a lack of money chokes off their education tragically early. More scholarships need to be provided for the top students who otherwise could never go to college. Too often, in this land of opportunity, the opportunity for higher education depends as much upon the cultural, economic, and educational background of a young person's parents as upon his own talents and potential. Too often, especially among low-income families, higher education is never even considered as part of the planning for life of potentially able students. The very assurance that financial barriers need not stand in the way to higher education would be a dramatic encouragement to many able but needy young people and a thrilling achievement for the future of the country.

Another critical barrier to the progress of education lies in the limited capacity of the graduate schools of our colleges and universities. These schools prepare most of the teachers and professors in higher education and the scientists who conduct our research programs. It appears that about 18,000 new college teachers will be needed each year for many years, simply to replace those who leave the profession. Many more will be needed to teach the oncoming tide of increased enrollments. And yet the startling fact is that the total output of fully prepared new college teachers by the graduate schools is far below half the number needed. More capable young people need fellowships to encourage them to go into graduate study to prepare for college teaching, and the graduate schools themselves need more financial support to accommodate the expanded enrollments.

A third area of national concern today is the need to expand and improve the teaching of science and engineering and their essential base, mathematics. No one could be more opposed than I to an ill-conceived "crash" program in any one field of education, at the expense or neglect of other essential subjects. But we do want to seek a proper balance in our educational system in the light of today's needs. It would be folly, surely, for American education to ignore the fundamental fact that science and technology play an ever more vital role in life today. It would be folly to ignore the plain truth that these subjects embrace the very knowledge most essential to survival in the modern world.

I do not suggest that all students must take heavy doses of science and mathematics. There is a question, however, whether our schools place enough emphasis on fundamental knowledge when 2 out of 3 high school graduates have not taken a full year of chemistry; when 3 out of 4 have not taken a year of physics. This is a question to which concerned American parents, educators, and school boards are now directing their earnest attention. I fully recognize that many American high schools offer excellent training in these subjects and in other basic academic studies which also are very important. The problem, it seems to me, is to bring more of our high schools closer

to the level of the best we already have. And we need to encourage more young people to give more attention to disciplined scholarship—to work harder at the pursuit of learning. At any time, such efforts yield great rewards both to the individual and to our society. Such efforts are particularly indicated, I believe, by the urgency of the circumstances we face today.

We must teach more and better science in our schools and colleges, not just to those who plan a career in science and engineering but to all. We should understand that studying mathematics and science in high school does not prevent a youngster from becoming an economist or historian or minister—all of whom have an important role in our society. But not studying science or math in high school robs the student of a basis for making his own intelligent choice and prevents him from ever selecting science or engineering as a career. Further, without some understanding of science, he is not likely to be as good an economist or historian or minister either—because he may not sufficiently understand an important aspect of today's culture.

At the same time, we should bear in mind that professional scientists and engineers should have a broad concept of the relationship between their technical interests and their responsibilities as citizens and human beings. No man or group of men lives alone on this earth. Our society increasingly needs a grasp of the scientific and technological aspects of the world, but it ever will require an understanding of the great moral, philosophical, and historical concepts of mankind.

If we are to expand and improve the teaching of science and mathematics, in the light of today's needs, the first and fundamental step is to provide more and better science and math teachers. The urgent nature of this problem is illustrated by the fact that last year, of the 5,000 college graduates prepared to teach mathematics and science in elementary and secondary schools, 2,000 went into industrial jobs instead of the classroom. And the total number of graduates was far too low—much lower, in fact, than in some previous years. In the field of science, more than in many other fields, there is a dangerously wide gap between the rewards attached to teaching and the rewards attached to other jobs.

A second step is to strengthen the State departments of education in their efforts to foster the teaching of science and mathematics. All the 48 states now have special programs to promote the teaching of home economics, agriculture, and distributive trades, and 27 States have such programs in physical education. And yet, in this age of spectacular scientific development, only 8 States last year had special supervisors or directors to help local school systems foster the teaching of science and math and improve standards in these fields.

Third, our efforts to place the teaching of science and math in proper balance for today's world must recognize the lack of laboratories and other expensive equipment which is critically needed. In a recent study of 98 colleges and universities, 71 percent of them reported they did not have the funds to purchase much-needed equipment for teaching physics. Many high schools also could greatly improve the teaching of science if they had more funds for laboratories and equipment.

In the light of world circumstances today, we also need to expand and improve the teaching of foreign languages, to increase our understanding of the history and geography and culture of foreign lands, particularly the emerging nations of Asia and Africa.

The need for more funds, more interest, more effort for education in our country today is very great. It is no exaggeration to assert that the survival of our freedom may be at stake in our classrooms.

As President Eisenhower has said, the Federal Government can deal with only part of the problem, but it must do its part. The administration is now carefully developing new proposals to present to Congress next month, reflecting a new and broad look at education for today's world. These proposals will be based on some of the problems I have discussed with you this afternoon. I am confident they will be constructive and will reflect the national interest in our times.

In meeting new needs, in making change, in moving forward, we are guided by one fundamental principle. We act in the conviction of the infinite worth and dignity of each individual human being—the distinguishing mark between the world of freedom and the world of bondage. And we hold an unyielding conviction in the ultimate triumph of free men, in a free educational system in a free society.

PRESIDENT MEANY: In your behalf I want to thank Secretary Folsom for his visit with us here this afternoon and for the very fine and instructive and important address which he delivered.

At this time I am going to present to you a very fine trade unionist, a representative from across the sea who is here in keeping with a tradition of many years, the exchange of fraternal greetings between American and British workers. This brother is the General Secretary of the Blast Furnacemen's Union of Great Britain. He is a member of the Executive Council of the British Trades Union Congress. He is an official of his Union and has been an official of his Union for more than 40 years.

His membership in the Union dates back to when he was in his teens. He is a member of the important Committee on Education and Social Insurance of the TUC. He is a real trade unionist, up from the ranks to a position of responsibility in a very important union, a member unit of the British Trades Union Congress.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you the General Secretary of the Blast Furnacemen's Union of Great Britain, Brother Joe O'Hagen.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE JOSEPH O'HAGEN

General Secretary, Blast Furnacemen's Union of Great Britain

Mr. President, members of the Executive Council, distinguished guests and fellow members of the trade union movement:

It is my very great privilege and honor to have been afforded the opportunity along with my colleague, Mr. W. Beard, to, convey to this great Convention of American trade unionists, the fraternal greetings of the British Trade Union Congress. My own Union shares in the honor of this occasion, because of the fact that this is the first time they have had a member appointed to the TUC American delegation.

I would like, if I may, to be allowed to take the opportunity to say a few words on some of the problems that we in the British Trade Union movement are trying to deal with.

Each one of you, I feel sure, has some knowledge of the difficulties that Britain has had to face in the post-war period. We finished World War II with devastated cities and towns, with our industries geared to war production for six years, with little or no chance to re-equip or re-tool for the return to peace time production.

We had little foreign investments, our overseas holdings of pre-war days had been sold to help to pay for the war.

Today the world can see the evidence of our efforts to recover that economic strength, which is essential to the maintenance of decent standards of living.

In this long struggle since 1945, we remember the aid your country had given to us, the more so because it was a great British trade unionist, Ernest Bevin, then our Foreign Secretary, who was quick to see the purpose of the generous gesture of Marshall Aid for the purpose of speeding up European recovery, lessening the threat of Communist domination in Western Europe.

Despite the advances we have made in productivity and in technical efficiency that are necessary to an expanding output, Britain's economy is still far more precarious than we, as trade unionist, would like it to be.

The TUC has, and is, highly critical of the present Government's excessive reliance on monetary policy. The credit squeeze that it has used to fight inflation has, in our opinion, been responsible for nearly two years of economic stagnation. In the middle of this year there were more encouraging signs of expansion, but the Government's increase of monetary restrictions has definitely raised a big question mark against this trend.

As a movement, we regard inflation as an evil, but we also believe that the methods our Government has used will be evil in their effects on the lives of our people. We had hoped and have, in fact, pressed our opinions to the Government, that they should plan for an expansion of output based on the fullest use of increased industrial capacity.

Quite frankly, at the moment, there is a tension in industrial relations in Britain, which has not existed for a long time.

I do not believe that this undercurrent of bad feeling is, in any way, of the trade unions' making or of their seeking. We have reacted as a movement to living costs driven higher by deliberate government policy in the traditional trade union way. Unions cannot stand aside when food prices go up, when rents rise, when Social Security gets dearer. They must seek more wages and salaries, and trade unions are there for the protection of their members and not as instruments of government and employers' policy, which they dislike and disown.

Early this year we saw one of the biggest disputes we have had in British industry for a long time. Because of this dispute, the shipbuilding and engineering industry will lose more days than at any period since 1926. To give some idea of the position, in the first nine

months of this year alone, more than eight million working days were lost in industrial disputes, well over four times as many as in the corresponding period last year.

Strikes, of course, make news. Peace in industry is something on which no newspaper wastes a line of copy.

Perhaps this judgment of news value is responsible for the fact that Britain's record for keeping peace in industry is obscured.

To illustrate this point, speaking recently in the House of Commons, the Minister for Labour stated that last year industrial disputes cost 50 minutes for every worker in industry. Compare this with statistics relating to industrial accidents which, during the same period cost 8 hours per worker, include in the statistics sickness and you get a figure of 100 hours per worker. These statistics do not make news, but they are as important to the workers as strikes are to the press.

This drain on productive time through ill health and injury is something we, as a labour movement, are doing our best to halt. One of the most important stages in this struggle came with the setting up of the National Health Service, or socialized medicine is, I believe, the American term for it. We have had this service for ten years. At the commencement it was completely free. Now through the plea of economy, we have charges on drugs and appliances. The trade unions do not like these impositions and would like to be rid of them. However, irksome as these charges are, they have not destroyed the structure or the significance of this service, which has taken most of the financial strain from illness. Most people either have had the dread themselves, or know others that have, of the burden of long and expensive medical treatment. We believe that speed of treatment, should never be measured by the depth of pocket.

One great improvement to the health service we would like to achieve is a comprehensive occupational health service, with its emphasis on the prevention of disease.

We would like such a service to be run by the Factory Department of the Ministry of Labour, covering all workplaces—industrial, commercial and professional.

In this field of preventive health risks, we are very interested in the occupational hygiene service that you have in the U. S. A. The Social Insurance Committee of the T.U.C. are collating information on your activities.

One big current problem which you, like ourselves, are having to face, is that of the increasing use of ionising radiations in industry. We have now established in Britain a Code of Practice for health service staffs exposed to these radiations and the T.U.C. is at the moment discussing with the Government draft regulations for the protection of factory workers. This problem may well call for even closer collaboration in the field of safety and health of the workers on an international basis than any we have known before.

The British trade union movement has always been concerned with the task of helping the disabled worker, and in fact, to assist all disabled people to return to a useful life. Up to the moment, the provisions for rehabilitation have been through either the state or local authority with smaller schemes in a few industries.

An official committee inquiry into the adequacies of present provisions has resulted in a report which makes certain recommendations that we, as a movement, generally favor. We believe with the Committee that there should be resettlement clinics in very major hospital to give advice and guidance to the disabled, and in addition to normal convalescent treatment there should be residential centers or clinics designed to restore the fullest use of faculties and to re-orient the patient's outlook.

The example of Remploy, a State concern which provides useful employment in sheltered conditions for more than 4,000, more than justifies an extension of the Social Service for the disabled.

The trade union movement, along with the Labour Party in Britain, is at the moment, considering the future of our system of social insurance. The present system was regarded as one of our greatest post-war achievements. It was aptly described then as "care from cradle to the grave." The first Labour Government laid its foundations, and despite certain changes for the worse by the recent Conservative Administration, the system itself is substantially the same.

However, the passage of time has made a review necessary if we are to improve the lot of the aged, the sick and the unemployed.

The question of a national superannuation scheme under which people will pay contributions proportionate to wages and receive pension on retirement, in like proportionment is one that will receive major consideration. In such a scheme, of course, there must be a floor which will provide the lowest paid worker with reasonable subsistence on retirement. Under the present system there are flat rate benefits for flat rate contributions.

So you will see that much detailed discussion will take place on this important change in policy before any decision is reached, but it will be quite true to state that some decision will be made for the improvement of the system.

Finally, I would like to say that we have got over our fears of the Libel and Slander of Goods Laws. In our country, we have decided, as I understand you have been doing for some time, to lend our support to organizations which have for their purpose the protection of the consumer. Trade unionists may be producers but they are also consumers, and as such are entitled to the fullest protection against any form of exploitation.

In conclusion, may I extend again to you all attending this great Conference, and to all American trade unionists, the warmest greetings from the British Trades Union Congress and our best wishes for your future success.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure we all enjoyed that very fine address by Brother O'Hagen representing the British Trades Union Congress.

I might say at this time that perhaps we don't realize the importance of the contacts that we have maintained over the years with the trade union movement of Great Britain. Twice during our lifetime America and Britain have had to fight to maintain a free way of life. Whatever hope there is for a peaceful world in freedom is certainly connected with the fraternal relationships between our two

great English-speaking countries; and I am sure you agree with me that a basis, a firm basis for that relationship between the two nations can be found in the relationship between the two great trade union movements of the United States and Britain.

We are very happy to have had Brother O'Hagen and Brother Beard here, and certainly we will make them welcome in every way possible.

Again on your behalf I thank Brother O'Hagen for his very, very fine address.

Escort Committee for Alfred M. Gruenther

PRESIDENT MEANY: Tomorrow we will be favored with an address by the President of the American Red Cross, General Alfred M. Gruenther. As a Committee to escort President Gruenther to this platform tomorrow I have named Vice-President Bates, Vice-President Carey and Vice-President Harrison.

Escort Committee for Commander John Gleason, American Legion

We will also be addressed tomorrow by the National Commander of the American Legion. To escort Commander John Gleason to the platform I have appointed a Committee of Vice-President McDonald, Vice-President Hutcheson, Vice-President Doherty and Vice-President Feller. I will ask these Committees to make arrangements to contact our guest speakers tomorrow and bring them to this hall and to this platform.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler for announcements.

COMMUNICATIONS

. . . Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler read the following communications:

December 5, 1957

Philadelphia, Penna.

George Meany, President, AFL-CIO
Convention Hall, Atlantic City, N. J.

It is a pleasure for me to extend my congratulations to the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations on the occasion of your Second Biennial Convention. Free Labor is one of the greatest benefits of our society and has been, in the past, a bulwark of our national defense. I am confident that labor will continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with our armed forces in defense of our country against all aggressors.

Thomas S. Gates,
Secretary of the Navy.

December 4, 1957

George Meany

President and Mr. William Schnitzler, Sec'y-Treasurer
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization
Ambassador Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.

Upon the occasion of the Second Constitutional Convention we deem it a privilege to extend fraternal greetings and profound appre-

ciation to you, the Vice-Presidents, to all affiliated internal unions for instituting the moral and financial support our National Free Non-sectarian Sanitorium has received for the past forty-nine years and we have implicit faith of receiving your continued support.

Wishing that all your undertakings and deliberations will be crowned with success.

Fraternally and gratefully yours,

George Rubin, Chairman,
Joseph Belsky, Secretary,
R. Schwartz, National Supervisor, National
Trade Union Committee for the support
of the Ex-patients Sanitorium for Tu-
berculosis and Chronic Diseases of Den-
ver, Colorado.

Anniversary of Repeal of Eighteenth Amendment

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZLER: I have been request-
ed by the International Union of Brewery Workers to announce that
today, December 5, 1957, is the 25th Anniversary of the Repeal of the
Eighteenth Amendment, the repeal of prohibition.

Drawing for Suit of Clothes and Shirts

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, as part of its
Union Label Campaign, will raffle off a suit of clothes and a box of
shirts. Delegates, guests, and members of the press are invited to sign
out at the Amalgamated booth outside the Convention Hall. The draw-
ing will be held from the platform during the course of the Convention.
They say, may the best man or woman win.

COPE Booth

Jim McDevitt and his Deputy, Al Barkan, would like me to make
an announcement; the Committee on Political Education has set up a
booth across the hall from the main entrance to this room where you
can find out, through an electric machine, in just 14 seconds how your
Senators and Congressmen voted key issues during the past ten days.

... Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler announced the times and places
of various committee meetings.

Reassignment of Resolutions Nos. 43, 45, 46, 50 and 52

PRESIDENT MEANY: At the request of the Committee on Reso-
lutions, I have transferred the following resolutions from the Committee
on Resolutions to the consideration of the Committee on Education:

Resolutions Nos. 43, 45, 46, 50 and 52.

I repeat, these resolutions 43, 45, 46, 50 and 52 are now for the
consideration of the Committee on Education.

Are there any further committee announcements?

If there are no further announcements, Secretary Schnitzler has
some late resolutions.

LATE RESOLUTIONS

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: These resolutions were received within the proper 30-day limit and do not require the consent of the convention. They were submitted by the Maritime Trades Department which had its convention earlier this week. The titles of the resolutions are:

- No. 98—Subsidies;
- 99—Long Range Maritime Program;
- 100—Military Sea Transportation Service;
- 101—'50-50 Law;
- 102—Fight of Canadian Brothers to Preserve Trade Union Representation;
- 103—Marine Hospitals;
- 104—Anti-Labor Legislation;
- 105—International Labor Organization;
- 106—Foreign Flag Transfers;
- 107—Coastal and Intercoastal Shipping;
- 108—ITF and ICFTU;
- 109—Hiring Hall;
- 110—Foreign Imports in the Fishing Field;
- 111—St. Lawrence Seaway;

Submitted by the Union Label and Service Trades Department
AFL-CIO;

- 112—Union Label Week;
- 113—Participation in Union-Industries Show.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions have been examined by the special sub-committee of the Executive Council, who recommend the unanimous consent for their introduction:

From the United Packinghouse Workers of America—"Support of Employees of Sunkist Affiliates".

From the American Federation of Teachers—"Reaffirmation of Federal Aid for Educational Activities, Reaffirmation of a Broad Educational Program, and Business-Industry-Education Days".

From the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America—"O'Sullivan Consumer Boycott".

From Federal Labor Union No. 1821 of Alaska, a resolution on "Japanese Fishery Products Boycott."

These last resolutions, Mr. Chairman, require the unanimous consent of the convention, and it is so recommended by the special committee of the Executive Council.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the request and recommendation for unanimous consent to the introduction of these resolutions. Is there objection?

Hearing none, the resolutions will be accepted and referred to the proper committees.

Visitor from Moroccan Trade Union Movement

Now I would like to present to you for just a few moments a representative of the trade union movement of Morocco, who is here in the United States representing his country as a delegate to the 12th General Assembly of the United Nations.

I present to you Brother Bouazza, a miner representing the Moroccan trade union movement. Brother Bouazza.

MR. TAHIEB BOUAZZA

It is a great privilege to me, as a representative of the Moroccan free trade union movement, to bring here the hearty greetings of the workers of Morocco. As a delegate to the present session of the United Nations, I should like to add also the best wishes to your Convention of our entire people.

Personally it is for the second time that I had the honor of addressing a meeting of the representatives of the organized labor movement of the United States. At the beginning of this year upon the invitation of the AFL-CIO, I participated at the Executive Council meeting held in Miami. It is following the meeting that I was given the opportunity to visit the various industrial centers of your country, come in direct contact with the American worker and see for myself the great achievements accomplished by your labor movement and by your people in general.

I must confess that I have been deeply impressed by what I saw. The high standards of living, the democratic way of life in this country could not have been possible without the determinate contribution brought by the free labor movement of the United States. As your president, brother George Meany, had once told me that by fighting and achieving progress for the workers, we build and develop the well-being of the entire people of the country.

During my trip throughout the United States, I had the opportunity of feeling the great sympathy of the American labor movement and of the American people in general for the cause of freedom of the Moroccan people. You have an old and proud tradition in the history of the struggle against colonialism and for freedom. The people of Morocco as well as our brothers from the other parts of North Africa are deeply appreciative of it. As a Moroccan labor leader, I am particularly proud of the fact that it is the labor movement of the United States which is in the forefront of this struggle for freedom in this country. We are sure that under the impact of the AFL-CIO's action, the people of this country and its government are becoming more and more aware of the problems which are facing us.

His Majesty the King of Morocco, who is not only King for us but also a heroic figure in our struggle for independence, as well a source of strength in our daily struggle for social progress, during his visit in Washington had expressed his desire to visit your AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington. By this gesture he wanted to express the warm feeling of appreciation which the Moroccan people feel towards your labor movement. Today you continue relentlessly your fight as champions for the cause of freedom of our oppressed Algerian brothers in this country.

Peace, freedom and progress can be achieved only within the framework of a free community of nations. The suppression of national freedom as well as social and economic injustice can lead only to totalitarianism and to war. The problem facing us in our part of the world are two-folded: achieve national freedom and bring about social and economic progress to cement that freedom.

Alike your own movement we, the trade unionists of Morocco, are fighting relentlessly for the objectives. Your efforts in this country, ours in Morocco and together with our fraternal free trade union organizations throughout the world, grouped within the I.C.F.T.U., will bring about the world of tomorrow for which we all strive: A world of well-being for the people built on a community of free nations based on democracy and social justice.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to say that Brother Bouazza's English is infinitely more fluent than my Arabic.

At this time I want to bring to you another visitor from across the sea, the General Secretary of the Tunisian Trade Union Congress, a movement which has played a major part in securing the independence of Tunisia a year or so ago. He will speak to you in French and I have here a translation of his remarks.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I present to you Brother Tlili.

TLILI AHMED

General Secretary, Trade Union Congress of Tunisia

... At this time Mr. Tlili Ahmed addressed the Convention in French, after which President Meany read the following translation:

My dear Brothers:

I am very pleased to find myself among you today, attending an important Congress which gathers the representatives of all the workers of the United States. I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to remind you of an old friendship which, for many years already, has been binding the Tunisian syndicalism to the American syndicalism.

I would also like to bring up the memory of a day in July, 1951 when, on the occasion of one of the first meetings of the I.C.F.T.U. which was still then in an infantile stage—I met your leaders and representatives in Milan. Most of these leaders and representatives are here today. And I will never forget either the reciprocal feeling of friendship which was immediately felt among us; neither will I forget how quickly the American leaders understood the problems that we were trying to solve at the time. I say "We" because, at that time, I was accompanied by two great champions of liberty—two companions of struggle. The great majority of you know them, and all of you in this Assembly have heard of them. They were Farhat Hached, who was then Secretary General of the U.G.T.T.; he was killed in 1952, victim of his devotion to democracy and peace. Today is the anniversary of his assassination. My other companion was then a simple pilgrim, carrying the words of his people, but he was a tireless fighter. He is now the Head of our Nation and represents, in a large area of the world, a bastion for the defense of the free world. I have named: Habib Bourguiba.

I will also always remember the moral comfort that we enjoyed when, in our obscure prisons, we received the news of the support of the American syndicalists of our cause. This was during the painful period of our struggle for the liberation of my country: Tunisia.

For all these reasons, I may say that I am now attending this Congress not by a mere coincidence, I did not come only to bring you the fraternal greetings of the working classes of Tunisia. I came especially, and in spite of the distance, to express on behalf of the Tunisian workers our effective solidarity to all the American workers.

The Tunisian workers are aware of the fact that they are struggling with their American counterparts for the same ideals of well-being and liberty. These are our common goals.

I am very pleased to note, on this my first visit to the U. S. A., that the standard of living of the American workers is very high indeed. This clearly demonstrates the power of your trade-unions, whose vitality has never ceased to expand since that period when you set before the working classes of the world a fine example of sacrifice, the result of which was achieved on the 1st of May; on this date, everyone remembers the struggle of the trade-unions for the well-being of the working classes.

As to your strong determination to defend liberty, I did not have to come to the United States to be convinced of it. I see it, or rather I live surrounded by this ideal, which is felt continually in our great and powerful organization: The International Confederation of Free Syndicates. Your leaders and your representatives everywhere in the world are working tirelessly so that justice may triumph against all forms of oppression, and liberty against all forms of dictatorship.

I am therefore convinced that, in the Algerian drama, one in which a people are struggling for independence, and which is presently studied by the United Nations, your adhesion and support will also be greatly appreciated and will contribute indeed to the liberty and to the safeguarding of peace in the world.

With all my heart, I wish this Congress the greatest success, and I want to close by quoting a few words of President Bourguiba, words that I found myself meditating very often: "Nationalistic action is also a social action, a revolution of the conditions of a people, in all aspects, inspired by the superior sentiment of the Nation. In this way, nationalism stands in the way of communism, preventing its infiltration."

PRESIDENT MEANY: We have reached the end of the afternoon session. There are no further announcements, so this Convention will stand adjourned until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

. . . At 4:50 o'clock p.m. the Convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock a.m., on Friday, December 6, 1957.

PROCEEDINGS

Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

**SECOND DAY — MORNING SESSION
FRIDAY, DEC. 6, 1957**

The Convention convened at 9:45 o'clock a.m., President Meany presiding.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The invocation this morning will be delivered by the Reverend Oliver H. Spence, Pastor of the Asbury Methodist Church and President of the Ministerial Association of Greater Atlantic City.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Oliver H. Spence, Asbury Methodist Church)

Eternal God our Father, of infinite truth and wisdom: we thank Thee for this day, for Thy love, and for Thy forgiving grace.

We thank and praise Thy name for forbearance, for the constancy of Thy loving providence toward the children of men. And we thank Thee, Father God, for Thy divine plan of salvation.

We pray, Eternal Father of all mankind, that Thou wouldst so purify our minds and spiritual visions that we, this day, may see and be profoundly conscious of Thy presence during this convention: Grant the renewal of our inward lives through the unseen and eternal we pray.

We pray, our Father, of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, that this great convention; "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" shall proceed to despatch such business for which they have gathered: we pray Father God, that Thou wilt draw near by the influence of Thy Holy Spirit, in such a fashion until every official, delegate, and representative of this convention shall be aware of Thy presence.

We pray Almighty God, to have mercy upon us, accord, we pray, unto us Thy loving kindness:

Whatever may be our individual or corporate weaknesses; awaken within us a deeper sense of gratitude, that we may think of ourselves as Thy children who seek no reward more profound, and more glorious, than thine approval:

O, God Our Father, as this body seeks to deliberate and legislate for the future operation and welfare of the AFL-CIO, we pray that Thou wilt bless and give guidance.

We pray, O God, and give thanks for this great American system of unionized labor involving the many industrial enterprises and agencies, which comprise this union. May the good of all mankind be upon the heart of all here assembled.

May each here present seek the truth, realizing that "truth liberates" and unshackles enslaved minds, bodies, and spirits.

We pray, that the Great Shepherd of the Universe, in spite of threatening clouds of world disaster which seem to hover above us may bless this convention and all assembled, and the many homes here represented.

We pray, Eternal Father, that Thy holy spirit may lead each one in the part he shall play, in whatever industrial enterprise he may be here to represent: Awaken O God, in each delegate or representative the seriousness of his relationship to this convention.

May each realize that humanity is still waiting back home for the good news of peaceful, industrial adjustments, guidance and help.

Now, Father God, we give Thee thanks for restoring the health and strength of the President of these United States. We pray for him—a strong symbol of the peaceful inspiration and aspiration of all freedom loving peoples and nations everywhere:

Grant, Eternal God, if it be Thy will, complete recovery, that he may be able once again to perform the functions of his office.

We pray for Congress in general. Grant us the spirit of patience and tolerance as we face this fearful, confused, complexed and perplexed civilization.

We pray for the Governor of New Jersey and officials of the State: the Lower and Upper House of lawmakers:

O, Father God, we pray for this city, the mayor of this municipality, officials and citizens: Grant Thy blessing upon all of Thy servants, whether in church or state, holding positions of leadership:

Rule in every heart; bless them in all endeavors for good, that love, mercy, justice, good will and fair play in all business and industrial transactions, peace and contentment may prevail throughout the land.

Now, Father God, we pray for the President of this AFL-CIO Convention; we pray for his official staff, whoever they may be: May all differences of feelings and bitterness generated during the years by some misunderstanding be buried so deep that they shall never again be resurrected, to spoil the potentialities of a great Union, AFL-CIO.

We pray that Thy spirit, Father God, may be most evident in every thing that may be said and done.

Help, we pray, each one to push through the strata of any or all human differences until wise conclusions shall stand in the revealing lights of wisdom and justice.

Help us, that we may be led to the altar of prayer and sincere devotion, that we may seek Thee and Thy love, and become true friends of all mankind, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Redeemer.—Amen.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, Reverend Spence.

The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, Vice President Beirne.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

VICE PRESIDENT BEIRNE: Mr. Chairman, Vice President Randolph, Vice President Keenan and myself have examined additional credentials and recommend that eight additional delegates be seated, that four official changes requested which are in order be recognized, that the names of the changes be posted in the official record. (*The complete list of delegates appears at the end of this Volume.*) We so move.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Credentials. These names are to be printed in the record of these proceedings.

Is there any discussion? Those who favor the report will signify by saying aye; contrary, no. It is carried and so ordered.

At this time there will be distributed to the delegates the first report of the Committee on Appeals, which report is now to be presented to the Convention. I will suspend for just a moment until these reports can be distributed.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for messages.

COMMUNICATIONS

... Secretary Schnitzler read the following communications:

December 5, 1957
St. Louis, Missouri

George Meany, President, AFL-CIO
Hotel Ambassador,
Atlantic City, New Jersey

The General Assembly of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, meeting in St. Louis, is aware that the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations is convening in Atlantic City. We send to you our greetings and our encouragement, especially in the facing of the serious and complicated problem of ridding your organization of various corrupt and racketeering elements that seek to benefit by association with decent labor unions. We commend you and others of the AFL-CIO for the valiant battle you are waging for decency. We pray for your success in this struggle for better ethical practices.

The General Assembly of the
National Council of Churches

EUGENE CARSON BLAKE,
President

December 5, 1957
New York, N. Y.

George Meany, President, AFL-CIO
Convention Hall,
Atlantic City, New Jersey

It is with personal pleasure that I extend congratulations to you on the second anniversary of the merger of the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations. All of us in New York are proud that in this city, the birthplace of many unions, the historic first meeting was held in 1955. I am sure that I speak for all the people in New York when I invite you to return for the third convention of the united labor movement represented in the AFL-CIO.

ROBERT F. WAGNER,
Mayor

December 5, 1957
New York, N. Y.

George Meany, President,
AFL-CIO Convention
Convention Hall,
Atlantic City, New Jersey

The Negro Labor Committee with which is affiliated AFL-CIO Unions sends you fraternal greetings and best wishes for a successful convention. The history of our country is rich with the contribution made by the trade union movement, despite all claims to the contrary by irresponsible agents. The future of our civilization, if that future is to merit the sacrifices we have made, must follow the broad triboro highway of democracy, freedom and justice for all who do the world's useful work. Your constructive deliberations and decisions will be followed with deep interest.

Faternally yours,

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH,
Chairman

December 6, 1957
Washington, D. C.

George Meany, President, AFL-CIO
Convention Hall,
Atlantic City, New Jersey

The Second Biennial Convention of the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations should certainly instill personal pride in the hearts of all men of this nation. This meeting is emblematic of our way of life. The principles and aims of our enemies are totally opposed to the existence of labor organizations. It has always been a source of satisfaction to me to know that labor stands solidly behind our armed forces to prevent successful action by any aggressive nation.

Congratulations and best wishes.

ARLEIGH BURKE,
Chief of Naval Operations

December 4, 1957
Canton, Ohio

William Schnitzler, Sec'y-Treasurer, AFL-CIO
Convention Hall,
Atlantic City, New Jersey

Greetings and best wishes for successful and productive convention.

MILTON SCHAFFERT,
Recording Secretary, Greater
Canton AFL-CIO Council

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Appeals, Brother Alex Rose.

COMMITTEE ON APPEALS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROSE: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: The Committee on Appeals held a number of sessions and heard many appeals. Your Committee on Appeals is ready this morning to submit a report, which is a unanimous report, on the appeal made by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. This report will be read by the Secretary of our Committee, John J. Murphy, General Secretary of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America. The Chairman of the Committee will make some observations later in the course of this discussion.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee, Brother Murphy.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MURPHY read the following Committee report:

REPORT OF THE APPEALS COMMITTEE

In Re: Appeal of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America

BASIS OF THE APPEAL

Pursuant to Article VIII, Section 7 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, under date of November 1, 1957, notified the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO of its appeal to the AFL-CIO Convention from the action taken by the Executive Council on October 24, 1957, with respect to the International Brotherhood. Pursuant to Article IV, Sections 9 and 10 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, this appeal was referred to the Appeals Committee of the Convention appointed by President George Meany.

Upon due notice to the Teamsters Union, the Committee held a hearing on December 4, 1957. At that hearing there were submitted on behalf of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO to the Committee the resolutions adopted by the Executive Council, the reports of the Ethical Practices Committee to the Council and the transcripts of the hearings before the Ethical Practices Committee and the exhibits thereto. The representatives of the Teamsters Union were given a full opportunity to present any material or argument which they thought appropriate in support of the Union's appeal.

This report is submitted by the Committee to the Convention of the AFL-CIO on the basis of all of the materials presented to it and the arguments made before it.

THE ISSUES

The issues presented to the Appeals Committee can only properly be understood in the light of the provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution, the resolutions adopted at the founding Convention of the AFL-CIO, the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee and of the Executive Council and the actions of the Teamsters Union with respect to them.

1. The AFL-CIO Constitution and Resolutions

The Constitution which the AFL-CIO adopted, with the unanimous concurrence of each affiliated union, provided that one of the basic objects and principles of the Federation should be

"to protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic trade unionism."

The Executive Council was given power to conduct an investigation, either directly or through an appropriate Committee, into any situation in which there is reason to believe that any affiliate is "dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influences . . ." The Council was further given the authority "to make recommendations or give directions to the affiliate involved" and "upon a two-thirds vote, to suspend any affiliate found guilty of a violation of this section."

The AFL-CIO Constitution preserved the principle of national and international trade union autonomy but, by its provisions with respect to corruption and Communism, it made it clear that no union, large or small, which was corruptly dominated or influenced had a right to remain in affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

The founding Convention of the AFL-CIO implemented these constitutional provisions by adopting, by unanimous vote, a resolution which called upon "all affiliated national and international unions to take whatever steps are necessary within their own organizations to effect the policies and standards set forth in the Constitution of the AFL-CIO."

The Appeals Committee has considered the appeal of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters with the clear understanding and conviction that these constitutional provisions and resolutions, which were concurred in by the Teamsters Union as well as by every other union which participated in the formation of the AFL-CIO, are necessarily binding upon the Executive Council, upon this Committee and upon the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

2. The Proceedings and Report of the Ethical Practices Committee

The proceedings which led to the order of the Executive Council which is being appealed to the Convention arose as a result of proceedings begun in March 1957 when the AFL-CIO Executive Council

directed the Ethical Practices Committee, which had been appointed pursuant to the Constitution, to conduct a formal investigation as to whether the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers is "dominated, controlled, or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by corrupt influences." The Committee held hearings from time to time beginning in May and continued through September 5, 1957. The International Brotherhood was given copies of all materials considered by the Committee and was given a full opportunity to respond to all of the evidence against it.

On the basis of the hearings and the materials presented to the Committee, the Committee on September 16, 1957, submitted a report to the Executive Council. That report is contained on pages 70-102 of the Supplemental Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Ethical Practices Cases which has been distributed to the delegates to the AFL-CIO Convention and to the representatives of the Teamsters Union.

Briefly summarized that report found as follows:

(a) Use of Union Funds for Personal Purposes—President Beck, Vice President Brewster, and Vice President Hoffa (Supp. Report, pp. 77-80)

On the basis of President Beck's own statements and an agreement pursuant to which he repaid \$370,000 to the Teamsters Union, the Committee found that he had during the period 1946-1953 diverted large sums of money for his personal use. Furthermore, on the basis of the documentary evidence available to the Committee, it concluded that all of the evidence indicates that there was initially no intention to repay and that the obligation to repay was established long after the actual transfer of funds.

Vice President Brewster himself testified before the Select Senate Committee that he had used Teamsters Union funds for a down payment on a home, to pay travel expenses and hotel bills for his race horse trainer and others, and for similar personal purposes. He promised the Senate Committee that he would hire an auditor to determine the amount which he should repay to the Union.

Vice President Hoffa from time to time in 1955 and 1956 borrowed funds from the Teamsters' Local Union of which he is president, and, in addition, borrowed money, without notes, collateral or interest from a union auditor, who in turn borrowed the money from the local union.

(b) Use of Official Union Position for Personal Profit and Advantage—President Beck and Vice President Hoffa (Supp. Report, pp. 80-89)

The Committee found that President Beck had in many ways used his official union position for his own substantial personal profit and advantage, many times at the expense of the Teamsters Union. Included in these activities were loans for \$200,000 from the Fruehauf Trailer Company after President Beck, as Chairman of the International Brotherhood's Finance Committee, had loaned \$1,500,000 of Teamsters' Funds to that Company; a whole series of dealings with Nathan Shefferman by virtue of which Beck and his relatives received substantial sums of money and Shefferman and his relatives received substantial sums of Teamsters Union money; and control of the invest-

ment of Teamsters Union funds in such a manner as to advance the private business interests of Beck, members of his family and his associates.

The Committee found that typical of this latter category was a transaction by which President Beck, as a trustee of a memorial fund for the widow of a Teamster official, enriched himself out of the investment of the trust in a mortgage.

Vice President Hoffa similarly used his official union position, the Committee found, for personal profit and advantage, frequently to the direct detriment of the membership of the Teamsters Union. Typical of the findings with respect to Vice President Hoffa was the finding of the Committee with respect to Test Fleet Corporation. Test Fleet Corporation was established for the benefit of Vice President Hoffa and Bert Brennan by Commercial Carriers, a trucking company whose employees were represented by the Teamsters Union. Shortly after Vice President Hoffa terminated a strike of the employees of Commercial Carriers, Commercial Carriers established Test Fleet as a corporation, transferred trucks which it already owned to Test Fleet and leased back those same trucks from Test Fleet. Test Fleet, whose stock was held in the names of Brennan's and Hoffa's wives, had no employees and did no business other than to receive rentals from Commercial Carriers. The total investment of Hoffa and Brennan in Test Fleet was, at most, \$4,000 and they expended no actual effort or direction in the company's business. But, over a period of years, Commercial Carriers paid enough money to Test Fleet so that Brennan and Hoffa derived \$125,000 in income from it.

Similar use of union position for personal advantage was demonstrated by Hoffa's borrowing \$18,000 from eleven different Teamster business agents and at least \$20,000 from employers under contract with the Teamsters Union. The final item found by the Ethical Practices Committee in this category was Vice President Hoffa's relationship with a real estate promoter whose subdivision was "sponsored" by the Teamsters Union at a time when Hoffa secretly held an option to participate in the profits of the enterprise and had borrowed \$25,000 from the promoter.

**(c) Improper Activities Relating to Health and Welfare Funds—
Vice President Brewster and Vice President Hoffa (Supp.
Report, pp. 89-91)**

The Ethical Practices Committee found that Vice President Brewster had an extensive business relationship with the insurance broker for a number of Teamster Union health and welfare funds; that Brewster commingled his personal business with his official union position and that this resulted in a tremendous over-charge on insurance business handled by the broker to the detriment of the Teamster Union membership. With respect to Vice President Hoffa, the Committee found that he had business relationships with various persons connected with the insurance company which, at Hoffa's insistence, obtained the insurance contract covering two large welfare funds.

**(d) Failure to Take Action with Respect to Union Officials Who
Have Engaged in Corrupt Activities Offensive to Trade
Union Morality, or Against Whom Serious Charges of That
Nature Are Pending (Supp. Report, pp. 91-93)**

The Committee found, on the basis of uncontroverted evidence, that a number of Teamster Union officials, including Vice President

Sidney Brennan as well as a number of local union officials, had been convicted of bribery, extortion and conspiracy but that no action had been taken by the Teamsters Union with respect to these proven cases of corruption. Furthermore, the Committee found, the Teamsters Union had taken no action to conduct an investigation of situations in which officials of the Union were indicted for having received pay-offs for permitting trucks with non-union drivers to deliver products, and similar situations in which similar charges were pending.

- (e) **Failure to Investigate Whether Teamster Union Officials Have Invoked the Fifth Amendment to Conceal Personal Corruption in the Conduct of Union Affairs** (Supp. Report, pp. 93-95)

The Committee found that a number of Teamster officials had, from time to time, and in particular before the Senate Select Committee, invoked the Fifth Amendment in response to questions involving their use of their union position for corrupt purposes. The Teamsters Union, the Committee found, had conducted no investigations in this situation but had instead taken the position that if an individual invoked the privilege against self-incrimination no trade union inquiry could be conducted into the charges against him.

- (f) **Failure to Comply with the Provisions of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Code #1 with Respect to Local Union Charters** (Supp. Report, pp. 95-96)

The Committee found that in the 12-month period which had elapsed since the Executive Council approved the Ethical Practices Code covering the issuance of local union charters, the Teamsters Union had failed to comply with that Code by permitting "paper" locals in the New York area to continue to exist and, indeed, by directing the New York Teamsters Joint Council to recognize those locals and give them voting rights.

- (g) **The Relationship Between Vice President Hoffa and Notorious Racketeers** (Supp. Report, pp. 97-98)

The Committee found that Vice President Hoffa had maintained a close working relationship with John Dioguardi, a well known racketeer, and that Hoffa had associated with, supported, sponsored or hired various hoodlums and convicted criminals in the Teamsters Central Conference area.

- (h) **The Findings of the Ethical Practices Committee** (Supp. Report, pp. 98-102)

With respect to all of the matters summarized above, the Committee reported, the Teamsters Union refused to respond on the merits. The position of the Teamsters Union before the Ethical Practices Committee, shortly summarized, was that these matters were none of the Committee's business and that if any action was required by the Teamsters Union it could be taken at the constitutional convention to be held by the Teamsters Union in September, 1957.

On the basis of the evidence detailed in its report, the Ethical Practices Committee concluded that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America "has been and continues to be dominated or substantially influenced by corrupt influences."

3. The Action of the Executive Council

After receipt of the report of the Ethical Practices Committee the Executive Council considered the report and offered to the Teamsters Union an opportunity to be heard. The Teamsters Union did not accept the invitation. The Council approved and adopted the report of the Committee, finding that the International Brotherhood is dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by corrupt influences in violation of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO and it directed the International Brotherhood to correct the abuses set forth in the report of the Ethical Practices Committee and to eliminate and to bar from office within the union those responsible for such abuses. In addition, the Council noted that President Beck of the Teamsters Union had stated that the entire matter would be submitted to the Union's forthcoming Convention and directed the Union to report to the Council on October 24, 1957, the steps taken to comply with its directions.

On October 24, 1957, the Council, after a further hearing for the Teamsters Union, found that at the Teamsters' Convention in September the report of the Ethical Practices Committee was read to the Convention but immediately thereafter was expunged from its minutes. It found that a motion from the floor that the Teamsters Union undertake its own investigation of the matters referred to in the report of the Ethical Practices Committee was rejected. It found that, although an investigation was ordered with respect to the so-called "paper" locals in the New York area, no investigation and no proceedings were taken with respect to officials of the Teamsters Union found by the Committee to constitute corrupt influences. It found that officials of the Teamsters Union who were involved in the matters set forth in the report of the Ethical Practices Committee were not only retained in office but were promoted and, in particular, that Vice President James Hoffa was elected President and that John O'Rourke and Owen (Bert) Brennan were newly elected as Vice Presidents. It found that the Convention of the Teamsters Union had refused to amend the Constitution of that Union to accord with the Ethical Practices Code adopted by the Executive Council with respect to union democratic practices.

On the basis of these facts the Executive Council concluded that the actions of the Teamsters' Convention constituted not only a defiance of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO but also a rejection of the basic principle set forth in the AFL-CIO Constitution, to which the Teamsters Union had subscribed, that the Federation "must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences."

For this reason the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO resolved that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America should stand immediately suspended from the AFL-CIO, and provided that such suspension should be lifted if the International Brotherhood would agree (a) to remove and bar from International Union office those whom the Council had found, on September 25, 1957, to be responsible for certain abuses in the Teamsters Union, and (b) that a special committee, appointed by the Council, should be given authority to direct such further actions by the Teamsters Union as were necessary to eliminate corrupt influences. The Executive Council resolution further provided that if the International Brotherhood of Teamsters failed to consent to these two

conditions, the Council would recommend to the forthcoming Convention of the AFL-CIO that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters be expelled.

4. The Appeal

The appeal of the Teamsters Union to the Convention of the AFL-CIO does not challenge any of the specific factual findings made by the Ethical Practices Committee and the Executive Council. It sets forth six grounds for appeal. Briefly summarized these grounds are:

1. The action of the Executive Council was retroactive in nature because it was based upon events which occurred before the adoption of the 1955 AFL-CIO Constitution.
2. The information upon which the Executive Council acted did not result from independent investigation by the AFL-CIO but from Senate publications and press reports.
3. The action was taken at a time when the International Union was subject to a Federal court injunction and when certain individuals could not answer accusations because of pending or potential court proceedings.
4. The action of the Executive Council was discriminatory and unfair.
5. The Council acted arbitrarily in refusing to grant a period of time in which to "seek out, review and modify those practices and situations which might require adjustment."
6. There is no basis for concluding that the Teamsters Union could be dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by corrupt influences because it has 800 local unions, 5,000 local officers and over 1,400,000 members.

FINDINGS OF THE APPEALS COMMITTEE

In making its findings the Committee has necessarily been mindful of the fact that the Teamsters Union did not, in its appearance before the Ethical Practices Committee, before the Executive Council, and before this Committee, seek to meet directly any of the specific charges against it. Although the representatives of the Teamsters Union appeared before the Ethical Practices Committee, their appearances were limited, with one exception, to the presentation of prepared statements which, in effect, refused to respond to the charges, and they further refused to submit to interrogation by the Committee either with respect to the Union's prepared statements or with respect to any matters before the Committee.

In the light of this persistent and deliberate refusal by the Teamsters Union to respond to the charges and evidence, this Committee has no alternative but to reiterate and reaffirm the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee and of the Executive Council that President Beck, Vice President Brewster and Vice President Hoffa of the Teamsters Union used union funds for personal purposes, that President Beck and Vice President Hoffa used their official union

position for personal profit and advantage, frequently to the direct detriment of the membership of the Teamsters Union, that Vice President Brewster and Vice President Hoffa engaged in improper activities relating to health and welfare funds, that the Teamsters Union has failed to take action with respect to union officials who have engaged in corrupt activities offensive to trade union morality or against whom serious charges of that nature are pending; that the Teamsters Union failed to investigate whether President Beck and other Teamsters Union officials invoked the Fifth Amendment to conceal personal corruption in the conduct of union affairs; that President Beck and the Teamsters Union failed to comply with the provisions of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Code No. 1 with respect to local union charters; and that Vice President Hoffa associated with, sponsored and promoted the interests of notorious racketeers.

Furthermore, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, this Committee must conclude that the Executive Council correctly found, on October 24, 1957, that the Teamsters Union, at its September Convention, rejected the report of the Ethical Practices Committee and the recommendations of the Executive Council with respect to the elimination of corruption from the Teamsters Union, rejected a motion to undertake its own investigation of the matters referred to in the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee, refused to initiate investigations or proceedings with respect to officials of the Union found by the Ethical Practices Committee to have engaged in corrupt practices, and promoted to higher office individuals who had been found by the Ethical Practices Committee to constitute corrupt influences. The Executive Council, the Committee believes, correctly concluded that these actions by the Teamsters Union constituted a "defiance of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO" and a rejection of the basic principle set forth in the AFL-CIO Constitution that this Federation "must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences."

The specific grounds for appeal set forth by the Teamsters Union we find to be without merit. They will be dealt with individually below.

1. The argument that the action of the Executive Council constitutes a retroactive application of the 1955 AFL-CIO Constitution, which the representative of the Teamsters Union before this Committee called a "legal" argument, is completely false. The Council's action of October 24, 1957, was the direct result of the deliberate refusal of the Teamsters Union in September 1957 to take any action looking toward elimination of corrupt influences within that union, or indeed even to undertake its own investigation of the charges of corruption. The actions of the Teamsters Convention of September 1957 clearly constituted a deliberate violation of the constitutional obligations which the Teamsters Union, as well as every other union affiliated with the AFL-CIO, undertook to observe when they voted to adopt that Constitution in December, 1955.

Nor, does the Committee believe, was the Executive Council's finding on September 25 that there are presently persons in substantial positions of leadership within the Teamsters Union who constitute corrupt influences, a retroactive application of the 1955 AFL-CIO Constitution. Necessarily, the Council was required to look into the past performances of officials of the Teamsters Union in order to

determine whether they presently constitute corrupt influences. But in no case, the Committee finds, did the Executive Council condemn the Teamsters Union for past offenses.

Indeed, the Council at no time has told the Teamsters Union that they must stand irrevocably suspended from the Federation because of past offenses. Even now, the Council said in its September 25 and October 24 resolutions, the Teamsters Union can restore itself to good standing by eliminating the individuals from its present leadership who constitute corrupt influences and by agreeing to take such actions as are necessary now to correct existing abuses and to insure compliance with the AFL-CIO Constitution. The leadership of the Teamsters Union has not accepted this proposal of the Executive Council and, in its appearance and argument before this Committee, did not suggest that it intended to accept it.

2. The Committee rejects as baseless the objection that the Ethical Practices Committee and the Executive Council did not hire their own investigators but instead relied upon sworn testimony taken in other proceedings. This objection, the Committee believes, does not properly lie in the mouths of those who themselves refused to answer, controvert, or cast any doubt upon the truth of that testimony. It will not do, the Committee believes, to simply stand mute in the face of a transcript containing serious and detailed sworn testimony concerning corruption and to insist that until that testimony is repeated orally before a trade union body, the trade union movement cannot act.

The trade union movement, the Committee believes, is not required to duplicate the investigative staffs of public bodies who are engaged in uncovering corruption. Any such requirement would plainly mean that the labor movement would be disabled from taking action against those who are shown, in other forums, to be corrupt. Of course, any union which attempts to meet the charges against it, and which attempts to show that the evidence relied upon in other forums is untrue or misleading, should be given the benefit of every doubt which might arise if the trade union movement was unable to produce the witnesses who have testified for cross examination. But that is not this case.

3. The third ground of appeal really contains two separate grounds. First, the Teamsters contend that the Federal court injunction which has prevented the Union from putting its 1957 Constitution into effect has disabled it from complying with the directives of the Executive Council. This contention is simply false. As set forth in detail in the report of the Ethical Practices Committee, the Teamsters Union, even under its 1952 Constitution, has full power to take appropriate action to eliminate corrupt influences from its leadership. Its failure to take such action cannot be excused because of the pendency of the current court proceedings, since those proceedings in no way prohibit the Union from taking the required action.

In connection with this ground of appeal, the representatives of the Teamsters Union stated to this Committee that, acting under the 1952 Constitution, the leadership of the Teamsters Union had taken action to correct the situation with respect to the so-called "paper" locals in New York. Assuming the correctness of this assertion—

as to which the Committee was offered no actual evidence—it merely serves to demonstrate that the 1952 Teamsters Constitution contains adequate procedures to take other corrective action.

The second ground contained in the Union's third point is that the basic rights of individuals who were found by the Ethical Practices Committee and the Executive Council to constitute corrupt influences were completely disregarded because they could not answer the accusations made against them without jeopardizing their basic constitutional rights. This argument constitutes a distortion of the principle embodied in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We do not, and would not, dispute the constitutional right of any person to refuse to give evidence at a criminal trial or, even a Senate hearing, which might be used to send him to jail. But surely a union official cannot say that, until he is convicted, his union has no right to inquire into his fitness to hold a position of trust and responsibility and that it must keep him in such office until his public conviction of crime.

The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution does not mean that the labor movement must refuse to seek or to find out the facts because a union officer refuses to answer questions before a public body in order to avoid being sent to jail. The contrary position of the Teamsters Union would have the ironic effect of permitting trade unions to investigate and remove only those officials whose malfeasance in office was of such a nature as not to constitute a crime. Those who committed more serious breaches of faith and hence would be subject to criminal prosecution would, in the Teamsters view, be immunized from trade union action and must be kept in office. We reject any such argument.

4. The Executive Council's action in suspending the Teamsters Union and its recommendation that the Teamsters Union be expelled is in no sense discriminatory and does not subject the Teamsters Union to unequal or unfair treatment. Indeed, any other action than that taken by the Council would, in the view of this Committee, be unequal and unfair.

The Teamsters Union was given adequate opportunity to respond to the charges against it on their merits. It refused to do so. The Teamsters Union was given adequate opportunity to correct the abuses and to eliminate the corrupt influences found by the Executive Council. It refused to do so. Any course other than that taken by the Council and recommended by it would be grossly unfair to other unions who have attempted both to answer the charges against them and to correct the conditions found by the Council to exist.

The Teamsters Union does have, as its appeal states, relationships and affiliations of many years standing with the other unions in the AFL-CIO. It is large and has a long and illustrious history. But the Constitution of the AFL-CIO would have no meaning if it were to be applied differently to large unions and to small unions, if old unions could countenance corruption while newer unions were held to strict standards. There must be one standard for all and the Teamsters Union, by the deliberate actions of its leadership, has refused to accept that standard.

5. The Committee must reject the contention that the Executive Council was arbitrary in rejecting what the Teamsters Union calls a

reasonable request for a period of time in which "to seek out," review and modify those practices and situations which "might" require adjustment. The leadership of the Teamsters Union has had adequate opportunity to initiate such action and a proposal to that effect was rejected by the recent Teamsters Convention. It is nonsense to suggest now that the leadership of the Teamsters Union which the Executive Council has found to be itself corrupt should be given additional time to "seek out" corruption.

Particularly is this true, the Committee believes, in view of the offer of the Executive Council to lift the suspension of the Teamsters Union if that Union would commit itself to take appropriate action, as outlined by the Council, to eliminate corruption. The Executive Council thus, in fact, offered time to the Teamsters Union. The leadership of the Teamsters Union did not accept that offer. Thus they, and not the Executive Council, are responsible for the absence of additional time within which to comply with the principles of the AFL-CIO Constitution.

6. The AFL-CIO Constitution gives the Executive Council power to act whenever a union "is dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by corrupt influences." Surely, an international president and an international vice president constitute a substantial influence in the conduct of the affairs of an international union. The findings of the Executive Council with respect to President Beck of the Teamsters Union, with respect to Vice President and President-Elect James Hoffa, with respect to Vice President-Elect Owen Brennan, with respect to Vice President Frank Brewster, with respect to Vice President Sidney Brennan, surely constitute a sufficient basis upon which to conclude that there are substantial corrupt influences within the Teamsters Union.

Were there any doubt as to whether these individuals constitute a substantial influence in the Teamsters Union, it clearly would have been settled by the action of the Teamsters Convention of September 1957. There, an action which the present leadership of the Teamsters Union contends was the valid and legal action of the Teamsters Union, the Union refused to eliminate its corrupt officials and refused even to undertake any investigation as to whether there is corruption within the Teamsters Union. By such action, the leadership of the Teamsters Union removed any doubt as to whether the corrupt influence within it dominates, controls, or substantially influences the conduct of its affairs.

Of course, no one—least of all this Committee—contends that all of the 5,000 local officers and 1,400,000 members of the Teamsters Union are corrupt. It is the leadership found by the Ethical Practices Committee to be corrupt that we are talking about. We have not the slightest doubt that the vast majority of Teamsters are good honest trade unionists, devoted to the principles which have motivated the American labor movement. The members of this Committee know, from personal experience, that in many instances teamsters have been genuinely and unselfishly helpful in assisting other trade unions.

But it is false philosophy that the American trade union movement must, because of its genuine concern for the membership of the Teamsters Union, tolerate a corrupt leadership which has fastened itself on a great trade union. To the contrary, as the Executive Council stated, the 1,400,000 members of the Teamsters Union are entitled to have a clean Union. We would do them and the American trade union move-

ment a disservice were we, out of concern for them, to tolerate violations of the ethical standards which must govern our movement. The action taken by the AFL-CIO Executive Council with respect to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is not designed so much to protect other unions as it is designed for the best interests of the membership of the Teamsters Union.

CONCLUSION

In carefully considering the issues which were brought before it, the Appeals Committee has not only examined the specific grounds upon which the Teamsters Union based its appeal, but in addition, has sought to view the situation in light of the greater obligation of the AFL-CIO to keep faith with its fifteen million members and the vast majority of labor union officials who have tirelessly and unselfishly accepted their responsibilities and trust. The reputation of labor union officials who have honestly endeavored to carry out the democratic will of their members and to discharge the duties of their office has been imperiled by the dishonest, corrupt, unethical practices of the few who betrayed their trust and who have apparently looked upon the trade union movement primarily as a means to advance their own selfish purposes. In the eyes of the nation as a whole, the entire labor movement is and will be judged by the action taken by the AFL-CIO to eradicate the corruption which has been found to exist.

In making our recommendations we are mindful that the 1,400,000 members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters are themselves victims of the corruption which has blackened the name of their union. We hope that out of the efforts of the AFL-CIO to keep its own house in order, the members of the Teamsters Union will be encouraged to take the necessary steps to bring them back into the brotherhood of honest trade unionism.

In view of all of the foregoing the Appeals Committee has unanimously concluded that the failure of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to attempt to answer the charges of corruption which have been raised, the failure to take sincere steps to remedy the situation within its organization and the summary dismissal by the Teamsters' Convention of the recommendations of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, require us to recommend affirmance of the action of the Executive Council and rejection of the appeal of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

We therefore make the following specific recommendations:

RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the testimony and the findings above, the Committee on Appeals recommends to the Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO that:

(1) The appeal of the Teamsters Union from the resolution adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on October 24, 1957, with respect to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America be rejected;

(2) That the Convention affirm the findings of the Executive Council resolution of September 25, 1957, that the International

Brotherhood of Teamsters has been and continues to be dominated or substantially influenced by corrupt influences;

(3) That the Convention affirm the October 24, 1957, decision of the Executive Council to suspend the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers and that the Convention expel the International Brotherhood of Teamsters from the AFL-CIO.

We make this recommendation fully confident that, if it is accepted by the Convention, the Executive Council will take all measures necessary or appropriate in connection with this matter to safeguard the interests of the workers in the industry, to protect the good name and reputation of the AFL-CIO and to bring about the elimination of corrupt influences.

Respectfully submitted,

COMMITTEE ON APPEALS

Alex Rose,

President, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery
Workers International Union, **Chairman**

John J. Murphy,

General Secretary, Bricklayers, Masons and
Plasterers International Union of America,
Secretary

I. W. Abel,

Secretary-Treasurer, United Steelworkers of
America

A. J. Bernhardt,

General President, Brotherhood of Railway
Carmen of America

Al Hartnett,

Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers

Felix C. Jones,

General President, United Cement, Lime and
Gypsum Workers International Union

Edward J. Leonard,

First Vice President, Operative Plasterers and
Cement Mason's International Association of
the United States and Canada

John I. Rollings,

President, Missouri State Labor Council

Harry Sayre,

Executive Vice President, United Paper-
makers and Paperworkers

Atlantic City, New Jersey
December 5, 1957

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MURPHY: Mr. Chairman, I recommend adoption of the Committee's report.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROSE: I second the motion.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee and the motion to adopt. The Chair recognizes Vice President Einar Mohn of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to speak to the Convention in behalf of his organization.

EINAR MOHN, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America: President Meany, members of the Executive Council, and delegates to this Convention. You have heard the lengthy report of the Appeals Committee. Just by way of explanation, I did not receive a copy of this until twenty minutes of 12:00 last night, so I had very little opportunity to look through it.

For those of you who are the newer members of this Federation, I would like to tell you that I have been in this organization of ours, the Teamsters, for 25 or 26 years. I have served in, I believe, practically all of its various divisions. I started out as a business agent. I was Secretary of my local union. I served as Secretary and President of a Central Labor Council. I have been a delegate to a Building Trades Council. So I know pretty well the make-up of not only our own organization but I think a little something about the internal make-up of the Federation. Of course, those were in the old days when the Federation was not quite as large as it is today.

The purpose of my appearance here is to say something in behalf of our appeal from the decision of the Executive Council suspending our organization and putting us on notice that there would be a recommendation for expulsion at this Convention.

Our formal appeal was sent to the Secretary of this Federation in conformity with its Constitutional provisions. We since have appeared before the Appeals Committee where again we re-stated our position, amplified by arguments in behalf of this appeal. This is now all in the record and I am not going to waste the time of this convention by repeating it.

For a few minutes I am going to talk to you about trade union matters. Before getting into that, I am going to make a few observations.

Sin is something we all despise. Corruption is a form of sin. Most of us grew up in homes where at an early age we were schooled religiously in this subject. This later was implemented by our attendance at our church or at our synagogue.

There are two things about sin we should all remember: first, it is universal—and, secondly, it is ever-recurring.

To be sure, all of us are against sin. We abhor wrong-doing at every level of our society. Yet we stand firm in our belief that no one be denied the privilege and sacred rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution of the United States.

I believe that the late Senator McCarthy was a dedicated man in his fight against Communism. However, to have followed his approach

and methods literally would have destroyed our liberties and freedom. And if carried to their ultimate would have established a police state—perhaps free from Communism.

Similarly, Senator McClellan is dedicated to eradicate corruption in the labor movement. His past political record, however, and his recent public statements on television concerning "right-to-work" laws compel me to believe that the field he seeks to clean up will emerge torn asunder, bloody and weak—but perhaps ethical.

This does not excuse corruption. But on the other hand, neither is there much hope for labor to survive and grow strong under this form of "helpful" cleaning up. To date I have not heard that the Senate Select Committee has taken the Chairman to task for his obviously prejudiced position. For that matter, no big voice from any quarter has spoken out very loudly in protest.

For any individual or body to reach the conclusion that the Teamsters are "dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by corrupt influences" is erroneous and fails to show an understanding of our makeup.

Yes, we are an International Union, made up of over 800 local unions, 60 joint councils, and four area conferences. The big majority of our local unions are mixed local unions—more than one industry represented.

The great majority of our local unions negotiate contracts with local employers. Wherever multiple union contracts are negotiated, such procedures must be ratified by each local union. Area-wide bargaining is on the incline but will, in our organization, always represent a small part of our bargaining procedure.

Our diversity of job classifications and the myriad of small employers creates this local situation and makes impossible any control or domination by the International Union over collective bargaining.

Internal jurisdictional problems are, by the Constitution, delegated to our joint councils. Only on rare occasions do they reach the International Union level on appeal. Our International Union, in the accepted meaning of the term, is not a collective bargaining body. The International Union is not a party to welfare plan or pension plan agreements. These are either local or area plans negotiated without the participation or domination of the International Union. Local unions handle completely their own finances. Until the convention of this year the International Union only had the constitutional right to "audit for tax."

We have been severely criticized at times by some of our associates in the labor movement, by employers and by governmental agencies that fail to understand that in our International Union you cannot press buttons at headquarters and get automatic or immediate decisions at the local union level.

Such is the make-up of our International Union. It was so under Dan Tobin's administration (I hope he has not been completely forgotten for he was so very close to so many of you)—it is so under this administration.

I hope our organization continues to maintain this structure. It is a real, living, force that will ever stand in the way of any president or executive board dominating or controlling or substantially influencing the day-to-day functions and practices of our more than 800 local unions comprising 1,400,000 members.

The concentration of power in the hands of a few in the central organization of labor and the weakening of the traditional autonomy of International Unions will completely change the type of labor movement that we have known. Such concentration of power, whether in labor, government, or any other organized segment of our society will inevitably tend to restrict democratic procedures, the right of self-government, and will bring about the gradual abolition of individual rights.

The Teamsters Union has a record of cooperation with the labor movement for a period of over fifty years. It has become traditional and customary for labor unions in practically all industries to call upon the Teamster local unions for assistance at times when they have disputes and in organizing campaigns.

Perhaps more than any other union in the Federation, the Teamsters are in occupations which bring them into contact with practically every union in the family of labor and every employment in our industrial setup. Nothing can change the strategic importance of the Teamsters and nothing can change the dependence that the local unions affiliated with the other organizations that are in the Federation will continue to have on Teamster locals throughout the country.

This is not stated as a boast but just as a fact of economic life—the Teamsters happen to be organized in the occupations upon which other industries depend. It has been the tradition of the membership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to cooperate with other local unions when they needed help. This cooperation is given without stint, irrespective of the fact that many times it was the Teamsters who had to take the brunt of the fight and sometimes suffer public disrepute which came with carrying on these labor struggles. This type of interdependence cannot be changed.

Over the years close relationships have grown between Teamster local unions and local unions of other Internationals in the Federation. In addition, the Teamsters have pacts with International Unions which have resulted in great mutual benefit in both organizing more workers and obtaining for the membership affected by these pacts better hours, wages and working conditions.

Any examination of the operation of these pacts cannot in any way result in the conclusion that they are dominated by corrupt influences. As an example, the Teamster-Butcher Pact has had before it during the last year 21 serious jurisdictional disputes. Six remain unsettled and are still before the Committee. We look forward to an early solution.

At the present time we have joint organizing campaigns in: Brockton, Mass., Cleveland, O., Columbus, O., Dayton, O., The Del-Mar-Va Peninsula, Miami, Fla., Pittsburgh, Pa., San Antonio, Texas, and Washington, D. C.

Similarly, we have pacts with Machinists and Upholsterers and others. In heavy and highway construction, the 4-way pact was formed, consisting of Carpenters, Laborers, Engineers, and Teamsters previously to combat the onslaught of District 50, to organize non-union contractors and to assist in negotiating wage contracts in this industry, particularly in the outlying non-industrial areas of the country.

And I might state at that point I had the honor to attend a meeting of the Working Committee of the 4-Way Pact out at Phoenix, Arizona, just a few short weeks ago. I don't know how many of you people are acquainted with that area, but there is still a lot of room for expansion, a lot of wide open space out there. They had what they call the 4-corner project, which was made up of territory in the States of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and Colorado. This area had been building roads and bridges practically 100 percent non-union. And with the help of the four International Unions getting the local people together, getting the people to forget their differences and including the jurisdictional differences, they were able to organize hundreds of millions of dollars worth of work going on in this area.

The Teamsters have shown a consistent, steady increase in its membership. The records of the National Labor Relations Board indicate that we are continuing to win representation elections. This progress is not accidental.

It results from the interests, efforts and loyalty of our local unions. It requires and receives the active participation and cooperation of our joint councils and our area conferences. The International Union has supplied funds and has assisted in coordinating and planning this work.

These are not the achievements of corrupt practices—but rather they come from solid trade union effort. This effort results in greater job security, better wages and working conditions for the individual member.

Because of the economic situation and long period of inflation there has been an under-current of uneasiness among the public. Big business and the press of big business has exploited this uneasiness to arouse public resentment against labor, charging that the inflation and economic distress caused thereby is the outgrowth of a labor movement grown too big and too powerful. In addition, these same groups have been using exposures of corruption as part of the fight to undermine the strength of labor unions, its ability to organize and its collective bargaining power.

Nobody is defending corruption and I do not intend to defend it here. Corruption in all quarters, whether in labor, business or politics is equally wrong. But many who are exposing such corruption use this as a pretext for advocating punitive legislation.

There are some so naive that they believe that so-called corrective legislation is aimed at the Teamsters. But I can assure you that such legislative attacks will do at least as much damage to the rest of the labor movement as they will do to the Teamsters.

Let no one deceive themselves on this. The Teamster is more feared and hated by the enemies of labor because of his unique ability to help others. The proposals for legislation against organizing, picketing, "right-to-work" laws, etc., are examples.

At this time when labor is beset from all sides—the threat of anti-labor legislation, both state and national—the subversion of the National Labor Relations Board into a biased court, there should be a more constructive way to solve our internal problems, however grievous.

The 15 million members represented here by experienced, dedicated trade unionists, are entitled to a better answer to their daily problems than the dismemberment of this Federation.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee, Brother Rose.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROSE: Mr. President and fellow delegates, I want to begin by saying that I consider myself a friend of the Teamsters and that every member of our Committee considers himself a friend of the Teamsters. I believe that every delegate at this Convention considers himself a friend of the Teamsters.

Many of us have received benefits from the cooperation of the Teamsters' organization. I can tell you that right now, at this very minute, my Union is conducting a strike in Louisville, Kentucky, and we are getting splendid cooperation from the Teamsters local organization and its officers.

Because—and precisely because—we know the great role that the Teamsters Union can perform in cooperation with the entire trade union movement, precisely because we know the great record of the Teamsters and the contribution which they can make to the labor movement, we want to see a fraternal, clean Teamsters organization as part of the labor movement.

If I am to say or pick up what has been better said, it is that there must be a constructive way to work out internal problems. I can say that we have searched for a year for a more constructive way of resolving this internal problem. We are not condemning the Teamsters in our report, nor are we condemning the thousands of local officers of the Teamsters Union. We are condemning a system in the Teamsters organization which does not bring forward the best from within that organization and does not work to the benefit of that organization, but to the benefit of Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa.

We all despise sin. In fact, some of us think philosophically, too, that it is inherent in human nature. That is why we have a whole structure of civilized laws, to regulate this kind of human behavior. That is why our own AFL-CIO adopted a constitution which incorporated provisions to guard ourselves against sin within our ranks, sin against our members, and sin against our society. We have our own code of ethical behavior.

While I am speaking about this, I remember hearing Mr. Mohn say that we must preserve the sacred rights guaranteed in our constitution to anyone. Is this supposed to be the argument which the committee heard from the delegation, that the Teamsters officers that are being charged are entitled to the due process of law? Does anybody deny any one of them the due process of law? Does anybody deny them the right to defend themselves in criminal court against whatever charges there may be?

We are concerned here primarily as a labor organization with the due process of integrity. It isn't enough for anyone not to be found guilty in a criminal court to justify his leadership in a trade union organization. Leadership in a trade union organization is a trust and an honor, and we know that many times a man can commit wrong which is not indictable in a courtroom, but which is indictable morally in the house of labor. We also know the paradoxical answer that many times labor leaders and labor members were found guilty in the courts for trade union activity and in the house of labor they stood honored for what they had done for labor.

All we are doing in our report is denying Mr. Hoffa the right to represent the AFL-CIO. We deny him that honor because there is enough evidence to prove that he does not deserve that honor.

The Teamsters Union had its opportunity, has its opportunity and will continue to have its opportunity to resolve this problem internally and return to the ranks of the organized labor movement to continue the glorious record of the Teamsters organization as such.

In modern society labor cannot stand alone. It must have the sympathy and the good will of public opinion and of the public at large. It must have the sympathy of the middle class, and it must have the sympathy of the white collar workers and it must have the sympathy of the professional people, because labor and all of these together were responsible for social welfare legislation and this is the only way to avoid anti-labor laws.

When Mr. Mohn charges anti-labor sentiments to Senator McClellan I am not now in a position to contradict him. I don't want to contradict him. But that is not the issue. All of us who have watched the revelations of the McClellan Committee had good reason to feel very disheartened and very frustrated, and I know all of you felt that way, because I felt that way myself. But I don't know whether the proceedings of the Teamsters Convention were not even worse from the point of view of labor interests. I think that the behavior, the arrogance, the defiance of the Teamsters Convention has created a climate for all the anti-trust legislation that we fear, and I think the decisions of this Convention will straighten out and put labor in its proper role and in its proper light before public opinion.

When I spoke about defiance of the Teamsters Convention—defiance can be noble. Defiance can be very courageous if it is against oppression. But against whom was this defiance demonstrated at the Teamsters Convention? It was defiance against the Ethical Practices Committee and the Executive Council, speaking on behalf of 15 million organized workers. It was defiance against the head of our organization, President George Meany, who by his courage and straightforwardness saved the good name of the labor movement of our nation.

It was defiance against public opinion, whose good will needs to survive and to grow.

This was not defiance as an act of courage. This was defiance as an act of vulgarity and irresponsibility.

I believe that the only way we can make ineffective any anti-labor legislation that may be dreamed of by so many anti-labor forces, the only way we can make it ineffective is by proving that we are going to stand for and fight for due process of integrity in our ranks,

and that we are not going to wait until someone will win a case or lose a case in a criminal court to qualify him or to disqualify him from labor's leadership.

There are other yardsticks, there are other ways by which we judge labor friends and labor representation. I think the failure of the delegation of the Teamsters Union before our Committee, as well as before the Ethical Practices Committee and the Executive Council, to put in an explanation and a defense for all the charges made against them in itself proves that their record as enumerated in all the charges is indefensible and that we have a situation of a confession of guilt.

I am glad that the Teamsters' representatives came to our Committee, and I am glad that they have come to this Convention, because it is a sign that they do regard and they are beginning to understand the real importance of continued affiliation with the organized labor movement, with the AFL-CIO. If they do, they can resolve this problem in their own ranks.

Let me turn now to an appeal to the Teamsters. Don't waste time; act quickly. Restore the good name of the Teamsters Union, because involved in this appeal and in this proceeding today is not only the fate of 1,400,000 members of the Teamsters Union—involved also is the fate of 15 million organized workers and the fate of 30 million unorganized workers. Involved also is our whole democratic way of life, because in the struggles that are now going on in the world all democracy will be judged by the kind of labor movement we possess. We here this morning are about to make a historic decision on which will depend not only the fate of the organized workers and unorganized workers, but also the good name of our democracy and the role we can play in the events of the world.

The organized labor movement in every single modern civilized country stands in the forefront in fighting for social betterment. They are not merely an economic group, confirmed to their own economic interests. The labor movement is a moral force, must be a moral force, and it needs the cooperation and the good will of people outside the ranks of the organized labor movement in order to prevail.

Merely to say, "We hope you will not disassociate us," without giving any solution, without giving any cooperation, without trying to meet the problem, means that we have to take upon our shoulders the shadow and the misbehavior and misdeeds and wrongdoing of the Teamsters Union on the entire labor movement, which we cannot afford to do and which we are not going to do. This is a very historic decision that we are to make this morning. It is a decision of morality versus cynicism and of honesty versus corruption. It is because of this that I urge you, on behalf of our Committee, to adopt our Committee's report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Delegate Hoffmann of the Upholsterers International Union.

DELEGATE SAL HOFFMANN, Upholsterers: Mr. President and fellow delegates:

On this present motion to expel the Teamsters from this Federation on the basis of the processes so far completed, I shall vote no. Had the Executive Council requested from this Convention a mandate to invoke expulsion after every deliberate device for correction and

accommodation had been exhausted, I should have voted yes, in spite of all the doubts I have over the procedures so far. As it stands, I shall with a clear conscience cast a no vote and will here state the reasons which impel me to take such action.

I have not and will not ask a single other delegate from my Union to vote as I do, unless they accept the reasons I here state and agree to the same conclusion.

As to the substance and merits of the charges of corruption and racketeering against the Teamsters, I will not discuss that in any great measure.

The 75-year record of the Upholsterers International Union in resisting these evils, which are unfortunately rooted in our whole society and not just in our labor movement, stands on the books for everyone to see. I am content to let it stand for comparison with any other union or similar organization, large or small, young or old.

My Union and I both support without reservation the proclaimed purpose and determination of the President and Executive Council of this Federation to root out corruption and racketeering.

For nearly four generations, as long ago as 1882, and as recently as last year, our Union has been vigilant to discover and swift of action to eliminate crooks, corruptors and Communists. The record of all our yesterdays is our solid pledge of today and tomorrow that the Upholsterers Union will neither slumber nor sleep in the face of crooks, corruptors or Communists.

We have stood the ultimate test of the sacrifice of both membership and treasure to drive out of our Union impartially the Communist infiltrator, the crook and the sell-out artist. All three are alike.

We give the clean-up purpose of the Executive Council not merely our lip service, but the earnest of corrupted and corrupting individuals removed from office at great cost before and not merely after the adoption of the Ethical Practices Codes, even after the courts of the land found no way to punish the culprit or correct the evil condition.

Here is an issue this Federation did not face when we so hastily gave the new merged Federation vastly increased powers and functions under the new Constitution of two years ago. We now face the fact that the Executive Council not only acts as a grand jury to develop and place the charges, but it then designates some of its members to act as prosecutors and judges combined in the Ethical Practices Committee.

Finally, these same men must then, with their minds already made up, sit here, not with a single vote but with many votes, to cast their ballots in this Convention as members of the final jury.

Years ago our Union found this wrapping of judge, jury and prosecutor in the same persons to be intolerable in processing charges against our own members. We revamped our laws to give the function of judge to a legally skilled neutral persons. We gave to an independent committee of prominent citizens the function of a court of ultimate appeal.

It is not reassuring to us or to the American people that only one other Union—albeit it a large and powerful one—has seen fit in four years time to follow our example.

Yet here today we are being asked in haste, in indecent haste, to give the "bum's rush" to not one or a few individuals but to a Union of one and one half million members.

I hold no brief for the individual Teamsters involved in these charges of corruption. Their guilt or innocence can and will be shown on the record. Neither do I subscribe to the fantasy that the removal of one or a few individuals, or of one or a few unions will wipe out corruption in the general labor movement. The correction of a long train of abuses never before challenged, the raising of new and higher standards of conduct is not to be achieved in a few weeks or months.

Are the Teamsters' fifty and some odd years of growth and vital backbone service to almost every union represented in this Convention to be canceled out with a terrible finality without the granting of one fiftieth of that time, which is all that they request, to meet the greatest crisis in their history?

How can we clean house in the Teamsters' Union by pushing it out of the door? Can a father rehabilitate a delinquent son by throwing him out of the house? Let us realize that we can do a better job of supervising a clean up inside the house of labor. Our slogan should be probation, inspection and correction, and guarantee the Teamsters members a decent union.

This veteran, fighting organization that has borne the burden of battle with so many of us does not ask for a clean bill of health or a certificate of innocence—they ask only a year's grace—not seven—to work out their salvation and to present deeds to vouch for their repentance.

To deny them this year of grace, to place the mark of "outlaw" on them without further process, to make a jury's decision of life and death on the basis of currying public favor and catering to newspaper headlines is not justice, is not fairness, is not common sense.

There is neither dignity, necessity nor soundness in such haste—in running scared.

This problem is not being settled right; and, therefore, no matter how one-sided the vote today, it is not being settled at all.

To refuse the Teamsters a year's grace, for one-fiftieth of the period of its contribution to this Federation, you will have denied them that for which, if you were in the same fix, you would consider the minimum of mercy and compassion.

Someone more eloquent than I can ever hope to be wrote an editorial in the London Times over a hundred years ago—in these words:

"The greatest tyranny has the smallest beginnings. From precedents overlooked, from remonstrances despised, from grievances treated with ridicule springs the tyrannical usage which generations of wise and good men may hereafter perceive, and lament, and resist in vain.

"At present, common minds no more see a crushing tyranny in trivial unfairness or a ludicrous indignity, than the eye, uninformed by reason can discern the oak in the acorn or the utter desolation of winter in the first autumnal fall.

"Let it alone and it stands on the record. The country has allowed it, and when it is at last provoked to a late indignation, it finds itself gagged with the record of its own ill-compulsion."

To deny the Teamsters a year of grace—and remember that the AFL in 1936 did not expel the CIO group so completely—is to establish an evil precedent.

It is to despise and to treat a reasonable plea with ridicule. It is to perform an unjust indignity on a great organization. I say that is wrong. If I had but one single vote and it was the only vote to be cast against expulsion, I should cast that vote. I would cast that vote because a united labor movement is our only defense against all anti-labor forces with their anti-labor laws and their anti-labor propaganda. The expulsion of the Teamsters will not appease the enemies of labor. It would only whet their appetite for more.

What is humanly and morally wrong can never be politically right. I say that to expel the Teamsters without the year of grace that is their central and single request is for this Convention historically, morally and politically wrong. I shall vote against expulsion.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion?

DELEGATE McCURDY, United Garment Workers of America: Mr. Chairman, for the first time in more than a quarter of a century I have taken occasion to speak at this Convention. I hope and trust that I will be given the short time that is necessary in order to explain the vote of the United Garment Workers of America, which will be against expelling the Teamsters Union from this body.

We are one of the oldest organizations in the trade union movement and I want all of you to know that I listened attentively to every report that has ever been made at a national convention, and I have studied history in its application to the free trade union movement of this nation.

The duty of the trade union movement is to protect the rank and file of the membership of the men and women who toil in the mines, the mills and the factories of this nation. How are we going to protect their interests? Certainly we are not going to protect them by legislation. Samuel Gompers warned us that whatever you get through legislation can be taken away from you through legislation.

Our history shows—and we have to give examples from the beginning to the present day. Remember the story of Washington at Valley Forge. Remember his starving soldiers, bleeding in the snow, so starved that they stole away from their camps during the night to steal food from the British garrison stationed near by, and upon their return with the food to feed their starving brothers our own soldiers charged them with desertion and some of them were court-martialed and shot for stealing food to save their brothers that were starving in Valley Forge. That is a matter of American history.

The Continental Congress was in session at the time, and when Washington appealed to the Quartermaster Department for assistance

to feed those starving soldiers, it took time because of lack of proper communication. There were men in that Continental Congress who voted to deny George Washington's soldiers the necessities that they required in order to carry on the fight for that liberty that we cherish so much because they were offered a peerage or a lordship in the government that they were struggling to free ourselves from.

The history of this labor movement from the beginning has been one of sacrifice. Those who have gone before us always taught us that we must have the courage of our convictions, particularly in our national Convention when the future of our organization was at stake, and when that day comes and we sit idly by at this Convention and we stultify our consciences because we do not have the moral courage to express our opinions, then that will be the political assassination of the minds and hearts of the men and women who make up the citizenry of this country.

We here talk about communism, fascism and all these other "isms." I want to ask a question in order to drive home a point in your hearts and minds. How many of you, if you had a large family and a boy or a girl went haywire, would stop from spending every dollar you had in the bank? I have known people who mortgaged their homes to try to save a wayward son because they were members of their families. The Teamsters are a member of our family and they are not wayward sons. The only thing we do by the adoption of this report is to deprive the rank and file of the membership of the Teamsters Union of any possible effort to straighten out the unfortunate situation which confronts them today.

The United Garment Workers does not condone racketeering, communism, gangsters or any other type of immorality in the labor movement. In our years of existence we have had to fight all types of subversion, racketeering and every other conceivable subversive activity, and we are still here today, one of the small organizations but one with a character that will go on and on and live forever because our organization is built on an indestructible basis.

I warn you, you cannot make men or women good by legislation. The prohibition law is a good example. We had to repeal that law. It was one of the most disgraceful actions of legislation ever put on the statute books of this nation. We had to repeal that law because there was no sense to it. We couldn't correct drunkenness and all forms of sin that went with that type of living. So we repealed the law.

Well, let's come up to date. We had the Wagner Act. There are a lot of organizations in this Convention today that were built up by the Wagner Act. It was favorable to us. Now we have the Taft-Hartley Act, legislation which is unfavorable to us, and which would destroy the American labor movement. Legislation?—I cannot take it any longer. I could tell you in a few atomic expressions. I cannot understand the present thinking of the labor movement today, the leadership.

Is it all right for President Eisenhower to appoint the president of this body to the United Nations, where he has to sit with the same people that were condemned yesterday, the biggest thieves, the biggest murderers, the most disgraceful government on the face of this earth?

The United Nations said, when they were asked "Why don't you throw Russia out?" "It is better to keep Russia in the United Nations, even though we know they are known murderers, thieves, and every conceivable thing that the human mind could call them." Yet the United Nations sit side by side with those thieves and murderers every day and do not take the position of expelling them.

Well, maybe here we have got more brains than all of the United Nations combined, but I tell you delegates, for the first time in history some of you are here under intimidation. What do we care for the McClellan Committee? The Internal Revenue Service has been in our national office, has examined all of our books, has examined the records of every one of our organizers. What the hell do we care? We are complying with the law.

If there are those here who think that if you get up here and express your opinions you will be subject to being called before the McClellan Committee because you have the guts to express opposition, not to the morality of the Teamsters but to the precedent that is now being set by this Convention, which will take away the autonomous rights of every International Union—we cannot afford to accept the report of this Appeals Committee, which we followed very closely. They have not given us one justifiable reason not to give the Teamsters more time.

I sat in the office of a Governor of a State when somebody called up and asked for commutation of a sentence to be hung. The Governor was silent for more than a moment and he looked at me and said, "I'm going to grant that commutation, because there might be a possibility of some degree of innocence to a man who is taken out to be hung."

Well, I know we are all suspicious and I think out of all seriousness I might tell you another experience that happened on the Welfare Fund of which I was one of the directors in my state, representing the labor movement.

There was an old fellow who came before the Committee. We had a very fine gentleman who was Chairman, and this fellow had eleven children. The Chairman said to this fellow, "Jasper, you have got eleven children and you are on relief. If your wife ever has another child you ought to go out to the apple tree and hang yourself."

Lo and behold, after a certain period of time passed by there was another child in Jasper's family, and when he came before the Committee for more money for that child the Judge reminded him of his promise. He said, "Jasper, you said that if you had another child you would go out and hang yourself."

"Judge," he said, "I was going to carry out your order and here is what I did. I got a rope and went out into the orchard, I put it around my neck and threw it over the limb of the apple tree, and I looked up into heaven and there came a voice, 'Jasper, be careful, be careful.' Anyway," he said, "I was going to go through it. I pulled on the rope and then a louder voice came out of the sky and said, 'Jasper, Jasper, don't do it. You might be hanging an innocent man.'"

I tell you that you might be making the biggest mistake in the worst interests of the people of this nation. Let's protect ourselves against the McClellan Committee.

Look at the Massachusetts Congressman who was indicted and served a term in a federal prison for evasion of income tax and went back into his legislative district and was reelected to office in a Congressional district in the State of Massachusetts. All we are here to do is to give a criminal who has served his term a chance to rehabilitate himself. And under God, God in all His mercy, I hope He looks down upon this Convention because He had three crooks among the Twelve Apostles and He didn't throw them out. He wants you all to come back and He gives you all the opportunity possible to make that decision in your own minds and in your hearts. Clean your hearts yourselves. You cannot be made clean by legislation.

We are against this report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Delegate Carlough of the Sheet Metal Workers.

DELEGATE EDWARD CARLOUGH, Sheet Metal Workers: I am speaking with the approval of General President Byron and my full Executive Board.

At the outset let me say that we don't believe in corruption, and the proof of that is that in 1954 General President Byron preferred charges against organizers, business managers and business agents out on the West Coast, and they were expelled from our organization. Since that time we have spent over a million dollars in litigation in our courts by these four people, and the case is not over yet. So therefore we are not in favor of corruption.

I heard the Chairman and the Secretary of this Committee and pretty nearly everybody else say that they are in favor of 1,400,000 Teamsters. Then I say to myself, speaking for our Committee, if that is so why do we disaffiliate them from this body?

I heard Beck's name mentioned and Hoffa's. Well, Beck, as far as I know, resigned, so it looks like it is just Mr. Hoffa. But I would like to know what we can do to help this situation.

I came out of a convention a few days ago of the Building and Construction Trades. I heard some of our leaders speak. They were speaking about jurisdiction and here are the words they said: "Sometimes it takes 20, 30, 40 years to straighten something out. We should stay at it and have patience."

I don't want to be one, and I hope this body is not one, like the quack doctor who, when the boy had blood poison in his finger said to him, "Let's cut the arm off." That is exactly what we are doing here.

If it is true that there are racketeers, as they say—which I don't know—in the Teamsters organization, and we are going to expel them from this body, what is going to happen to that organization then? Will they be taken completely over?

So I say we should have a little restraint and patience here today. We were supposed to be made up of all members to organize, not disaffiliate people from our body. So I hope—and I know how we will vote—I hope you will be a little patient and show a little restraint toward the members of the Teamsters, whom you say you love.

Actions speak louder than words. Let's do it that way and give them a chance.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Brother Randolph of the Typographical Union.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Typographical Union: Mr. President, I shall endeavor to keep my remarks on the subject and as brief as possible; and I hope that no one will assume that in any degree do I question the good faith of the Executive Council or the Ethical Practices Committee. I am satisfied that all of these gentlemen have labored hard and long and that they have recommended to this Convention the thing that they believe is the proper course to pursue.

I think those who have read the Constitution of the AFL-CIO since the merger and have studied it as I have will agree that the labor movement as such is now centered in the minds of 30 men on the Executive Council. They will have to come to the conclusion that only at two-year intervals is there an opportunity for the labor movement as a whole to either change its course or veto anything they may have done.

I can agree with one of the remarks of Chairman Rose, that today we will be taking an action of the utmost importance that will affect the Federation and all of its affiliates for many years to come, most certainly for the two years ahead.

We of the International Typographical Union sensed something wrong with that Constitution when it was proposed for adoption. We proposed specific amendments to it which would eliminate any question of doubt as to the authority that the Executive Council might have over national and international unions. Those amendments were referred to the Executive Council for study and report at this Convention, based on their experience of the two years. The Executive Council's report does not mention those amendments. It was Proposition No. 47.

I call to your attention the fact that the amendments were very definitely and very positively in support of the idea of the Executive Council expelling any union for communist or criminal activity. I point that out to you to eliminate at the outset any charge or thought whatsoever that we in the ITU have any sympathy with either communist or criminal activities.

Proposition No. 47 was most explicit in giving summary powers to the Executive Council to take such action, and did reserve, of course, the right of appeal to the next Convention. We will perhaps be asked in the term of this debate, "What did you propose that was better?" I say now without further amplification that we did propose Proposition No. 47 which later, if we are challenged, I will be glad to prove to you was a better course than the one that is proposed here today.

I say that at the outset and emphasize it. We did point out that on matters of importance to international unions, principally jurisdiction and control over the internal affairs of international unions, we did attempt to clarify and make absolutely certain that the Council would not have such powers, reserving, if you please, again the authority to actually summarily throw unions out for communist or criminal activity.

Now, what do we find? We find now that we are asked to follow a course that inevitably will lead us to complete dictatorship of 30 men. I will attempt to prove that.

When I speak, I am not speaking as one of late membership in the labor movement. I only point out that I have over 45 years of membership as a journeyman in the International Typographical Union. I have over 30 years as an official and over 29 of those years as either Secretary-Treasurer or President of the ITU. I have attended these conventions for some 30 years.

No one needs to kid me about how the AFL has worked and does work. I know. I do not intend to misrepresent in the least. But if the oratory gets into that free-swinging style to which some are accustomed on some issues, I can say the Typographical delegation here is anxious to get in on the free-swinging oratory that has to do with things which are not so essential.

Now that I have made it clear how we stand on criminal and communist activity, let's look at what we are asked here to do. Unfortunately, we come before this Convention on the most important principle of our operation by way of an appeal from a union. I would far rather have debated it on some other approach, but it is inevitable that we have to debate it on this appeal.

Very well, we have to take, then, the recommendations of the Appeals Committee.

No. 1 is, "The appeal of the Teamsters Union from the resolution adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on October 24, 1957, with respect to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America be rejected."

That involves, of course, all of that decision of the Executive Council of October 24th.

The next one is, "That the Convention affirm the findings of the Executive Council resolution of September 25, 1957, that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has been and continues to be dominated or substantially influenced by corrupt influences."

I am quite sure that the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee and the Executive Council are made in good faith and that they encompass all of the criminal influences they were able to isolate and talk about. I assume that I am correct in saying that there were perhaps no more than half a dozen, but at the outside a dozen of the officials of the Teamsters Union that they might say were engaged in questionable practices or criminal practices. But could they say that this half dozen or so were dominating the Teamsters Union.

When the matter of the report of the Council came before the Teamsters Convention, as I recall the published reports, one-third of those were against those officials who had been designated as criminal. So, out of 1,000 delegates, 300, we'll say, were for cleaning up and the other two-thirds were not. But again, was the crucial one-third criminal because they went with another third that you might say were dominated? I don't think you can say that. I don't think you can say that, short of a good majority of those people who were in official capacities throughout that Union, unless they were proved to be criminal, that you could say that the Union was dominated by those criminals.

There is one thing that stands out in this which may be referred to as throwing out the baby with the wash. If you put the wash in the washing machine and you throw the baby in with it, you have no more baby.

The second request of the Committee is one that we in this Convention are rather incompetent, on the basis of what has been submitted to us and the haste with which it was submitted, to study and form a judgment on that particular issue.

If you want to be passing on whether or not half a dozen men were crooked, I think we could say, on the basis of this report, they were crooked. But did they dominate that Union of 1,400,000 men? That is questionable.

Now, No. 3 is the one to which I want to address my most earnest consideration and ask that you do likewise. That one is, "That the Convention affirm the October 24, 1957, decision of the Executive Council to suspend the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers and that the Convention expel the International Brotherhood of Teamsters from the AFL-CIO."

Now, what is our objection to that? We look at it as a matter of law as adopted at the last Convention, the Constitution, on the one hand, and legislation by the Executive Council on the other.

I point out that the last Convention had absolutely no intention of establishing a code of ethics. Nothing is indicated to that effect. There is a general statement of the obligation on the part of international unions to keep themselves clean. There is a general statement, and on that general statement the Executive Council have had authority to investigate the situation and say "You don't belong in our outfit; get out." They had that right.

But what did they do? They not only decided to consider such a question but they decided to consider it in a very devious way, and that devious way puts us on the spot here in this Convention today. They got the Ethical Practices Committee working and they said, "Now, you make up a code of ethics here that we ought to follow." So they made up one code.

Then they made up another code. That wasn't enough so they made up Codes 3, 4 and 5. That wasn't enough so they made up Code No. 6.

All of these codes have been used and promulgated and enforced by way of directives and orders from the Executive Council. There is nothing in the book of laws, the Constitution, that authorizes those people to do that. They do it by way of implementing the general authority that is found in the Constitution.

Now let's look at the question of law versus Executive Council law. The Executive Council ordered the Committee to do certain things and follow certain procedures and it said on page 4 of the December 5, 1957 book given to us here called "Supplemental Report of AFL-CIO Executive Council on Ethical Practices," in the last paragraph, Section 3.

"The Committee is directed to develop a set of principles and guides for adoption by the AFL-CIO in order to implement the constitutional determination that the AFL-CIO shall be and remain free from all corrupt influences. Upon the development of such recommended guides

and principles, they shall be submitted by the Committee to the Executive Council for appropriate action."

They did, and the Executive Council did, and they proceeded to do as they damn well pleased in every respect concerning the internal affairs of a number of international unions.

Here is the general power in the Constitution, and this is on page 3 preceding it. It says:

"The First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO calls upon all its affiliated national and international unions to take whatever steps are necessary within their own organization to effect the policies and ethical standards set forth in the Constitution of the AFL-CIO. When constitutional amendments or changes in internal administrative procedures are necessary for the affiliated organizations to carry out the responsibilities incumbent upon autonomous organizations, such amendments and changes should be undertaken at the earliest practicable time."

"Section 2: 'The First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO pledges its full support, good offices and staff facilities of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee to all national and international unions in their efforts to carry out and put into practice the constitutional mandate to keep our organization 'free from any taint or corruption or communism'."

That is the substantive law that was adopted, and it refers specifically to obligations of national and international unions and a specific internal way of accomplishing any reform they need to have made. I challenge anybody to show where that constitution provides that an Ethical Practices Committee may make up a decision or a code on procedure, a code on everything under the sun, in order that they can have their particular way in assuming complete control over International Unions.

Their own description of what the codes are is found in the report of the Executive Council. No. 1 is adopted on page 57. It says:

"At the August 27, 1956 Executive Council meeting the Ethical Practices Committee also reported to the Council its initial recommendations with respect to a set of guides and principles to implement the constitutional determination of the AFL-CIO to be free from all corrupt influences."

This first recommendation covered the question as to the proper procedures and limitations which should exist with respect to the issuance of local union charters. The Council accepted the recommendations of the Committee, and on August 29, 1956—that was two days later—"promulgated the Committee on Ethical Practices with the authority to make"—there are some typographical errors there. There is a line out or something. Anyway, the general idea was that they made a code on procedures.

Then Code No. 2 is found on page 77. It is a very long code but it has to do with health and welfare funds, how you are going to have to take care of those, and that is none of their business. That is still your business as an International Union. Then they adopt Codes Nos. 3, 4 and 5, with one paragraph found on page 62. Here is Ethical Practices Code No. 2: "Dealing with appropriate standards to be used

in the administration of health and welfare funds"; Ethical Practices Code No. 3, dealing with racketeers, crooks, communists, and fascists in the trade union movement; and Ethical Practices Code No. 4, dealing with the investments and business interests of union officials.

Then they have No. 6. You will find that on page 63. They describe that as "At the same meeting on May 19, 1957, the Council approved two additional ethical practices codes. These were Ethical Practices Code 5, dealing with financial practices and proprietary activities of unions and setting forth certain minimum accounting or financial controls which had been drafted by a special committee of International Union Secretary-Treasurers and Ethical Practices Code No. 6, dealing with democratic practices.

Now, I call to your attention that the scope of these codes is not only wide; I say it is complete in its attempt to control the internal affairs of the International Unions and National Unions. It is a complete reversal of the basic and fundamental right of International Unions to control their own internal affairs as is indicated in the law which they sought to implement, and instead of implementing it they reversed it entirely and undertook to set up a dictatorship of 30 men over the American labor movement that you will never get out of if you adopt it here today.

Now, what else could the Executive Council do to implement the constitution rather than to do what they did through this code, through this adoption of council-made laws? They could have done plenty; they could have done plenty without doing violence to the constitutional provisions that I just read to you. If they were so satisfied that the Teamsters Union was not fit to be with us they could have expelled the Teamsters Union and have done it right away, without supplying headlines day after day, week after week, month after month to the anti-labor press of this country to besmirch the labor movement.

I want to point out to you that in the way in which this was developed and it was right along in the alley of the McClellan Committee. First you bounce from the AFL over to the McClellan Committee, and you keep bouncing back and forth, and just as long as a news hound can get a quotation from anybody anywhere near the top of a union, or anybody in the Senate, it is always news. They have to keep that pot boiling. So here the Council and the Ethical Practices Committee played right down the alley with them, and they kept the labor movement besmirched, not only by the Committee but by their own activity in bringing out all of this stuff about the Teamsters and these other unions, making public property of it and having the food for anti-labor unionism constantly being boiled in the pot of publicity.

I call your attention to the fact that not so long ago—maybe 15 years ago—these same newspapers used the jurisdictional disputes of the building trades as horrible examples for their propaganda to get the Taft-Hartley law adopted. Right now they are using this expulsion proposition and this crookedness proposition to make more drastic laws.

Now, there is a basic fallacy in that. There is a basic fallacy in our paying any attention to them, and this is it: I don't care how tight you want to make a code of ethics; you can tighten it up every day as tight as you can tighten it, and when you get all through I

will guarantee my life that the ITU can pass every test that you can put into an Ethical Codes Committee. That is point No. 1.

Point No. 2 is that since 1947, when the Taft-Hartley law was adopted, the International Typographical Union has been compelled to spend over thirty million dollars in an attempt to survive and protect our contract and our working conditions that we have established in 105 years of international unionism. If that is a fact—and it is—how good do you have to be to have the publicity pay any attention to you? How good do you have to be to get any laws adopted by Congress in order to eliminate the impact of the Taft-Hartley law on such a good union?

That's all so much bunk. The only purpose of the McClellan Committee is to create an atmosphere through which they can adopt a lot more repressive legislation. I do not consider that Committee honest in its intentions, even. Just so long as they can keep digging up, as they are now doing, things that are going on in the labor movement, they will keep on digging them up. The way they present them and the slant they put to them, and the way that it is published in the newspapers throughout the country is bound to react against us.

Now, I don't believe in panicking because of the McClellan Committee, or a dozen of them. We don't owe them anything and they are not going to give us anything.

What we need is labor union consciousness of the old school—and am I still of the old school. We need consciousness of a labor group that will say, "Maybe we have got some crooks on our side. We know there are some on your side. We know that the employers of this nation are only emerged from the feudal system. We know that all we can get out of them is not by begging or by legislation, but by economic strength."

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Randolph, I will plead with you, in deference to all the other delegates, to try to stay on the question. You have talked exactly 30 minutes, and I think you have spent a great deal of the time talking about the Typographical Union and your opposition to things. I would like you to stay on the question so that some other delegates will have a chance to talk.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH: Thank you, Mr. President. I set out to do that. I have but one more point to make.

I want to point out that the attempt to handle this matter in the way that it has been handled is an attempt to reform from the top down. I want to point out that the law that I read to you, the law that was adopted two years ago, put the duty on international unions to do it, but that now the code and the way of its operation is putting it on the officers of the Teamsters Union, and the decision of the Council exactly says that much. It puts it on the leadership of that Union to reform that condition.

Now, I point out that some years ago a different policy was followed. The Longshoremens were thrown out and the Federation sought to reform that organization from the bottom up by organizing the men working on the wharves, the men doing the work. They went in there to get a better union because it was corrupt and because it was supported by the employers; and, of course, by a narrow margin, the AFL lost in that fashion.

The point is this, that any reformation that can last at all in any circumstances where reformation is needed, that reformation will have to be from the bottom and not from a mandate at the top that will skim off a few crooks, allowing opportunity for more crooks to grow up underneath it. Unless you do that, unless you go from the bottom then you have to divide up the thirty men, and they can't possibly take care of it, where each one will be supervising a lot of unions to try to get them to live up to an ethical practices code that you never adopted.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Vice President English.

VICE PRESIDENT ENGLISH: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I want to say here that you have heard a lot about the Teamsters movement. Let me tell you something, that we have been in the AFL for over 50 years. I have been 53 years connected with the Teamsters movement, and 46 years of the 53 I have represented the Teamsters movement.

Regardless of what you or anybody says, deep down in your hearts you know there is not a union connected here that is better than the Teamsters Union. For 50 years every time you came to us we helped you. There aren't five organizations connected here that we didn't help at one time or another. There are International Unions sitting in here that owe the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. When you were on strike and when you couldn't get it from anybody else, when you knocked at the Teamsters door they helped you.

How many times in your lives, if it hadn't been for the Teamsters Union, would you have lost the strikes and maybe you would not be here?

Do you know that on two different occasions when the American Federation of Labor was down and out, when John L. Lewis and the CIO walked out of here, it was Bill Hutcheson and Dan Tobin that came to your rescue?

If it wasn't for the tax that they paid for the past 50 years, the AFL never would exist.

We have 1,400,000 people in our Union, and every one of them is a union man, and you know it. You travel all over the country and you see them. Why should you condemn our Union for two or three fellows who have gone wrong? Aren't we entitled to that? How many of your International Unions can even live up to the Teamsters? We are on the chopping block now, but who is going to follow us? When you do, be judged by what you do here today and don't come weeping on our shoulders. We'll be able to take it. I wonder, will you be able to take it the way we are going to take it?

We have a case in Court this week. Dave Beck is on trial in Seattle. That means nothing to me. Jimmy Hoffa is on trial in New York. That's their business. That has nothing to do with me or our International Union. We are on trial in Washington today over our election, and it was the best election we ever had in 50 years.

Are you going to expel us today while our case is on in Washington? Do we deserve that from you after 50 years?

We have done everything that is possible, but some people don't like us because we are a big organization and they are afraid we are going to be overpowerful. But while we were building up our organization did we cast you aside? No. We took you along with us. We have helped you. We want to help you, but some people don't like us.

We can't help if if our organization elects the men to serve them. What right has anybody got to say that we can't do it? They are paying the men. We are paying you now, and a lot of you delegates don't know it, \$750,000 a year, and we haven't asked you for that much. Never have we asked you for an organizer to help us. We fought our own fights.

My friends, think it over. Do they stop to tell you how many men are going to be laid off? Do they tell you that probably 100 organizers will go? Are they considering the Central Labor Unions and the State Federations of Labor? No. They want to be all-powerful. How quick they turn the collar. There aren't five international unions here that can stand the acid test. You sit here and you see us get whaled. Well, your turn is next, my boys, as I said before.

It's all right. There are some men sitting up on that platform there, and if it hadn't been for Dan Tobin they wouldn't be there. There are men sitting up that platform that if it hadn't been for our International Union you wouldn't have any union. Then you sit up there and you are ready to vote against us.

Don't forget, Mr. Meany, you never had a better friend than Dan Tobin and you never had a better friend than the Teamsters. I have been with you all my life, Gompers, Green and you. The Teamsters stood by you. What are you going to do for us?

We are not asking you for any sympathy. Thank God, we have one million five hundred thousand men, and let me tell you, and let me tell you the truth, we had 30,000 new initiations last month—and that was a short month.

We have \$40 million, and I wish to God we didn't have it, because when we only had \$1.50 we never had any trouble. But the minute we get a dollar in the treasury all these lawyers are taking it. How in the hell did we run our organization when there weren't any attorneys? There's seven or ten of them now robbing us, a hundred bucks a day, and they can't agree among themselves. How in the hell can we win these cases?

I have served about every position in the International Union. I have been a business agent and I have been an organizer and I have been an auditor for ten years, and in ten years I never had anybody arrested. When I found somebody was wrong I kicked them out of the organization. I didn't even write in to Tobin. And they could do it right here.

We ask for one year. After giving you 50 years, giving you all our time and our money we ask for one year to clean up our house. Beck is gone, Brewster is gone and Brennan is gone. There is only one man—Jimmy Hoffa. And Jimmy Hoffa has done more for our International Union than anybody connected with it, including myself. How in the hell can we kick him out? Does he deserve that? He is fighting to get clear himself, and if he can't get cleared then that is up to us. It has dwindled down to one man.

My God, my friends, they say in unity there is strength. We joined this organization and we stayed with you all the way through. When others left you you could depend on the Teamsters. Did we ever say no?

My friends, the penalty is too severe, it is too severe. For one or two little wrongdoings we are to be expelled. Expulsion—that's all we talk about. How many of you have been business agents? How many men have you forced the employer to take back when in your heart you knew they were wrong? I was a business agent for 25 years.

Oh, it makes my blood run cold. I am coming near the end of my days. I never thought I would live to see this. We built this organization up for you, and we were the ones that laid the foundation. We tried to build a good house, and we did it, and for all the good we have done you are going to tell us today "We are going to expel you." And they're going to have it in the Federal Court before the day is out, probably, in Washington and we are on trial.

When you asked us, we answered the call. We want no sympathy from you; we want no money. Thank God for that. Years ago we were trying to rob Peter to pay Paul and do everything to keep the organizations going.

So I say to you, my friends, the Teamsters Union will get along. We won't forget our friends. Teamsters never forget their friends. As far as our enemies are concerned, they can all go straight to hell.

We are asking for nothing but a square deal. I want you, if you will, to take a look at the representatives of the Teamsters Union over there in that corner. If you have an International Union that can produce any better than them, then I will shut my mouth.

What do you expect of us? Is it because we are in a little trouble that you are going to crucify us? Who are you crucifying? I will be General Secretary-Treasurer, no matter who is General President, and I will be there protecting our organization. I am not interested in the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO; I am interested in the Teamsters Union. I am a Teamster. I am afraid I might talk the Teamsters language when I look at all those birds up there. They have all got their minds made up to give us a hosing. Well, let me tell you, you will weep before we will. You can take it any way you want to.

I want to tell you, my friends, I am depending upon you. I have represented my organization for 46 years and I love them. You know a lot of them. You can throw us out today but, brothers, the boys on the platform are waiting to give it to some more of you, and they can take that the way they want to.

I want to tell you, you use your own minds. Don't let anybody snap the whip and fall in line. That is what a lot of them are doing. But John F. English won't listen when you snap the whip, whether it is the AFL or my own International Union.

So I plead with you, if we as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, regardless of the officers here, have done something for you, we just want you to return it today; nothing else. If Dan Tobin and big Bill Hutcheson were alive today, this thing would not have happened.

Don't let them tell you about the Teamsters Union. We are loved by all. You fellows in here love us and you know they are giving us a bum deal. Are you going to stand for it? Those of you who help us, I promise you in the name of the International Union, we will never forget you and we are not going to wrong the membership of your unions because your International Presidents vote wrong.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is it the desire of the Convention to recess and continue this debate this afternoon, or do you want to go ahead?

The Chair recognizes the delegate at Mike No. 2.

DELEGATE GORMAN, Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen: Mr. Chairman and delegates, for the first time since 1917 the delegation representing the Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen find it impossible to vote with the recommendations of the Executive Council. I shall be brief in my statement, but I think the reasons why we take such action should be known.

We have not been very close to the top officers of the Teamsters Union, but for the past four years we have worked with the Teamsters organization and I can say that of those we have worked with, I have never met finer trade unionists in all my life. As a result of the cooperation that the Teamsters gave our organization, if you examine the voting strength of our International Union you will find that today we are casting approximately 20,000 votes more than we did at the last Convention. That would have been impossible without the support of the Teamsters Union.

There is a rather unique turn in this matter that affects me personally. I don't know why, some five or six weeks ago, I was requested to make an effort to adjust this matter so that at this Convention the Teamsters might not be expelled. I want to say to the delegates in all sincerity that I worked day and night on that project, and let me say in all sincerity, while you can't betray a confidence, that I think I had the united, wholehearted support of President Meany. I talked to him on two or three occasions about the possibility of settling this matter without taking this drastic action. He was most cooperative.

I remember on one occasion when he was in session at the United Nations when I just had to talk to him. I thought I had a settlement. I recall that President Meany left the United Nations to discuss the matter with me by telephone, so I cannot believe that President Meany does not have the Teamsters Union at heart as much as I do.

As late as last night, in a sort of last, desperate effort to do something, I was fortunate in getting in touch with Jim Hoffa. I want the delegates to know that I have never been close to Jim. I don't believe I have met him more than a dozen times in all my life. He said to me that he did not want to hurt his own International Union, that he did not want to do any damage to the AFL-CIO. I asked him, therefore, "Why don't you come to Atlantic City? Why don't you talk to President Meany about this matter on some of the things that we discussed?" He said that he couldn't get away from his court's jurisdiction, but that if he could come down on Saturday or Sunday he would meet and talk with President Meany.

Because of reasons, perhaps, that I am not too well aware of, that meeting in all probability cannot materialize now because of the action that is being taken or that will be taken by the Convention. So at about 1 A.M. this morning I recognized that the clock had stopped, that time had run out on me. Perhaps one of the nicest things that could have happened in all my life would be to have been able to contribute something toward keeping this fine organization a part of the trade union movement.

That is all I desire to say, Mr. Chairman, but because the time has not been extended, our delegation sincerely feels that it should have been extended, and for that reason we cannot consistently vote with the Executive Council.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there any further discussion?

DELEGATE GEORGE LYNCH, Pattern Makers: Mr. Chairman and members of the Executive Council, I rise not to indulge in any ad hominem arguments. I know little or less about the affairs of the Teamsters Union, and because of my activities in connection with this matter in the past, I must by way of presenting my credentials make certain things clear.

I have never at any time or in any place talked with a member of the Teamsters Union that is here recommended for expulsion. I am going to object to the recommendation of this Committee, on the grounds that in some respects it is highly ludicrous and certainly in other respects it is going to be without any constructive purpose to the trade union movement. I have heard the recommendation of the Committee for expulsion, and also I happened to be present to listen to what the President recommends he is going to do for the trade union movement if we are good and pure and throw the Teamsters out. Frankly, I don't like what is going to happen to us on the promise of the Secretary of Labor, so to appease him or John McClellan is just wasting your efforts.

I, like the President of this organization, come from New York. We have developed some pretty astute politicians in the State of New York, and one of them, Thaddeus Sweet, once said, "Never give a sucker a break." And let me say that that committee does not intend to give the Council a break for that reason.

Also, Mr. Chairman, I want to remind you that the hands of the clock turn, and they have made a full revolution in the matter of the Teamsters. Isn't it ironic that the Teamsters Union, made up of exactly the same people that make it up today, with the absence of those who have suffered from acts of God, were the self-same Teamsters that were in Seattle in 1941 and the now President of the American Federation of Labor was then the Secretary of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

On an early Saturday morning a motion was made to summarily expel the Brewery Workers, who were then in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The matter of corruption wasn't involved. I heard no one bring charges against the Brewers for corruption. I objected to that expulsion, as you know, Mr. Chairman, on the ground that it was dictatorial and unparliamentary, and I voted against expelling the Brewers.

I must have been right, and I must have been prophetic, because these same Brewers are now members of the Executive Council, and the Teamsters are now in the dog house.

If the Council and a convention could have been so wrong in 1941, there is an outside chance that they might be wrong again.

But my principal purpose here is to say that I am not taking issue here on the merits or demerits of the Teamsters question alone. I am taking issue here with the whole attitude of the Council; and it is my humble and honest opinion that since this merger was consummated we have taken, not creeping steps towards fascism, but we are taking gigantic strides toward resting distatorial power in the hands of 28 men.

Now, my friends, in all fairness—and I have listened to this—in all fairness, one of the propositions laid down by the distinguished Committee on Ethical Practices is that the Teamsters have failed to vote by secret ballot in the choice of their officers.

I have been a member of the trade union movement for 50 years. I have been an officer of it for 40 years, and if this Convention ever elected those boys by secret ballot it will be the first time since 1887.

We object to some of the practices of communism, among which is at least one that they only have one ballot and they only have one choice. We are really outdoing the communists. We don't bother about ballots or we don't give anybody a choice. We're doing well in America along the lines of usurpation of power.

So, I want to reiterate again that I am taking this position without any reference to what the Teamsters have done for the Pattern Makers League. They have done nothing. We never asked them to, and consequently they were not called upon for assistance. But I feel confident that if they had been they would have given us the same treatment that they gave everyone else.

All that I say here is, if we are going to clean up the American labor movement, let's wait until we get them all under consideration. I have been around here 50 years and I might have a little information on that subject. Let me assure you that when you throw out the Teamsters you haven't thrown them all out. There are some more, I assume.

But, at any rate, my objection here, sir, is not that you are proposing to throw the Teamsters out. It is that you are throwing them out under a set of standards which you consistently refuse to apply to yourselves.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is the Convention ready to vote?

. . . The question was called for.

PRESIDENT MEANY: All right, I assume that we will proceed to take the roll call. However, I would like to ask you to indulge me just for a very few short minutes.

I happen to be one person here who feels that the Teamsters Union needs help; that the rank and file and the officers of that Union need help.

Now, there has been a good deal of discussion about this procedure. Well, the procedure we are operating on was adopted unanimously in a convention two years ago. So, when you attack the procedure and the Constitution, you are attacking that which you yourselves adopted two years ago.

I perhaps look at the Constitution differently than the delegate who votes for it and then walks away. I feel that I have an obligation to live up to it, and that is what I am trying to do.

So, all this argument about the procedure being wrong has no effect on this particular matter we have before us, because it is the procedure you adopted.

Now, as to the question of 27 or 30 men dictating and only coming to a convention every two years, well, I don't know, maybe we can rectify that some way, but I do submit that all of these organization are run by officers elected at conventions. I have never yet seen a Constitution of an international trade union that didn't give power to the Executive Council and to the officers between conventions, including the Teamsters' constitution, including all of the constitutions.

Perhaps there might be some way that we could have a democracy in this country—and God knows I would like to see someone devise that way—without the inconvenience and the embarrassment of having Senators and Congressmen. Maybe there is some way we could get around that. But, unfortunately, we are stuck with the imperfect structure of democracy. So, we have a convention, we elect officers and Executive Councils, and then they are dictators for two years. Well, if that's so, then we have a good many dictatorships right in here. Everybody is more or less in the same boat.

I don't want to try to answer all of these things, and I am not going to. I just want to answer one of the recent statements of Brother Lynch. He said that the Ethical Practices Committee condemned the Teamsters for not voting by secret ballot. I never heard that, and as far as I know it is not in the record. I don't know how that charge came about.

Now I am not going to rehash this case. I get no pleasure out of spreading these things on the record, but I just want to make one or two points.

As to Brother Gorman, he said that he got in touch with me. That's true. I cooperated. I stood on my head, did everything possible under the sun, and made it quite clear, called up people who were hearing rumors that I was too big, I refused to meet this man Hoffa. I made it clear that I would meet him at anytime.

However, the first proposal that came was that the meeting had to be a secret meeting. It had to be so secret that he could walk away and say that he never met me and that I could walk away and say I never met him. Well, I refused to accept that sort of an arrangement. I have documentary evidence in my pocket over Brother Gorman's signature that that was the proposal and, of course, I am sure that he won't deny it.

Gorman said at this time, "I don't blame you. Let's forget it. I tried to do what I could and we didn't succeed."

Four days later the proposal came back again—again from Brother Gorman on the 12th of November: will you meet him in New York or Washington? It doesn't have to be a secret meeting. He just requests that you do not notify the press.

I said, "Well, that's very easy. I am not in the habit of notifying the press who I am going to meet or where I am going, and the press is not in the habit of asking me where I am going each day and who I am going to meet."

So I got a telegram from Gorman. Everything was set. I confirmed it over the phone and requested a confirmation from Brother Hoffa. The confirmation never came. It never came. The meeting was set for 11:00 o'clock, November 19, in the office of the AFL-CIO Regional office in New York. He never came.

Last evening, yesterday, Pat came again. Well, Hoffa wanted to get down. He couldn't leave New York because his lawyer advised him against it. That was at 5:30.

At 9:30 last night he couldn't come because the judge forbid it.

Well, early in the week some other good friends came with direct messages from Brother Hoffa. He was going to fly here Tuesday night. Wednesday morning they came and said, well, he couldn't charter an airplane. Something went wrong with chartering an airplane. He couldn't get down. So then it was arranged he was to come Wednesday night by car. Well, then he couldn't do that. Something else happened.

All of this went on and on, and each time when the arrangements were made to meet he didn't meet.

At 20 minutes to 11:00 last night the Teamsters were in a session. They called me and they said that they had him on the phone and that a car was ready and that he would get down, he would get down as soon as he could, and he had to get back, of course.

Well, I just couldn't see at that time how I could wait up until 3:00 o'clock in the morning and be responsible for him coming down here on this errand, not knowing just what he had in mind except, as I say, through all this the indication was that he wanted to resign and get out of the way.

So, I said to this group, "Ask the Board of the Teamsters if they are in a meeting on this if they can't get a commitment from him and let them bring it to the convention."

This fellow said, "No. No, we can't try that, because he might repudiate us. We don't trust him."

Now, let me make this point. All during this business that has gone on for months the Teamsters, under control, of course, of these men, have made no move to investigate, to refer, to live up to their own Constitution in regard to these crimes against the trade union movement. No investigation. Their convention took this matter up not at all. Before the convention opened, they informed the press that they couldn't read the Ethical Practices Committee's report, they had no time for that, they had other business. That was the statement given by the outgoing President and the gentleman afterwards elected President. However, after two or three days they went through a performance and they read the Ethical Practices Report in an atmosphere of hilarity. They had quite a nice time doing it.

And then the minute the reading was finished, a motion was offered from the floor that it be expunged from the record, and it very promptly carried. This was one of these spontaneous motions that came right from the floor. Of course, it just happened to have eight wheres and was all typewritten and ready for the press.

Now, they didn't do anything; they didn't investigate anything.

Let me read just a portion of the Teamster Constitution. "When a member is convicted of a crime or serious wrongdoing"—this is just one section of a long group of sections on procedure dealing with wrongdoing—"a crime against a local union or against the community, which crime or act or serious wrongdoing tends to bring dishonor upon the local or the International Union, it shall be the duty of the local to proceed to revoke the membership of such member.

"Likewise, when a member is engaged in what is commonly termed racketeering, bringing dishonor"—he must get out, and so on.

"Under the circumstances referred to in the previous paragraph, the Secretary-Treasurer shall refuse to accept the dues from this member," and so on.

Then the next section: "In the event the local union fails to carry out the foregoing provision, the General President when the matter is brought to his attention shall have the power in his discretion to proceed to revoke or order the revocation of the membership of such men."

So it puts it up to the General President.

Now, I would like to submit just one single case. Actually, the convention in Miami put the seal of approval on all this sort of thing. But this is one case where a member, a high officer of the union, was convicted of a crime. It went to the courts, went all the way to the United States Supreme Court. The case lasted several years, and it was finally turned down by the United States Supreme Court. There has been no single action up to this moment by the Teamsters; and this man is still a Vice President of the Teamsters Union.

Now, what was the crime? Well, the crime was a crime that we despise in the trade union movement; it is something that we don't accept in our tradition—accepting a bribe for breaking a strike. That was the crime.

This is a sample of what we are up against. And I want to say to you here and now that I am for the Teamster and for the Teamster members. I am for getting the Teamster away from this corrupt control. And I say to you right here and now, I have the door open—it was open until 11 o'clock last night; it will be open after you finish voting. There is no attempt of any sort, and no plan at all for a war with the Teamsters; and we hope that it will never come. But we have got to give these members a chance. We have got to free them from this dictatorship.

So when you vote for this committee's report you are voting to free the Teamsters from the dictatorship of these men.

Thank you very much.

The Secretary will call the roll. You vote yes or no on adopting the committee's report.

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZLER: A sufficient number of roll calls have been distributed. Having the roll call in front of you, and in order to speed this up somewhat, it won't be necessary for me to read off the number of votes unless you specifically want it. You do have it in front of you. I will call the name of the organization and ask for your vote.

. . . At this time Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler called the roll.

**ROLL CALL ON
RECOMMENDATION OF APPEALS COMMITTEE—
(Expulsion of Teamsters)**

VOTING YES

International Unions

Actors—Duncan, Shanks, Conaway, Faine, Somerset.
Agricultural Workers—Mitchell, Jackson.
Air Line Pilots—Sayen, Tuxbury, Rohan, Leroux.
Aluminum Workers—Stahl, Cowley, Moffett, Horn.
Asbestos Workers—Sickles, Mulligan.
Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers—Reuther, Mazey, Gosser, Matthews, Woodcock, Greathouse, Merrelli, Morris, Burt, Cote, McAulay, Michael, Robinson, O'Malley, Ross, Ballard, Berndt, Johnston, Letner, Bioletti, Gerber, Kerrigan.
Barbers—Birthright, Crane, Husk, Robinson, Sanders, Weibel.
Bill Posters and Billers—Gilmour.
Boilermakers—Calvin, MacGowan, Buckley, Eberhardy, Kearney, Boggs, Nacey, Nolan.
Bookbinders—Haskin, Connolly, Williams, Denny.
Brewery Workers—Feller, Gildea, Rusch, Brady, Helm.
Bricklayers—Bates, Murphy, Conners, Murphy, O'Donnell, McHugh, Murray.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Lyons, Downes, Bauers, Boyen, McCarthy, Lyons, Hansen, McDonald.
Broadcast Workers—Smith.
Building Service Employees—McFetridge, Fairchild, Sullivan, Collins, Hardy, Burke, Shortman, Hearn, Levey.
Carmen, Railway—Bernhardt, O'Brien, Winters, Doll, Duffin, Zloty.
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers—Jones, Gallo, Roe, Thomas, Schoenberg.
Chemical Workers—Mitchell, Shafer, Boyle, Inge.
Cigarmakers—Azpeitia, Haines, Jones.
Clerks, Post Office—House, Hallbeck, Burleson, Klein, Latragna, Mitchell, Wall.
Clerks, Railway—Harrison, Gibbons, Goble, Kinley, Morgan, McGovern, Shaw, Sylvester, Leslie, Loehr.
Clerks, Retail—Suffridge, Housewright, Sackett, Shea, Meyers, Ammond, Crossler, Hansen, Plopper, McDavid.
Clothing Workers—Potofsky, Blumberg, Rosenblum, Bellanca, Block, Chatmam, Hollander, Monas, Salerno, Weinstein.
Communications Workers—Beirne, Crull, Hanscom, Massey, Hackney, Smallwood, Schaar, Gordon, McCowen, Walsh.
Doll and Toy Workers—Russo.

Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—Carey, Hartnett, Block, Riley, Suarez, Weibrauch, Hutchens, Snoots, Click, Palmer.

Electrical Workers—Freeman, Keenan, Riley, Dove, Duffy, Liggett, Loftis, Zicarelli, Farquhar, Pearson, Marciante.

Engineers, Operating—Maloney, Delaney, Converse, Stuhr, Paluska, Carman, Wharton, Bronson, Reardon, Sr.

Engineers, Technical—Stephens.

Engravers, Photo—Connell, Nyegaard, Seitz, Burke.

Fire Fighters—Redmond, Buck, Barry, McGuire.

Firemen and Oilers—Matz, Tormey, Kennedy, Fredenberger, Casselman.

Furniture Workers—Pizer, Fulford, Decicco, Stefan, McCormick.

Garment Workers, Ladies—Dubinsky, Antonini, Nagler, Zimmerman, Stulberg, Hochman, Rubin, Greenberg, Appleton, Cohen, Matheson.

Glass and Ceramic Workers — Reiser, McCracken, Beard, Rust, Martin.

Glass Bottle Blowers—Minton, Dalton, Black, Reed, Zimmerman, Alameida.

Glass Cutters, Window—McCabe.

Glass Workers, Flint—Scheff, Cook, Oliver, Ostendorf.

Government Employes—Campbell, Johnson, Kelly.

Hatters—Rose, Lewis, Deckler, Goldberg, Mendelowitz.

Horse Shoers—Miller.

Hosiery Workers—Janaskie, Banachowicz.

Industrial Workers, Allied—Griepentrog, Jewell, Backinger, La Page, Smigel.

Insurance Agents—Russ, Heisel, Shine.

Insurance Workers—Gillen, Higginson, McDermott.

Jewelry Workers—Morris, Gonzalez, Gammerino.

Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers—Zukowsky, Auterino, Wieselberg, Feinstein, Friss.

Leather Workers Union—Freeman, Duffy.

Letter Carriers—Doherty, Cahill, Esposito, Farrell, Griebing, Healy, Wimbish.

Lithographers—Canary, Liberatore, Slater, Stone, Swayduck.

Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen—Gilbert, Phillips, Scott, Lampley, Tudor.

Longshoremen—Long, Slaughter, Trainor.

Machinists—Hayes, Burrows, Carey, Snider, Peterson, Walker, Coonley, Melton, Brown, McGlon, Schollie, Siemiller, White, Gibson, McDonald, De More.

Maintenance of Way Employes—Carroll, Noakes, Wilson, Freccia, Padgett, Plondke, Lambert, Crotty.

Marine and Shipbuilding Workers—Grogan, Blood, Derwin, Pettis, Williams, Jr.

Marine Engineers Beneficial Association—Daggett, Altman, Calhoon.

Maritime Union—Curran, McDougall, Ramos, Nayer, Nesbitt.

Masters, Mates and Pilots—Atkins, Bishop, Weinstein.

Millers, Grain—Ming, Schneider.

Molders—Sample, Rath, Lazzerini, Voit, Reynolds, Sr., Smith.

Musicians—Petrillo, Charette, Sidell, Ringius, Field, Plummer, Davis.

Newspaper Guild—Farson, Perlik, Jr., Collis, Thompson.
 Oil and Chemical Workers—Knight, McCormick, Swisher, Schafer,
 Davidson, Phelps, Hanscom, Emrick.
 Packinghouse Workers — Helstein, Hathaway, Stephens, Lasley,
 Dowling, Hayes, Bull.
 Painters—Raftery, Rohrberg, Meehan, Owens, Skoglund, Baker,
 Yablonsky.
 Paper Makers and Paper Workers—Phillips, Sayre, Grasso, Addy,
 Noren, Scott, Daggett.
 Plasterers—Rooney, Leonard, Hauck, Tantillo, McDevitt, Boyle.
 Plumbers—Meany, Schoemann, McCartin, O'Neill, McLaughlin, De
 Nike, Humphrey, Mazzola, Poag.
 Porters, Sleeping Car—Randolph, Webster, Dellums.
 Postal Transport Association—Nagle, Legge.
 Potters—Wheatley, Dales, Bohannon, Null.
 Printing Pressmen—Dunwody, Gooze, Maxted, De Andrade, Turner,
 Torrence, Rohan.
 Pulp and Sulphite Workers—Burke, Tonelli, Barnes, Segal, Meinz,
 Stewart, Jackman, Wray.
 Radio Assoc.—Steinberg.
 Railway Employes, Street—Spradling, McNamara, McConnell, Bier-
 wagen, Gormley, Dyer, Mischo, Elliott.
 Railways Supervisors—Tahney.
 Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union — Greenberg, Heaps,
 Paley, Bail, Osman, Kovenetsky, Lowenthal.
 Roofers—Aquadro, Spinelli, Hurley, Zuberbier.
 Rubber, Cork, Linoleum, Plastic Workers — Buckmaster, Childs,
 Walker, Maile, Skiffington, Musselman, Gash, Brown.
 Seafarers—Hall, Weisberger, Gomez, Banks, Bennett, Turner.
 Shoe Workers, United—Pence, Wilson, De Novellis, McCarthy, Bieg-
 ler, Terry.
 Signalmen—Clark, Fields, Park, Wilson.
 Special Delivery Messengers—Warfel.
 Stage Employes—Walsh, Holmden, Green, McNabb, Finegan, Mun-
 govan.
 State, County and Municipal Employes—Zander, Chapman, Murray,
 McEntee, Morgan, Bailey, McCormick, Wurf.
 Steelworkers—McDonald, Abel, Hague, Germano, Medrick, Robb,
 Whitehouse, Sefton, Johns, Shane, Rusen, Crajciar, Smith, Maurice,
 Carcella, Newell, Kojetinsky, Ohler, Burns, Farr.
 Stereotypers and Electrotypers—Sampson, Feeney.
 Stone and Allied Workers—Scott, Lawson, Blaylock, Weyandt.
 Teachers—Megel, Borchardt, Fewkes, McGinnis, Jr., Roth.
 Telegraphers, Railroad—Leighty, Manion.
 Telegraphers, Commercial—Allen, Freeman, Hageman, Hemby.
 Textile Workers Union—Rieve, Chupka, Belanger, Pollock, Payton,
 Stetin, Daoust, Gordon, Canzano.
 Tobacco Workers—O'Hare, Petree, Blane.
 Train Dispatchers—Springer.
 Trainmen, Railroad—Kennedy, Weil, See, Henslee.
 Transport Service Employes—Frazier.

Transport Workers Union—Quill, Guinan, Kaelin, Horst, Faber, Attreed, Sheehan.

Utility Workers—Fisher, Pachler, Straub, Munger, McGrath, Shedlock.

Woodworkers—Hartung, Botkin, Morris, Christie, Roley, Hanna.

Departments

Industrial Union Department—Reuther.

Metal Trades Department—Brownlow.

Railroad Employes Department—Fox.

Union Label and Service Trades Department—Lewis.

State Federations of Labor

Arizona—Brown.

Arkansas—Williams.

Colorado—Anderson.

Connecticut—Rourke.

Delaware—Lemon.

Kansas—Holly.

Louisiana—Bussie.

Maine—Dorsky.

Minnesota—Sherburne.

Mississippi—Bryant.

Missouri—Rolliggs.

Nevada—Paley.

New Mexico—Robles.

North Carolina—Barbee.

Oregon—Marr.

South Carolina—Young.

South Dakota—Shrader.

Tennessee—Smith.

Texas—Schmidt.

Utah—Gulbransen.

Vermont—Cross.

Washington—Weston.

West Virginia—Stanley.

Central Labor Unions

Alameda County, Calif.—Ash.

Albany, N. Y.—Cerutti.

Albert Lea, Minn.—Cooley.

Ashland County, Ohio—Hackett.

Baton Rouge, La.—Bedell.

Binghamton, N. Y.—Miller.

Boulder, Colo. (County)—Cooper.

Bristol, Conn.—Sviridoff.

Bucks County, Pa.—Flatch.

Canton, (Greater), Ohio—Wycoff.

Cattaraugus and Allegheny Counties, N. Y.—Easley.

Chester County, Pa.—Henderson.

Clark, Skamania and West Klickitat Counties, Wash.—Smith.
 Columbia, S. C.—Kirkland.
 Defiance, Ohio—Schmidt.
 Delaware County, Pa.—Mullen.
 Fitchburg, Mass.—Lavoie.
 Fresno, Calif.—O'Rear.
 Humboldt County, Calif.—Gruhn.
 Huntingdon County, Pa.—Caldwell.
 Jonesboro, Ark.—Wilkerson.
 Jonesboro-Hodge, La.—Bourg, Sr.
 Kalamazoo, Mich.—Bailey.
 Knoxville, Tenn.—Comer.
 Lake Charles, La.—Flory.
 Lake County, Ohio—Bukky.
 Lawrence County, Pa.—Kovach.
 Lawrence, Kans.—Yount.
 Lancaster, Pa.—Medrick.
 Lynchburg, Va.—Switzer.
 Madison, Wis.—Huffman.
 Memphis, Tenn.—Crawford.
 Muskegon, Mich.—Tyler.
 Nashau, N.H.—Pitarys.
 Niagara County, N. Y.—Jordan.
 Oklahoma City, Okla.—Ward.
 Panama, C. Z.—Price.
 Peru, Ind.—Cover.
 Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—Sorenson.
 Providence, R. I.—Mulligan.
 Reading and Burkes County, Pa.—Seyfert.
 Rochester, Minn.—Smith.
 Saint Louis, Mo.—Webb.
 Saint Paul, Minn.—Radman.
 Sheboygan County, Wis.—Schuette.
 Shreveport, La.—Oliver.
 Stillwater, Minn.—Hess.
 Topeka, Kans.—Robinson.
 Tucson, Ariz.—Brown.
 Washington, D. C. (Greater)—Preller.
 Wichita, Kans.—Kitchen.
 Winchester-Front Royal, Va.—Lillard.
 York County, Pa.—Clinch.

Local Unions

83, Highland Park, Mich.—O'Keefe.
 520, Philadelphia, Pa.—McCaffrey.
 1746, Washington, D. C.—Rubin.
 1805, Indianapolis, Ind.—Thornton.
 1821, Seattle, Wash.—Johansen.
 18032, New York, N. Y.—Weintraub.
 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—Dever.
 20665, Baltimore, Md.—Albert.

21432, Boston, Mass.—Sullivan.
 21664, Syracuse, N. Y.—Galuski.
 21914, Watertown, Mass.—Percoco.
 22177, Detroit, Mich.—Shipp.
 22636, East Chicago, Ind.—Chlebowski.
 23068, Erie, Pa.—Baumgartner.
 23091, Shreveport, La.—Flory.
 18456 & 19322, Kenosha, Wis.—Whiteside.
 19620, Rochester, N. Y.—Zeller.
 23478, Canandaigua, N. Y.—Manganaro.
 23843, Duluth, Minn.—Schaller.
 24369, Waterbury, Conn.—Lynch.
 24426, Upton, N. Y.—Stibel.
 24760, Bridgeport, Conn.—Burns.

VOTING NO

International Unions

Boot and Shoe Workers—Mara, McGonigal, Lawson, Hutchison, Frieda.

Brick and Clay Workers—Flegal, Tracy, Gatehouse, Santo.

Carpenters—Hutcheson, Stevenson, Blaier, Livingston, Chapman, Johnson, Rajoppi, Schwarzer, Chandler, Roberts, Cambiano, Cooper, Kenney, Meinert, Hartley, Sidel.

Doll and Toy Workers—Gordon, Failla.

Elevator Constructors—Smith, Barton, Magee.

Flight Engineers—Petty, Jr.

Garment Workers, United—McCurdy, King, Jordan, Bailey, Pohlsen.

Glove Workers—Durian.

Hod Carriers—Moreschi, Fosco, Morreale, Waldron, Smith, Sullivan, Sheets, Lalor, Taylor, Garvey, Odum, Madden.

Hosiery Workers—Leader.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees — Miller, Weinberger, Callahan, Kaczmarek, Koenig, Moe, Riley, Rogan, Sarricks, Siegal.

Industrial Workers, Allied—Evans.

Jewelry Workers—Powell.

Lathers—Mashburn, McSorley, Haggerty, Matthews.

Meat Cutters—Lloyd, Gorman, Belsky, Kelly, Hook, Poole, Wentz, Twedell, Scheurich, Schachter.

Mechanics Educational Society — Baumgartner, Nakliski, Severo, Marks, Lahey.

Metal Workers, Sheet—Byron, Carlough, Cronin, Bonadio, Macioce, Bruns.

Office Employees—Coughlin, Hicks, Juliano, Springman.

Pattern Makers—Lynch.

Polishers, Metal—Muehlhoffer, Scheuermann, Oates, Wilburn.

Stone Cutters—Henson.

Stove Mounters—Roberts, Kaiser, Keller.

Switchmen—Fleete, Collins, McDaniels.

Typographical Union—Randolph, Hillyer, McGlothlin, Reilly, Patten, Herrmann, Duffy.

Upholsterers—Hoffmann, Rota, Remshardt, Albarino, Bucher, Stoney.

Departments

Building and Construction Trades Department—Gray.

Maritime Trades Department—O'Reilly.

State Federations of Labor

Alabama—Weeks.

Georgia—Cetti.

Iowa—Mills.

Maryland—Cohen.

Montana—Umber.

Nebraska—Preble.

Wyoming—Shafto.

Central Labor Unions

Anchorage, Alaska—Hartlieb.

Appleton, Wis.—Succa.

Asheville, N. C.—Jervis.

Centre County, Pa.—Willar.

Clinton, Indiana—Coakley.

Columbus, Ind.—Howard.

Council Bluffs, Iowa—Davis.

Dade County, Florida—Owens.

Denver, Area, Colorado—Youngs.

Fayette County, Pa.—Cook, Jr.

Fond du Lac, Wis.—Richter.

Gibson County, Ind.—Soucie.

Grand Junction, Colo.—Williams.

Green Bay, Wis.—O'Malley.

Hot Springs, Ark.—Dicus.

Juneau, Alaska—McFarland.

Lafayette, Ind.—Koning.

Malvern, Ark.—Smith.

New Orleans, La.—Winters.

Newport, R. I.—Fournier.

Oak Ridge, Tenn.—Ray.

Omaha, Nebr.—Sibasek.

Philip, Lee and Monroe Counties, Ark.—Smith.

Phoenix, Ariz.—Sebastyen.

Polk County, Iowa—Turk.

Riverside, Calif.—Rees.

Sacramento, Calif.—Finks.

Salisbury, Md., Del-Mar-Va Peninsula—Reynolds.

San Bernardino, Calif.—Wilson.

Savannah, Ga.—Robinson.

Springfield, Ill.—Bouansinga.
Vincennes, Ind.—Miller.
Western Maryland, Md.—Stutzman.
Winnebago County, Wis.—Jeske.
Yuma County, Ariz.—Gray.

Local Unions

18007, Chicago, Ill.—McGuigan.
18267, Cleveland, Ohio—Kozak.
23010, Ludington, Mich.—Adams.

NOT VOTING

International Unions

Bill Posters and Billers—Gilmour.
Coopers—Doyle.
Doll and Toy Workers—Damino.
Granite Cutters—Pagnano.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers—McCarthy, Conway, Hughes.
Post Office and Postal Transportation Service, Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers—McAvoy.
Printers, Plate—Connor.
Radio and Television Directors Guild—Burnett.
Weavers, Wire—Powers.
Yardmasters—Schoch.

State Federations of Labor

New Hampshire—Moriarty.
Puerto Rico—Sanchez.
Virginia—Boyd.

Central Labor Unions

Aiken, S. C.—Cameron.
Akron, Ohio—Dugan.
Alexandria, La.—Soule.
Austin, Texas—Edwards.
Barre, Vermont—Dykeman.
Bastrop, La.—Kreger.
Bluefield, W. Va. (Mercer County)—Edwards.
Bogalusa, La.—Luttrell.
Charlotte, N. C.—James.
Chattanooga, Tenn.—Williams.
Clearfield, Pa.—Le Blanc.
Decatur, Ala.—Williams.
Duluth, Minn.—Olson.
El Dorado, Ark.—McCullar.
Elk, Cameron & Jefferson Counties, Pa.—McCluskey.
Eugene, Oregon—Willis.
Grand Island, Nebr.—Noble.

Harrisburg Region, Pa.—Eby.
 Honolulu, Hawaii—Reile.
 Johnson City, Tenn.—Houk.
 Kingsport, Tenn.—Petty.
 Lebanon County, Pa.—McDaniels.
 Lubbock, Texas—Edwards.
 Marshall County, W. Va.—Hess.
 Mid Columbia, Ore.—Harrison.
 Northampton County, Pa., and Warren County, N. J.—McLaughlin.
 Rome, Ga.—O'Shea.
 Saratoga County, N. Y.—DiLiberto.
 St. Helens, Oregon—Hill.
 Southwestern Oregon, Ore.—Haughey.
 Spokane, Wash.—McCormick.
 Springfield, Mo.—Moore.
 Steele County, Minn.—Woodfill.
 Sullivan County, N. H.—Walsh.
 Texas City, Texas—Le Unes.
 Washington County, Ore.—Dusten.

Local Unions

14712, Philadelphia, Pa.—Bowman.
 16303, New York, N. Y.—Varrone.
 18205, New York, N. Y.—Ribando.
 18419, Massillon, Ohio—Gradijan.
 18527, Chicago, Ill.—Disselhorst.
 18671, Cleveland, Ohio—McCourt.
 19469, Chicopee Falls, Mass.—Ricardi.
 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.—LeClair.
 20467, Chicago, Ill.—Currie.
 20538, Auburn, N. Y.—Walter.
 20572, Toledo, Ohio—Ten Eyck.
 20610, Woodland, Calif.—Angelo.
 20711, St. Louis, Mo.—Rubin.
 21538, Blackwell, Okla.—Campbell.
 21690, Chicago, Ill.—Soderstrom.
 21877, Chicago, Ill.—Klass.
 22254, Philadelphia, Pa.—Murphy.
 22543, Springfield, Ohio—Overholser.
 22623, Philadelphia, Pa.—Golden.
 22631, Milwaukee, Wis.—Cudahy.
 23132, Passaic, N. J.—Truatt.
 23433, Gowanda, N. Y.—Badurek.
 23733, Dayton, Ohio—Ballard.
 23823, Newark, Ohio—Johnson.
 23983, Syracuse, N. Y.—Catalano.
 24111, Milwaukee, Wis.—Taylor.
 24410, Climax, Colorado—Gray.
 24628, Exeter, N. H.—Walkinshaw.

Explanatory Notes as to Voting

During the roll call the following explanatory statements were made:

DELEGATE BROWNLOW, Metal Trades Department: Mr. Chairman, I would like to explain my vote. The majority of the organizations affiliated with the Metal Trades Department having voted for the recommendation, I will also vote for the recommendation.

DELEGATE MORESCHI, Hod Carriers: It is the position of our International Union that the indictment of a father or any member of the family is not justification for sending the entire family to the execution chamber. Accordingly, our vote is No.

DELEGATE SCHUETTE, Sheboygen County, Wisconsin Central Labor Union: I would like to qualify my vote. Until the Teamsters respect the Kohler picket line I vote Yes.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Secretary Schnitzler will announce the count.

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: Supporting the recommendation of your Appeals Committee 10,458,598.

Opposing the report of the Appeals Committee 2,266,497.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I declare the report and the recommendations of the Appeals Committee adopted as the will of this Convention.

We will now stand adjourned until 3 o'clock.

. . . At 1:50 o'clock P.M. the Convention recessed until 3 o'clock P.M.

PROCEEDINGS
Second Constitutional Convention of the
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

SECOND DAY — AFTERNOON SESSION
FRIDAY, DEC. 6, 1957

... President Meany called the Convention to order at 3:15 o'clock P.M.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At the opening of this afternoon's session we are signally honored in having as our guest a most distinguished American, a gentleman who has an enviable record as a soldier in the service of his country and who has since his retirement from military service been called upon to take a position that I feel may be even more important. He is a former commander of the European forces representing all the NATO nations, a former general in the United States Army, and now the President of the American Red Cross, one of America's most distinguished citizens, General Alfred M. Gruenther.

GEN. ALFRED M. GRUENTHER,
President, American Red Cross

GENERAL GRUENTHER: Mr. President, distinguished guests, delegates, ladies and gentlemen:

About 150 years ago at this very time Napoleon had reached the zenith of his power. He had on his staff a colonel on whom he relied for a great deal of advice and counsel. In due course this colonel came to have a series of very severe headaches, and the doctors finally diagnosed the trouble as tumors of the brain. They tried to work on them from outside but with no luck, and they finally had to put him in for a major operation. So, they put the Colonel on the operating table, took his cranium off, laid it on the table and then started working on the tumors, but they could not get to them. So they had to take the brain out and start removing the tumors on the table.

While that process was in progress a messenger arrived and announced that the Colonel had been made a General. This was of considerable interest to the General, and since the tranquilizers of those days were not too effective, he reacted rather quickly, reached over, grabbed the cranium, put it on his head and started climbing off the table.

Just then the surgeon said, "Well, see here, Colonel, you can't leave. You don't have your brain."

He said, "Don't worry; I don't need the brains any more. Now I'm a General."

I grew up in the military service for 38 years with that concept about Generals and it was, therefore, very gratifying to have your President use all of those distinguished terms in describing me.

My purpose today is not to go into the idiosyncrasies or headaches of Generals. I would like to cover initially a couple of other kinds of headaches.

It was just seven years ago this month that a very serious headache had developed to a point of crisis. This had come about because it had become increasingly clear that Soviet imperialism was again on the march.

We had had a series of incidents starting with the Czechoslovakian coup, and finally the Korean War.

Just seven years ago this very day the morale of the free world, and particularly the morale of the United States, was quite depressed because of the situation which was existing in Korea, where our troops were undergoing a series of defeats.

Today, the 6th of December, 1957, we are undergoing a crisis of another kind, and some phrase makers have referred to it as a crisis of confidence. A week from tomorrow President Eisenhower or Mr. Nixon will take off for Paris for the NATO meetings which will start on Monday the 16th, in an endeavor to restore confidence in our abilities.

I think as we contemplate this problem it is worth looking back seven years to see where we were then and where we are now. When General Eisenhower first arrived in Paris on the 7th of January, 1951, he found that indeed the morale of the entire free world was at a very low ebb because we had followed the policy of disarming very extensively after World War II, believing that a new and better world was around the corner. The Soviets had not followed that same practice. So the disparity in forces in December of 1950 and January of 1951 was very marked indeed. General Eisenhower went to Europe in order to help restore that balance.

This was the beginning of our alliance system, because at that time our country had become convinced that it was no longer possible to defend the United States from these shores. Our ramparts had to be at considerable distances. That meant that we had to have an alliance system for the purpose of defending Europe as a vital part of the defense of the United States. It was to accomplish this that he went to Paris early in '51.

Out of this came the NATO alliance and since that time there has been a very significant increase in military strength, and our resources now are some five to seven times as great as they were then.

But I think the greatest degree of strength, the greatest progress has come about is in the creation of a common concept for the defense of the free world. The 450 million people of NATO have actually adopted the principle of collective security. For example, in the areas of air bases when General Eisenhower went to Europe, there were 20 of them. There are now upwards of 150—all of them modern, first-class airfields from which jet planes can be launched.

Under this type of progress there was naturally a certain degree of satisfaction, and when the Sputniks started erupting two months

ago we suddenly realized that the superiority on which we had counted was not as solid as we had hoped it would be. I was in India when Sputnik II erupted, attending the International Red Cross Conference at New Delhi, a conference which meets every four years. The impact of the second Sputnik was a rather marked one, largely coming about because of the reports that came from the United States. Where we had a great deal of confidence before October 4th when the first Sputnik was launched, the second one produced almost an attitude of inferiority on the part of Americans and in ways which tended to give members of the 83-nation conference meeting in New Delhi the impression that we were bordering on a state of panic.

I personally feel that this hurt us more than it should have because while this had been a surprise, I believe that there are measures which can be taken and think that they are being taken which will correct this lag.

But as I attended that conference and as I visited other countries on the way back from New Delhi to Washington, I became more and more impressed that long after the problems of Sputniks and guided missiles have been solved we are going to have this tremendous problem of maintaining the unity of the free world. I am sure we are going to solve the guided missile problem and our own Sputniks, in spite of today's news. If you have had a chance to look at the news ticker you have already seen where the firing that was to take place in Florida at 11:20 today was a failure. That news is, of course, being broadcast around the world at this very moment, and the impact of that is not going to be good for us.

But we are going to solve this problem. And I would just like to emphasize during this critical period which might appear to be a depressing one in the minds of some: that as far as the over-all strategic advantage is concerned now, from a military standpoint that balance of power is still on our side. Now, that is no reason for us to be complacent, and I am not saying this in the form of trying to dispense a tranquilizer pill. I simply feel that in the interest of balance it is well to recognize where we do stand. Because of the alliance system, NATO with its 15 nations and in addition to that, alliances with 27 other countries throughout the world, making alliances with 42 altogether, and by reason of our extensive system of bases, and by reason of our air power at this time we still have an over-all power advantage.

I don't want to get into any such terms as saying that if a major war should break out that we would win because I don't think the term "win" can ever be used again in connection with a modern war. But we still possess such overwhelming capacity to retaliate that we are going to be able to discourage any aggressor from launching an all-out attack.

This, therefore, gives us a certain cushion of time.

I have been talking only about the military side of this question—I am sure that you recognize that security is much more than a military matter. Security involves not only the military side, but the economic and the political or psychological side. For a long period in the future this political and psychological factor is going to be one of overwhelming importance. It is on this side that you as members of this great AFL-CIO Federation can make a real contri-

bution. We have got to do two things. First of all, understand as a people what it is that makes an alliance tick. This comes in the field of wider education and understanding of the habits and characteristics, the cultural and other motives of other people throughout the world.

We have got to be able to convince our partners in freedom that we need them as much as they need us. This is going to require great wisdom tact and understanding.

The league we are in is a very tough one and highly competitive, not only in the scientific and military phases, but in this phase of creating world opinion. The Soviets, because of their skill in divisive propaganda, are making it very, very tough for us. The two Sputniks which have been developed are being exploited constantly by the Soviets to lower U. S. prestige and to reduce our capacity to give the necessary leadership, which is so important at this particular time.

I am sure that we can overcome this. We have, first of all, a religious civilization which is based upon the concept of the dignity of man. If we are able to remain dedicated to that concept and are able to sell this idea of freedom, not only here but in relation to our partners elsewhere, we will be able to strengthen our bonds and will make a very significant contribution in the cold war now in progress. That will be one of the purposes of the high level meeting which will start at Paris on the 16th.

It is well to recognize whenever you are working with 15 sovereign nations, that the progress you are going to make in this field of political-spiritual unity is bound to have its ups and downs. There are bound to be disagreements. In fact, even in labor organizations I have read occasionally that there have been disagreements, and I can assure you that in alliances they come quite frequently.

Most of them you have heard about, but I would just like to read a statement of a point that I am sure is going to come up at the NATO meeting. It was published in the British Sunday Times of last Sunday. It is written by a former Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who retired just recently. He is citing one of the difficulties of the British defense effort as long as she can maintain her economic position. And saying why the British have had these difficulties.

"To sum up, the British runner in the European economic 10,000 meter race has for a long time been lugging two suitcases around the track, while most of his competitors have been carrying corks, or at most, a couple of small parcels. It is not surprising that the Briton who managed to keep up at first should now be falling behind.

"The point to be grasped is this: Britain can only maintain her defense effort as long as she can maintain her economic position. As a trading nation she can maintain her economic position only so long as she continues to export. But she cannot do so competing successfully in the world markets if her competitors carry no comparable military load and are enabled by that very fact to invade her markets and capture her trade.

"The time has come when the issue must be faced and means found of relieving the British runner and so enabling him to compete on more equal terms. With a little ingenuity and good will, this can be done quite easily. If it is not done, the Briton will one day either

throw down his suitcase in despair or else collapse on the track. In either case, while it still might be possible to preserve these islands with the aid of the atomic deterrent, free Europe would at once lie defenseless and open to the Russian hordes."

What this writer was talking about is a complaint that the German defense effort is not comparable to the British.

The German side is not, of course, represented in this article, but you can rest assured that the new Finance Minister, who is already facing a deficit budget, is going to have a strongly opposite point of view because the German expenditures are on the way up.

I bring this simply as the type of disagreement that arises in an alliance and one which is not settled over night. It will come about only through gradual betterment of understanding but I think that it will be solved. So as we look forward to this NATO Conference it is well to realize that the progress may not be spectacular, that it will be slow, steady progress. With the measures which the United States is contemplating taking especially in the field of sharing of secrets, making weapons available, and in a new dedication and reaffirmation of the principle of collective security, that we will be able to develop in strength.

I mentioned earlier the meeting of the International Red Cross which took place in New Delhi. I have felt for some time that in the Red Cross organization there is a tremendous field for creating better understanding. First of all, by dedicating ourselves to the principle of neighbor helping neighbor, which is part of our religious civilization, we not only strengthen our own spiritual fiber but we increase our moral integrity and standing in the world. Through the International Red Cross organization, with its universal appeal, I am certain that better understanding and our relationships, generally, will be increased significantly.

One of the great pleasures and gratifications that I have had during my 11 months in the Red Cross has been the association with labors leadership and the continually increasing cooperation that we have had from labor generally. I would say that one of the most striking illustrations of that occurred in Hurricane Audrey. As you will recall, that was the hurricane that struck Louisiana and Texas. In the Cameron Parish, La. area, the AFL-CIO Building Trades Council conducted a building bee for several week ends. Volunteer workers started early on Saturday morning and worked until late Sunday evening, rebuilding homes of those stricken by this disaster. Altogether, 22 homes were rebuilt in this way.

This had a tremendous impact in the United States but you will be surprised how much coverage that relatively small incident had in the press around the world. I have seen at least several accounts from foreign papers including an extremely long and favorable analysis in a Vienna, Austria paper. I am sure that with problems of this sort being solved in a voluntary, mutually cooperative way, it will contribute indirectly to the important element of international understanding.

I have been particularly interested during my period as President of the Red Cross in some of the misunderstandings that develop about the Red Cross. First of all, I never knew—and I find that many other people do not know—what the extent of the Red Cross disaster mission is. It consists not only of giving aid during the emergency phase, but

also in the long, unglamorous, tedious period of repairing and rebuilding homes, and providing long term medical care. It is on this phase of the disaster that about 85 percent of the money is spent.

During the last 2 fiscal years, the Red Cross spent over \$51 million in disaster relief. Since July 1, this year, it has already spent almost \$5 million. This terrific expense, the worst disaster load in 76 years of our history, has caused the disaster reserve fund to disappear, and it presents a major problem in fund raising to rebuild those disaster reserves.

One of our major programs in the Red Cross, in addition to disaster relief is in the support to the armed forces. Actually, this year, out of a budget of \$85 million, we will spend about \$35 million in service to the armed forces and to veterans. This is a great effort, but, paradoxically enough, most of our complaints come from ex-soldiers who feel that the Red Cross has failed to serve them in one way or another.

I have followed with great interest a good many of these complaints, having personally investigated over fifty of them. To give you just an illustration of one of them, I received a letter in May from a woman in Illinois. Her letter went something like this:

"I have been connected with the Red Cross for 23 years as a volunteer in our town, and the last 3 years I have been the fund campaign chairman, but I have finally lost faith in the Red Cross. The information which caused me to have that point of view was when a man in our town who served in Europe in the last war informed me a few days ago that he had received a Red Cross sweater on the battlefield and when pay day came around at the end of the month it was charged against his pay. I regret therefore that I can no longer have any connection with the Red Cross."

I wrote her back and told her that I was not going to deny that the Red Cross made errors; that any organization which went from 900 employees at the beginning of the war to 25,000 in a period of 11 months was bound to pick up some unworthy citizens, and if she told me that a Red Cross fellow had given this sweater and had hit the fellow over the head and picked his pocket for 25 bucks, or whatever was there, I would have no argument, for such a thing might occur, but as far as saying that any Army pay sergeant would put down a charge on a payroll on the battlefield, I was absolutely certain it would not take place.

But I said, "You say it did take place. Would you be kind enough to let me have the name of the man, where he served, and any data, because I happen to know a little bit about Europe and I think I can follow that up."

I received no reply. Three weeks later I wrote again. Still no reply. So we asked one of our Red Cross workers from Chicago to go and see this lady.

When he saw her she said, "I'm terribly embarrassed, because when I went to see this ex-soldier he told me it hadn't happened to him, but it had happened to a friend of his."

When we went to see the friend of his, he said, Well, no, it hadn't happened to him, but he had heard that it had happened to somebody else.

I have found in some of these complaints about the Red Cross service that this type of evasive answer is usually what takes place. However, I want to say this, you as members of labor unions may very well have complaints against the Red Cross. I hope if you do that you will let us have them, because if we are not doing a good job, then we ought to make whatever corrections are necessary to change it, because the American people have a right to expect a good job from their Red Cross.

I can assure you that our objective and your objective is one and the same, and that is the concept of neighbor helping neighbor in an endeavor to have a more dignified and worthwhile society. This is the goal of labor unions and is the goal of the American Red Cross.

I want to express to you our deep gratitude for the cooperation we have received from labor, and especially so as for the increasing support during the last few years. I think that the work that your community services committee are doing under Mr. Beirne, Mr. Perlis, and others is excellent and of great value to our communities.

Now that education is very much in the news and we are all terrifically embarrassed that the Soviet scientific education seems to be better than ours, and we are making resolutions that we are going to produce more scientists, may I recall for you that in the field of social science we are not behind the Soviets, because it is a science which they do not spend very much time on. It is in this field of service that we must do a much better job than we have ever done before. So, as we talk about educating our citizens, I certainly hope that we do not overlook the field of social science, because it is my belief that this is the very essence of a democracy, the very basis of being able to maintain our freedom in a very uneasy world. We must have volunteer organizations which will be able to function effectively in the field of social welfare, which is going to require professional social scientists beyond what we have now to give the stability to the organization, and development of fields where volunteers may work.

I do hope that you as responsible labor unions will give this field increasing attention, because I consider it absolutely vital, if we are going to be able to preserve our leadership responsibilities in a rapidly changing situation.

And now, Mr. President, with your permission I would like to use this platform not only to say a general thank you to organized labor, but I would like to use it to extend a specific act of appreciation on the part of the Red Cross to several groups. First of all to the State Labor Council for the work they did in Hurricane Audrey. This first award is to Mr. Victor Bussie, who is the President of the Louisiana State Labor Council, AFL-CIO. I would like to read the certificate of appreciation which we have prepared to give to Mr. Bussie. It reads as follows:

"This certificate is hereby awarded Louisiana State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, by the American National Red Cross in grateful appreciation of outstanding cooperation in the Hurricane Audrey disaster relief operation.

December 6, 1957."

And I also desire to present another one to Ted Stitzlein who is the business manager of the Lake Charles Building Trades Council of the AFL-CIO. The certificate reads the same.

And now, Mr. President, to the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee, as a general appreciation for the extraordinary cooperation we have had from that element of your very fine organization. This is to its Chairman, Mr. Joseph Beirne. It was through the efforts of the Community Services Committee that four mobile disaster can-tees were given to Red Cross. These units have been on the job constantly since the initial presentation by President Meany at Miami Beach last February. One of these vehicles is on display on the Boardwalk in front of the Convention Hall and I hope each of you will take time to look it over.

Finally, may I say that in this period ahead we have an extremely tough job. I am sure we can handle it. I am sure we are going to rise to our responsibilities. I am equally certain that we recognize we are up against a ruthless foe whose implacable hostility increases all the time. We must recognize that the solution lies not alone in military strength, but to an even greater in the spiritual strength of our nation.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure I express the opinion and feeling of those present when I tell the General that we very sincerely appreciate his visit and his very instructive and inspiring address here today, and also the appreciation of the AFL-CIO itself for selecting the Louisiana State organization and the Lake Charles Building Trades to receive these certificates of appreciation, along with our Community Services Committee. I can assure General Gruenther that the American trade union movement has a great interest and a great stake in the work of the American Red Cross and that as we have supported it in the past I am sure our membership will support it to even greater degree in the future, under the very fine leadership of General Gruenther as President of the American National Red Cross.

In your behalf I again thank him very much for coming here today.

PRESENTATION OF FOREIGN VISITORS

PRESIDENT MEANY: I just want to present to you two very distinguished visitors who are not going to make any speeches. Later on they may have something to say. The No. 1 trade unionist of Great Britain, Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress here as a visitor with us, Sir Vincent Tewson.

And along with him a member of the British Trades Union Congress, the Secretary of the British Seamen's Union, an old friend of ours, Brother Tom Yates, President of the British TUC.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for announcements.

. . . Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler announced the time and place of certain committee meetings.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I have the very extreme pleasure of presenting another distinguished visitor to our Convention. This man also has had a career as a soldier. He enlisted in the Army as a private in 1941 and came out after engaging in the com-

bat campaigns in the Pacific, in New Guinea and the Marshall Islands and the Philippines, as a Lieutenant-Colonel. He has served as the chairman and vice-chairman of a great many committees of the American Legion. He is here today in his new responsibility, having been elected National Commander of the American Legion at the recent Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I present to you now the National Commander of the American Legion, Mr. John S. Gleason, Jr.

MR. JOHN S. GLEASON, JR.
National Commander, The American Legion

President Meany, officers and delegates to this great convention of the AFL-CIO.

I've looked forward to this occasion from the moment I received your kind invitation to participate in what all of us conceive to be one of the most momentous meetings in the history of American labor.

I say "us" deliberately because I feel at home here. Although my membership is somewhat in a retired status, and although being a banker may not seem too much like labor, I've been carrying an honorable withdrawal card of the Teamsters Union for 20 years.

I mention it with full knowledge of existing circumstances because I believe sincerely that a man should be proud of his union membership, although I am not always in accord or necessarily proud of the actions of the Teamster officials. I think a man should be even prouder, however, of affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

American Legion national commanders have long been privileged to address the annual convention of the AFL-CIO. And we have been honored, in turn, by the presence of your distinguished president at our annual national conventions.

Regretfully, Mr. Meany was unable to attend our 1957 meeting in this very hall last September when I was elected National Commander. But his kind and inspiring message to The American Legion's 39th annual convention strengthened and advanced the cause of mutual understanding, respect and cooperation to which our organizations have dedicated themselves.

It is natural that we should work together so closely and effectively. The AFL-CIO and The American Legion are the largest and best organizations of their kind anywhere in the world. Further, our first and foremost common concern continues to be, as it has always been, the welfare and security of America. And, of course, our membership is intertwined.

The American Legion's ranks have been swelled and strengthened by the tens upon tens of thousands of working men who are proud members of the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions.

I hope that from these shared members you have gained a deeper understanding of The American Legion, and of our purposes, programs and accomplishments. I know that from them we Legionnaires have gained a greater appreciation of the vital contribution the AFL-CIO has made and will continue to make to the welfare of labor.

Today, however, it is not enough that we insure the well-being of our members and the millions of Americans whom we represent . . . though in doing so, we add substantially to our nation's strength and security. Today, we must use our resources, our energies and our experience in a manner that will best serve the cause of our survival as a free people.

How can we help America meet the most grave challenge to our freedoms and our very existence that we have ever known?

By remaining calm, confident and courageous. By demonstrating our faith in God and in the essential greatness of this blessed land of liberty we call America. By our example of unselfishness and self-sacrifice. By our devotion to the principles of freedom on which our government and our nation were founded. By our adherence to the high ideals to which our organizations are dedicated. And by never being unwilling or afraid to speak out for that which is right and in which we believe.

If I seem to over-emphasize the obvious, it is only because I believe sincerely that these qualities constitute the essential foundation on which we must build America's future. They mark the character and thus the strength of nations as well as men. In the life and death struggle with the Godless evil of communism, they represent the difference between victory and defeat. They are the balance of power that will insure the ultimate triumph of freedom over tyranny.

Sputniks I and II, and the tremendous rocket power needed to hurl them into orbit have given Russia a dangerous military advantage. The most respected scientific and engineering authorities in the United States have testified that Russia holds as much as a ten-year lead in the field of missiles. This is a shocking, sobering revelation. But the very superiority in science and satellites which Russia has wrenched from us may prove to be our salvation.

For it has brought an end to complacency. It shattered the shield of smugness and self-deception with which we had surrounded ourselves. It rocketed us back to reality.

Now we realize that the United States has no monopoly on science and technology . . . nor on the trained, highly qualified labor force needed to translate man's dreams and genius into reality.

Yes, labor has played well its part in launching Russia into a substantial, but not insurmountable lead in the race for space and survival.

But it is not the kind of labor you and I know and treasure. It is not decent, honest, humble labor that satisfies man's greatest need and God's design for man. It is not the kind of labor of which Carlyle wrote:

"Labor is life; from the inmost heart of the worker rises his God-given force, the sacred celestial life-essence breathed into him by Almighty God."

Rather, Russia's startling progress in science and technology was achieved only through slave labor, oppressed labor, degrading labor . . . labor bent to the will of the devil and forged into an instrument of evil.

Today, in Russia and in her satellite nations, millions of human beings are being forced to sweat and toil and spend their strength to

produce weapons designed to intimidate the fearful and destroy the unafraid.

Although I can speak officially only for The American Legion, I'm sure I echo your feelings when I say that we Americans are not afraid. And, God willing, we're not going to be destroyed.

But we're going to have to make some drastic changes in our national security program and our way of living if we're to survive the holocaust Russia has planned, produced and is now capable of unleashing against us.

Individually, you and I and our 172 million fellow-Americans are going to have to face up to the fact that for the foreseeable future we're not going to receive any tax cuts. On the contrary, we may well be forced to pay higher taxes. But I submit that if this is all we have to do, we will be lucky . . . very, very lucky.

As officials of the organizations we're privileged to represent, there are a number of other things we can do in the months ahead to insure that the Legion and the AFL-CIO make a maximum contribution to our security and survival.

We can and should, to cite just one example, examine very closely our existing programs and policies as well as our planned objectives in the light of Sputnik and the threat which these satellites and Russia's growing arsenal of missiles pose to our very existence. Such an evaluation is essential, in my opinion, to determine whether and to what extent the time, money and effort we now spend on various activities could be devoted to more immediate, productive efforts to strengthen America's ability and will to defend freedom, no matter how great the cost.

Frankly, I would not expect that the AFL-CIO, any more than The American Legion, could find much need or opportunity for change. The policies we have adopted and the programs we have carried out throughout The American Legion's 39 year history have been so closely identified with the welfare and security of our nation and our people that any change would be minor and in degree only, not in direction.

In this connection, may I say that one positive step which The American Legion will take will be to expand and intensify our interest and efforts in the field of education.

We are not surprised but we are deeply concerned about the shameful state of scientific, engineering and technological education in America today, and its alarming impact upon our future security.

Working with educators through our youth and child welfare programs, and in cooperation with our magnificent American Legion Auxiliary, we will endeavor in the months and years ahead to interest and assist more and more high school students to take up scientific-technological studies and careers. We will do everything possible to provide them with the facilities needed for such vital work. And we will devote ourselves to the task of providing trained, qualified teachers in these fields.

Obviously we can't do the job alone. Nor can you. But working together in this most critical area, as we have on other vital matters of common concern in the past, we can help solve the disastrous scientific-technological crisis confronting America today.

We could well devote all of our energies and experience to this great task. Important as it is, however, it cannot mark the limits of our efforts.

For example, The American Legion believes that there exists today an imperative need for an informed, courageous, articulate voice to bespeak the concerns, the confidence and the convictions of our people in this—America's hour of trial.

We submit that our elected representatives in Congress look to us, to you and me and our fellow-citizens, to confirm their understanding of our views. They want us to speak out now and forcefully on the life and death issue of our security. As they define and direct the drastic steps which we must now take to recapture from Russia our lost scientific-technological supremacy, they look to us for guidance and approval now of their decisions and actions.

It has been said that government is a trust; that the officers of the government are trustees; that both the trust and trustees are created for the benefit of the people.

This is true. But we, the people, the beneficiaries, have a responsibility, too. We have an obligation at this critical moment in our history to inform, to criticize, to sustain our elected representatives as they decide our destiny. We cannot await the elections next November to approve or reject their actions. For next November may well be too late.

The President of the United States has asked us to have confidence. He can be certain of our answer if we can be confident that the initial thrust and acceleration given our missile and scientific research and development program by the launching of Sputniks I and II will be continued and strengthened in the years ahead.

America has been awakened to the threat of annihilation by the Godless tyranny of communism. It's up to organizations like The American Legion and the AFL-CIO to keep our nation and its leaders awake. It's up to us to make certain that the United States regains its scientific-technological supremacy over Russia and that we never again lose this lead.

America can never again afford the luxury of feverish mobilization followed by costly, near-suicidal demobilization that marked our policies and programs in World War I, World War II and Korea. For, as President Eisenhower himself has said:

"We must have adequate force-in-being the day war begins—or we will have no need for any other."

If we can give voice to this belief, to this deep conviction shared by all Americans, then we can build the shield of defense that will protect us and give us the time and opportunity to strengthen the dedication of our people to the principles of patriotism, love of God and Country, honesty, integrity, hard work and responsibility.

These virtues claim the allegiance and complete support of the AFL-CIO and The American Legion alike. We recognize them as the source of our strength and greatness as a free people. We see in them our best and only hope that we shall survive the long night of communism to greet again the bright, sunlit tomorrow with its promise of peace, progress and plenty.

As a great American and distinguished past national commander of The American Legion, Louis Johnson, recently said:

"This great common enterprise of America . . . has a place for the efforts of all of us, great and humble, old and young. No one need be estranged from the nation and the society that means so much to mankind. Bravery and loyalty are needed to uphold this enterprise. Hard work, humility and responsibility are needed to maintain it. Faith and love are needed to inspire it. America will take all we can bring to her of heart and mind, and she will repay us, everyone, to the full, and to overflowing."

Thank you for the privilege of being with you today. May you have a successful convention . . . one that will add new lustre and strength to your great organization.

PRESIDENT MEANY: In your behalf, I want to thank the Commander of the American Legion, Mr. Gleason, for his very fine address here this afternoon. Over the years we have had a sort of tradition of a close relationship and a close fraternal feeling between the American Legion and the American trade union movement. We are always happy to have the Commander with us here.

Introductions

Some months ago the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO established a scholarship plan for training a small number of African trade unionists in the rudiments of the trade union movement here in America, so that they might learn something of benefit in the development of trade unionism in their own countries, and thereby be able to build up the standard of life of the workers in that very important part of the world.

I have here today a young man whom I just want you to see. I want to present him to you. He is the first scholar receiving the first scholarship of our program. He is the General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labor, Mr. Arthur Ochwada.

Now, I have a few visitors here that I would like to present from our neighboring state in South America, the Argentine. This delegation is composed of 11 members, four of whom are from the Municipal Workers Union, four from the Bank Workers, two from the National Federation of Commercial Employees, and one from the Shoe Workers Union, representing also the COASI. This organization, the COASI, of course, is part of the ORIT and the ICFTU.

Municipal Workers Union—Francisco Perez Leiros, Josefa Castano, Jose Emilio Gavotti, Jorge Perez.

Bank Workers Union—Emilio Capaldo, Mario Elena Gil, Henri Bartolome Letiche, Miguel Mogilevsky.

National federation of Commercial Employees—Bernardo Luis Morera, Cayetano Perez.

COASI—Carmelo Laviero.

Now, I would like to present just for a moment the General Secretary of the National Union of Municipal Workers, the leader of the Reorganization Committee of Free Trade Unions which reorganized the great free trade union movement after the departure of Peron,

and who was the host to a delegation from the AFL-CIO which visited Argentina about 13 months ago. I would like to present to you the leader of this group, the leader who stood by his guns for his workers, despite the opposition that was represented by the dictatorship under which they lived for many years, and the leader who came through that dictatorship with his union intact despite every effort made by the Peronistas to destroy it—a very fine, outstanding trade unionist, Francisco Perez Leiros, General Secretary of the Argentine Municipal Workers.

MR. FRANCISCO PEREZ LEIROS

General Secretary, Argentine Municipal Workers

... Senor Leiros addressed the Convention in Spanish.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much.

Brother Romualdi will give a translation.

MR. ROMUALDI: I bring to you the greetings of the free trade union movement of the Argentine Republic. You know our struggles and aspirations. Essentially, they are the same as yours because where there are workers and capitalists, the trade union movement is indispensable in order to properly defend wages and working conditions and the dignity of the workers as human beings.

We had to fight a long and bitter battle before we succeeded in overthrowing the dictatorship which was oppressing our country. But we have finally succeeded, thanks largely to the contributions of the workers.

Now we are determined to repair the damage, and I am confident that we will succeed.

Those who are now governing our country as a result of the liberating revolution have given a rare example of civic responsibility in Latin America, by calling general elections and eliminating themselves as possible candidates for any office.

After we regain a constitutional government, freely elected by the people, without fraud or coercion, Argentina will become again great and generous. Her sons will see to it. Our Constitution, now restored in full force, proclaims "Freedom for our people, for our children, and for the men and women of any country who wish to come to live on Argentina soil."

We are visiting your country, together with trade union delegations from other countries, mainly to study your labor movement. We are extremely grateful for all the many attentions received.

I am taking advantage of this occasion to extend on behalf of the Argentine group cordial fraternal greetings to the trade unionists of other countries who are attending this Convention.

Here in the United States we have come to drink at the fountain of your long, rich, and fruitful experience.

The unity of the AFL-CIO has been for us a source of encouragement. We will continue our efforts to achieve labor unity in our own countries, and after that we will join the Regional and International

Free Trade Union organization to which you belong, because we want to play our part in building a better world.

Allow me now to restate basic concepts which we share with you: The trade union movement of the Americas must be one and indivisible; human rights must be respected and protected; trade union freedom must be guaranteed without restrictions; political and social freedoms must be a reality; dictatorships and totalitarianism of any kind must be eliminated forever.

PRESIDENT MEANY: On your behalf I express our appreciation to Brother Leiros and officers who have come to visit with us. We are very happy to have them here at our Convention.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Harrison of the Committee on Resolutions for an announcement.

Meeting of Resolutions Committee and Re-Referral of Resolutions 111 and 112

VICE PRESIDENT HARRISON: There will be a meeting of the Resolutions Committee Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock in the Surf Room in the Ambassador Hotel to consider the work of the Committee preparatory to making some partial report to the Convention on Monday. All members of the Resolutions Committee are asked to attend the meeting, 2 o'clock, Sunday afternoon in the Surf Room, Ambassador Hotel.

I would like to ask permission of the Convention to refer Resolutions 111 and 112 from the Resolutions Committee to the Committee on Labels.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the announcement and the request of the Chairman of the Committee to transfer Resolutions 111 and 112 to the Committee on Labels. If there is no objection that transfer will be made.

Introduction of Foreign Visitors

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I want to present to you another visiting delegation today because they will not be here with us on Monday. They have been here all day, a small group of the International Committee of the European Sleeping Car Porters and Pullman Stewards. There are two from Germany, Brother Kurt Naujack and Brother Laszlo Alföldy.

And from Paris Brother Raymond Froideval, Brother Claude Berard, Brother Marcel Rohn; and the leader of the group, also from Paris, who will say a few words to the Convention, Brother Albin Magail.

MR. ALBIN MAGAIL, Representative of European Sleeping Car Porters and Pullman Stewards

. . . Brother Magail addressed the Convention in French, and Secretary Schnitzler then read the following translation:

Mr. President, ladies, dear colleagues: The delegation of the International Joint Committee of the Free Trade Union of the European Sleeping Car Employees is very pleased to extend its fraternal greetings to the delegates of the 2nd Congress of the AFL-CIO.

We are very glad that, thanks to the invitation of Brother Philip Randolph and the other brothers of the Sleeping Car Porters, we have an opportunity to be present here.

We do not come to this platform in order to talk about our social and economic difficulties. In our view there is an urgent task which dominates all the problems and goes beyond those we might consider the most urgent. This is the subversive and destructive action of Communism which requires all our attention.

That is why, let me tell you how we have been deeply impressed by the contents of the statement made by President George Meany, who emphasized in a calm manner the seriousness of the international problems which preoccupy all of us.

Not only Europe but the entire free world faces the challenge of Communism, whose threats and dangers increase more and more.

We have got to acknowledge that science and technology have modified the notion of distance by bringing the people nearer. We can be only pleased about it. They place before the AFL-CIO great responsibilities. American labor must take the initiative in the defense of peace and civilization.

You must realize that you have assumed the role of leadership in order to maintain among the workers of the world faith and hope.

PRESIDENT MEANY: In your behalf, I extend to Brother Magail and his companions sincere wishes for a pleasant stay and thank him for his remarks.

At this time the Chair recognizes Vice President Doherty for an announcement.

. . . Vice President Doherty announced a meeting of sub-committee No. 1 of the Resolutions Committee to consider Resolutions Nos. 7, 18, 21, 25, 27, 28 and 29, 31, 32, 35, 37 and 55.

. . . President Meany announced a meeting of labor lawyers at 2 p. m. on Saturday, December 7.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for announcements on late resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS NOT REQUIRING UNANIMOUS CONSENT

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: There are six resolutions that have been presented by the Metal Trades Department that met earlier this week. They do not require the unanimous consent of the Convention, and they are as follows:

Resolution Number 115—Death of John P. Frey; Resolution Number 116—Opposition to Military Labor Performing Civilian Work; Resolution Number 117—Veterans Vocational and Rehabilitation and Education; Resolution Number 118—Adequate Funds for Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training Operation; Resolution Number 119—Maintaining Navy Yard Operations; Resolution Number 120—Highway Program.

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: I have two supplemental reports of the Executive Council, one dealing with per capita tax and the other one dealing with the problems of the General Board.

PRESIDENT MEANY: These resolutions and reports will be referred to the proper committees and will, of course, appear in the proceedings. (*The two supplemental reports are to be found in Volume II, page 599.*)

... Announcements were made of meetings of the Committee on Union Labels, and the Committee on Education.

INTRODUCTIONS

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now, I want to take this opportunity in the few minutes left before adjournment to introduce another delegation of visitors. I would like to explain to the delegates that a good many of these delegates are in the country visiting the various industrial centers under the auspices of various government plans, and they planned their travels so that they could be here during the first two days of this Convention. Of course I want to present them to you so that you will be able to see them.

This delegation is from Mexico, composed of 15 members, including eight textile workers, three newspaper men, and one each from Agricultural, Metal, Industrial and Social Security Employees Unions.

Visitors from Mexico

Textile Workers: Federico Ceron-Perez, Florentino Dominguez Leal, Silvestre Hernandez-Cruz, Miguel Lima-Torres, Nicolas Lopez Galindo, Ramon Sanchez-Aguilar, Edilberto Solis-Alatrisme, Hector Vera Gonzalez-Sanchez.

Agricultural Workers: Jose Ignacio Cuauhtemoc-Paletta.

Industrial Employees—Alfonso Elorza-Sanchez.

Metal Workers—Filemon Eruardo Perez-Torres.

Social Security Employees—Sergio Ortiz Petriciolo Millares.

Labor Newspapermen—Antonio Castaneda Perez, Rogeilio Daza Carrera.

Here, to deliver a short message, is a veteran of the Mexican labor movement, Honorary Secretary of the CTM of Mexico, a noted historian of that movement and a man who some years ago wrote a biography of Samuel Gompers in Spanish for the Mexican worker.

I take a great deal of pleasure in presenting to you Brother Rosendo Salazar Alamo.

MR. ROSENDO SALAZAR ALAMO Honorary Secretary, CTM, Mexico

... Senor Alamo addressed the Convention in Spanish.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Romualdi will read a translation.

MR. ROMUALDI: As honorary Secretary of the Confederation of Workers of Mexico and Labor Columnist of the daily newspaper "El

Nacional," as well as spokesman for the group of Mexico trade unionists here today, I have the great honor to salute this great American labor organization, its millions of men and women, and especially you, Brother Meany, on whose shoulders rest so great historical responsibilities.

Among the concepts you have voiced in yesterday's keynote address, we have noted with particular interest your opposition to any proposal that tax reductions can be obtained at the expense of national security because, as you said, the welfare of the country comes first. Also, your statement that no price is high enough to pay for the safeguard of security and individual and collective freedom. Finally, your rejection of the outworn idea that labor constitutes a distinct social class.

We consider the great North American nation, and particularly its great labor movement, as a beacon light for the civilization of the western world, which includes all the people from the Mexican frontier all the way down to the Argentine Pampas. These are people all members of the American family of nations; people of high principles and aspirations; people who will never be trampled under the boots of totalitarian communism.

President Meany, I bring to you and your collaborators special greetings from your personal friend Fidel Velazquez, General Secretary of CTM. And I give you a symbolic embrace on behalf of myself and all the Mexicans who are with me on the platform.

And now, greetings and best wishes to you all for a successful Convention.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much. I appreciate very much the message from the Mexican trade union movement.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for announcements.

Church Services

. . . Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler announced the following church services:

Catholic: Labor Mass 10 a.m. Sunday, December 8, Star of the Sea Church, Atlantic and California Avenues.

Protestant: 10:45 a.m. Sunday, December 8, St. Paul Methodist Church, Ohio and Pacific Avenues.

Jewish: Congregation Rodef Sholom Synagogue, 2016 Pacific Avenue, 8:30 a.m. Saturday, December 7.

Some of our members will be guest speakers at churches here in Atlantic City this Sunday. The following is a list of these churches:

Al Whitehouse, Director, Industrial Union Department, Trinity Methodist Church, Ventnor, New Jersey, 11:00 a.m. Service.

Paul Christopher, Director, Region 8, AFL-CIO, Christ Methodist Church, Pacific Avenue, Atlantic City, 11:00 a.m. Service.

John Ramsey, United Steelworkers, Olivet Presbyterian Church,

Tennessee and Pacific Avenue, 11:00 a.m. Service, also Asbury Methodist Church, 1713 Arctic Avenue, 8:00 p.m. Service.

Arthur Goldberg, Rodef Sholom Synagogue, 2016 Pacific Avenue, Atlantic City. Morning Service begins at 8:30 a.m., Saturday — Sermon at 10:15 a.m.

. . . Following announcements concerning the time and location of various committee meetings, the Convention recessed at 5:05 p.m. until 9:30 o'clock a.m. on Monday, December 9, 1957.

PROCEEDINGS
Second Constitutional Convention of the
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

THIRD DAY — MORNING SESSION
MONDAY, DEC. 9, 1957

President Meany called the Convention to order at 9:35 o'clock a.m.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The invocation this morning will be delivered by Rabbi Mosheh Shapiro, President of the Board of Rabbis of Atlantic City.

Our Heavenly Father, Creator of the Universe, Thou hast created Man in Thine image; endowing him also with creativity, in a measure according to his limitations. Mankind has recognized its responsibility in advancing Thy creation, to the degree in which it becomes partners to Thee—with aspirations of perfection, however conscious of Thine ultimate dispensation.

It is written in Holy Scripture, on the seventh day of Creation . . . "He rested from all His work which God had created to make." The universe which Thou hast called into being for us to fashion . . . this, in accordance to Thy will . . .

We invoke Thy blessing upon this august assembly, who represent the laborer in this land of freedom. Men and women who are directly responsible for the production by which we measure our material greatness, and without whom the establishment of freedom and security from want would have remained empty and meaningless illusions.

They are truly Partners to the Divine in creating avenues by which the Biblical injunction, "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," . . . became tolerable, then agreeable, and finally, honorable.

Be Thou with these, O God, in their solemn deliberations. Send forth unto them Thy light and Thy truth, that their probing and groping be illumined with results of worthy decisions, penetrating and sound judgments, fair and righteous conclusions.

Cause Thy light of wisdom to drive out the darkness from the dens of ignorance and hate; cause the light of truth to disperse the stormy clouds of arrogance and intimidation from their midsts. May the light of Thy countenance shine forth upon the joining ranks of Labor; that the dedicated work of their leaders through the generations, who upheld Thy truths, be not undone by either the "alleged" champions or challengers of labor's integrity.

Strengthen our faith in Thee; our trust in one another. Bless the efforts of this major conclave, and unite in purpose, all who labor for the common good. May they realize their great purpose, in creating the security of all laboring citizens throughout our great Republic. In the phrase of the Psalmist . . . "Shine forth with Thy countenance upon us, that we may find salvation." Amen.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Rabbi Shapiro.

Message from Former President of Venezuela

December 7, 1957

New York, N. Y.

George Meany, President, AFL-CIO

Atlantic City, New Jersey

In my character of former President of Venezuela and President of the Democratic Action Party at present, it pleases me to send a greeting of solidarity to that historical assembly of the democratic and free labor movement of the U. S. The path followed by that powerful labor organization in its fights against totalitarianism—the Sovietic as well as the one established in Latin America—confirms my just position while I was in office in 1946, in urging the solidarity and the understanding between the organized workers of my country and democratic unions of the United States. This relation is very tight at present. This significant meeting of the AFL-CIO is taking place while the students and workers of Venezuela are fighting in the streets against the intent of the governing despotism in power to celebrate a plebescite similar to those staged in Communist countries at gun point instead of celebrating a free election. The free Venezuelas have faith that in this hour of decisive struggle for the people of our country to conquer its basic liberties, among them labor freedom, we shall count on the firm backing of the organized workers of the United States.

ROMULO BETANCOURT

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, Vice President Harrison.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARRISON: The Committee on Resolutions has considered 141 resolutions, and we are prepared now to submit a partial report on a large group of those resolutions.

Secretary David McDonald will present this portion of the report.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman and delegates, rather than read the entire text of the resolutions, perhaps we can save a bit of time if I refer to the title and then read the resolve. When the resolves are particularly long, perhaps we will even try to summarize those resolves.

You have before you a book entitled Resolutions Committee Report No. 1, and the first resolution in the book is entitled "CARE".

CARE

Resolution No. 4—By Delegates Lee W. Minton, Raymond H. Dalton, Newton W. Black, Charles Reed, Roy Zimmerman, Elaine Alameida, Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, The American relief organization, CARE, Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc., is playing a vital role in bettering international relations through distribution of food and self-help supplies to the needy in free areas of the world, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO is one of the 26 member agencies of CARE, and has been since CARE was established in 1945, taking a major part in CARE's foreign relief activities, and

WHEREAS, At this crucial period of world tension, CARE is building good will for the United States, its traditions, its institutions and its people by extending the hand of friendship to troubled peoples in other lands, and

WHEREAS, CARE has been especially useful in giving encouragement to struggling, foreign free trade unions and their members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, assembled December 5, 1957, at Atlantic City, New Jersey, go on record as endorsing and encouraging CARE in its work and urge our affiliated organizations and their members to become donors of food packages and self-help supplies available under the CARE program, to the end that better international relations will result between the American people and their friends and allies.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, I move adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMUNITY SERVICES

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates J. A. Beirne, John L. Crull, Mary Hanscom, J. M. Massey, Ray Hackney, W. A. Smallwood, Walter Schaar, D. K. Gordon, D. L. McCowen, Wm. J. Walsh, Communications Workers of America. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO is dedicated to the proposition that what is good for the community is good for labor, and

WHEREAS, It is in this spirit that members of the AFL-CIO function first and foremost as citizens of their communities, and

WHEREAS, Further to encourage the active participation and total integration of union members and their families in community affairs, the AFL-CIO, by constitutional provision, has established a permanent national committee on community services, and

WHEREAS, The objective of the AFL-CIO in the area of community organization for health, welfare and recreation shall be as follows:

1. Encourage equitable labor representation on agency boards and committees, both public and voluntary.

2. Stimulate labor participation in formulating agency policies and programs.

3. Develop techniques and methods to interpret for union members agency programs and practices such as union and consumer counselling.

4. Assist union members, their families and other citizens in time of need, particularly during strikes, layoffs and unemployment.

5. Plan for union participation in civil defense and disaster relief programs and operations.

6. Help in the development of health and welfare services, such as programs for community health education, blood banks, mental health, alcoholism, retired workers, youth, recreation and multiple screening.

7. Coordinate fund-raising drives, through voluntary federation wherever possible, for voluntary health and welfare services including the promotion of a National Health Fund.

8. Cooperate with other agencies in dealing with and in solving social and health problems.

9. Participate in all genuine efforts designed to improve social work standards and practices.

10. Participate in international social welfare programs; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations urges:

1. All national and international affiliates to establish community services departments with full-time staff wherever possible.

2. All state and city central bodies to establish community services committees with full-time staff wherever possible.

3. All local unions to establish community services committees.

4. All affiliates to extend full cooperation to the National Committee and Department in the development of its policies and programs.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This resolution proposes that AFL-CIO members participate as citizens, in community affairs; it further defines the areas of community service activity, and it calls upon AFL-CIO affiliates to establish appropriate organizational machinery for the purpose of promoting and developing the community service program.

The Committee recommends approval.

On behalf of the Committee, Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the recommendation.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

SALUTE TO LOUISIANA TRADE UNIONISTS

Resolution No. 11—By Delegates J. A. Beirne, John L. Crull, Mary Hanscom, J. M. Massey, Ray Hackney, W. A. Smallwood, Walter Schaar, D. K. Gordon, D. L. McCowen, Wm. J. Walsh, Communications Workers of America.

WHEREAS, In the late spring of 1957, Hurricane Audrey roared out of the Gulf of Mexico, buffeting the Louisiana coastal area with its high winds and a resulting tidal wave. In its wake, this tropical storm left more than 500 dead and more than 1,200 families homeless, and

WHEREAS, Before the high winds had subsided, the American Red Cross issued an emergency appeal for assistance, and trade union members throughout the state of Louisiana answered the call, and

WHEREAS, Functioning through representatives of AFL-CIO Community Service Activities who were on the job with the American Red Cross, these trade unionists wrote a bright new chapter in the history of labor's unselfish contribution in the cause of aiding victims of disaster, and

WHEREAS, Trade union members helped in the grim task of recovering and burying the dead; of feeding the dazed and disheartened living; of manning the mobile canteens which the AFL-CIO had presented to the Red Cross; of helping to restore much-needed services such as electric power, sewage systems and telephone communications, and

WHEREAS, Without waiting to be asked, trade union members dug deep into their own pockets and their union treasuries to raise funds for the assistance of their less fortunate neighbors, and

WHEREAS, When the monumental task of rebuilding the storm-shattered coastal communities of Cameron, Creole and Grand Chenier was undertaken, members of the Louisiana AFL-CIO State Building Trades Council volunteered their essential skills in a magnificent program of assisting the American Red Cross to provide new homes to needy families at no cost to them, and

WHEREAS, Recognizing the great humanitarian efforts of these trade unionists; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations pay tribute to these gallant trade unionists from the state of Louisiana, commending them for their unselfish activities and their devotion to the cause of helping people in need. By their every action in bringing aid and comfort to the victims of this tragic storm—most of them not members of the trade union movement—they have given inspiration to all who labor to fulfill the basic precept of the AFL-CIO that the union member is, first and foremost, a citizen and a member of his community. The action of these Louisiana trade unionists is living proof of this belief, and worthy of the highest praise which this Convention can pay on behalf of the millions of men and women who are members of the AFL-CIO.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This resolution describes the tragic disaster caused by Hurricane Audrey in the Louisiana coastal area in the spring of this year; it spells out the glorious story of unselfish devotion to the task of rebuilding both lives and property; it singles out for particular praise the Red Cross, the Louisiana State AFL-CIO and the Building Trades Council for raising funds, restoring services and building homes; it proposes that the Convention commend these organizations and their members for this important aid to the victims of the disaster.

The Committee recommends approval of the resolution amended so that the sixth WHEREAS reads as follows:

WHEREAS, When the monumental task of rebuilding the storm-shattered coastal communities of Cameron, Creole and Grand Chenier was undertaken, members of the Louisiana AFL-CIO volunteered their essential skills in a magnificent program of assisting the American Red Cross to provide new homes to needy families at no cost to them, and

This change in wording will give recognition to all trade unionists in Louisiana who so actively participated in the rebuilding program.

SALUTE TO LOUISIANA TRADE UNIONISTS

Resolution No. 11 (Amended)—By Delegates J. A. Beirne, John L. Crull, Mary Hanscom, J. M. Massey, Ray Hackney, W. A. Smallwood, Walter Schaar, D. K. Gordon, D. L. McCowan, Wm. J. Walsh, Communications Workers of America. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, In the late spring of 1957, Hurricane Audrey roared out of the Gulf of Mexico, buffeting the Louisiana coastal area with its high winds and a resulting tidal wave. In its wake, this tropical storm left more than 500 dead and more than 1,200 families homeless, and

WHEREAS, Before the high winds had subsided, the American Red Cross issued an emergency appeal for assistance, and trade union members throughout the state of Louisiana answered the call, and

WHEREAS, Functioning through representatives of AFL-CIO Community Service Activities who were on the job with the American Red Cross, these trade unionists wrote a bright new chapter in the history of labor's unselfish contribution in the cause of aiding victims of disaster, and

WHEREAS, Trade union members helped in the grim task of recovering and burying the dead; of feeding the dazed and disheartened living; of manning the mobile canteens which the AFL-CIO had presented to the Red Cross; of helping to restore much-needed services such as electric power, sewage systems and telephone communications, and

WHEREAS, Without waiting to be asked, trade union members dug deep into their own pockets and their union treasuries to raise funds for the assistance of their less fortunate neighbors, and

WHEREAS, When the monumental task of rebuilding the storm-shattered coastal communities of Cameron, Creole and Grand Chenier was undertaken, members of the Louisiana AFL-CIO volunteered their essential skills in a magnificent program of assisting the American Red Cross to provide new homes to needy families at no cost to them, and

WHEREAS, Recognizing the great humanitarian efforts of these trade unionists; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations pay tribute to these gallant trade unionists from the state of Louisiana, commending them for their unselfish activities and their devotion to the cause of helping people in need. By their every action in bringing aid and comfort to the victims of this tragic storm—most of them not members of the trade union move-

ment—they have given inspiration to all who labor to fulfill the basic precept of the AFL-CIO that the union member is, first and foremost, a citizen and a member of his community. The action of these Louisiana trade unionists is living proof of this belief, and worthy of the highest praise which this Convention can pay on behalf of the millions of men and women who are members of the AFL-CIO.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: On behalf of the Committee, Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the amended resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates J. A. Beirne, John L. Crull, Mary Hanscom, J. M. Massey, Ray Hackney, W. A. Smallwood, Walter Schaar, D. K. Gordon, D. L. McCowen, Wm. J. Walsh, Communications Workers of America. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, The rising tide of juvenile delinquency throughout America poses a serious threat to the future of our nation, for more and more of the young people in our country are involved in acts of crime and violence in defiance of our society, and

WHEREAS, This is a problem which concerns the millions of men and women in the AFL-CIO, just as it concerns all other right-thinking citizens. Because the trade union movement is deeply concerned, through the medium of AFL-CIO Community Service Activities, in the development of a responsible program of action for the prevention and cure of juvenile delinquency; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in Convention assembled December 5, 1957, in Atlantic City, New Jersey, urges all trade union members to take an active part in the development and execution of community programs aimed at curbing juvenile delinquency now and preventing its recurrence in the future, and be it further

RESOLVED, That AFL-CIO members initiate action to persuade municipal governments to assume their full responsibility for fighting juvenile delinquency through the use of government funds to eliminate slums, to provide decent, adequate schools, to insure cultural advantages, adequate health standards, recreational facilities and job opportunities for our young people, and be it further

RESOLVED, That AFL-CIO members urge upon municipal governments the role of coordinating all public and private agencies in a sound and concerted program of combatting juvenile delinquency, so that all disciplines may be brought to bear into a cooperative rather than a competing effort upon this problem, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we dedicate ourselves to helping build the inner resources of our youth by strengthening family life, the home, the school and the church.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This resolution calls attention to the rising tide of juvenile delinquency; it declares that this is a problem of great concern to the AFL-CIO; it recommends trade union participation in community programs designed to prevent and curb juvenile delinquency; it further urges municipal governments

to assume full responsibility in financing and coordinating programs for the strengthening of family life and for the elimination of the causes of juvenile delinquency.

The Committee recommends approval.

Committee Secretary McDonald moved adoption of the recommendation of the Committee.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Resolution No. 18 was amended to read as follows:

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Resolution No. 18 (Amended): By Delegates of: American Federation of Government Employees; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; American Federation of Technical Engineers; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Association of Fire Fighters; International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers; International Association of Machinists; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Photo-Engravers Union of North America; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Typographical Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; Metal Trades Council and Central Labor Union of Panama Canal Zone; National Association of Letter Carriers; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations; National Association of Post Office and Postal Transportation Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; National Postal Transport Association; Office Employees International Union; The National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers, Cosmetologists and Proprietors International Union of America. Submitted, as amended, by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, Federal Government Employees continued to make gains in the field of legislation following the First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, and

WHEREAS, The main legislative result in 1956 was extension and improvement of the Civil Service Retirement Act affecting practically all persons employed in the United States Government Service. This result was brought about by combining this bill in the same package with the executive salary legislation which the Administration and Department and Agency heads so earnestly wanted approved, and

WHEREAS, It required the renewed, combined efforts of all affiliated unions in the Federal Public Service this year to accomplish their salary legislation goal which fell short of enactment only by another Presidential veto for both classified and postal pay. It was the fifth time that the House of Representatives, by a discharge petition, called the postal legislation to the floor and acted on it after discharging the basic committee, and

WHEREAS, The campaign will continue to be waged in an effort to catch up with the economic procession and to overcome the continual

objections on the part of the National Administration that it cannot or will not meet its just obligations because to do so would be to "promote inflationary tendencies," and

WHEREAS, This year, the Blue-Collar groups made a substantial gain, as affiliates to the Government Employees' Council (AFL-CIO), when retroactivity of wage board awards was provided in the bill passed by the Senate, thus providing our Unions opportunity to give full time and attention to the House to get the legislation completed, and

WHEREAS, In addition to expansion of the scope of the Lloyd-LaFollette Act of August 4, 1912, it continues to be the intention of our Government Employee Unions to bring about recognition through legislation amending this act in the form of labor-management relations, and

WHEREAS, High on the agenda for our Unions in this field will continue to be a program providing both basic and major medical care. Official hesitancy in promoting such program has resulted in our Unions giving much more than ordinary thought and attention to formulating such humane procedures, and

WHEREAS, Our Postal, Classified, Craft and Technical Service Unions maintain that it is obligatory upon the Federal Government to shoulder its responsibilities in whatever matter involved toward its own personnel, whether the situation involves wages, hours of work, or conditions of employment. These must be equal to or better than those prevailing in private employment, and

WHEREAS, The Government must assume leadership in such regard to advance the basic interest of itself and its own employees, and

WHEREAS, The leaders and delegations of our official Federal and Postal Employee Unions continue to request the same splendid support given them in promoting their legislative programs by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. That program is as follows; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That

(a) Statutory recognition of Postal and Federal Employee Unions in keeping with modern advanced industrial relations practices in private industry.

(b) Increase pay for Postal and Federal Employees to meet the ever increasing cost of living. To enable Postal and Federal Employees to enjoy the improved American Standard of living. To afford proper recognition of increased productivity.

(c) To provide substantial increases in the annuities of those on the Civil Service Retirement rolls.

(d) Basic and Major Hospital and Medical Insurance Program for Federal employees with employee representation in administration of plan. Federal Government to underwrite at least 50% of the cost of the Basic Plan and 100% of the Major Plan.

(e) Provide for retroactive pay for Wage Board Employees in keeping with the provisions of S. 25 approved by the Senate during the first session of the 85th Congress.

(f) Exclude from taxable income taxes imposed upon employees under the Social Security, Railroad Retirement and Civil Service Retirement Systems.

(g) Legislation and/or regulations that will prohibit the consolidation of the positions of fire fighters and policemen. To provide fire fighters with salaries in keeping with their skill. To prohibit the practice of requiring fire fighters in the Federal Service to perform work unrelated to fire fighting.

(h) Legislation to amend the Hatch Act. To provide greater opportunity for public employees to participate as American citizens in the affairs of Government.

(i) Legislation to protect the salaries of Postal, Classified and Wage Board employees whose positions are downgraded.

(j) Oppose the establishment of one Central Wage Board and support the establishment of true collective bargaining between Federal agencies and Unions representing employees under the present wage board system.

(k) Enactment of legislation to provide equitable overtime pay for all Federal Government employees, including substitutes and hourly rate employees in the postal service.

(l) Legislation to provide for a committee of employees and management to cope with the social and economic problems brought about by mechanization and automation.

(m) Oppose the Post Office Department's and all Government Agencies' speed-up system, misnamed "Works Performance Standards and Basic Motion and Time Study Programs."

(n) Oppose the curtailment of postal services and support a program of full utilization of all postal distributing facilities to improve postal service.

(o) Development of Government-wide promotion standards and establishment of impartial promotional procedure with recognition of seniority.

(p) Revision of the Classification Acts to remove inequities.

(q) Legislation to prevent use of military personnel in Federal Government positions which by their nature could effectively be filled by civilian employees.

(r) Printing in the United States of all foreign currency, stamps and securities financed by the U. S. Government; preserve the use of steel intaglio printed postage stamps and the printing of all U. S. savings and other bonds in the Government Printing Office and/or the Bureau of Printing and Engraving.

(s) Barbers and Beauticians be citizens of the United States and must have licenses to practice, as provided for in H.R. 8829 and H.R. 8927.

Statement on Resolution No. 18

Your Committee is constrained to emphasize one paragraph of Resolution No. 18. Section (b) recommends endorsement by this convention of fair and equitable wages for employees of our Federal Government.

There has been only one general wage increase for these employees during the past 6 years. The average increase amounted to less than 8 percent.

The blame for this discriminatory and inequitable wage treatment cannot be assessed against the affiliated employee organizations. Their officers, in conjunction with the AFL-CIO Legislative Department, have worked diligently and successfully to cause the introduction of wage legislation in the Congress of the United States.

Nor can the Congress be blamed for this unfair wage treatment. By substantial margins, on at least 4 occasions since 1954, the Congress has approved salary increases for both postal and other Government workers, only to have these congressional enactments vetoed by the incumbent President of the United States.

Moreover, there is no evidence that suggests the American taxpayer condones shabby wage treatment of the millions of wage earners employed by Uncle Sam. On the contrary, there has always been overwhelming public support for decent wages and other good working conditions for civil servants.

Where, then, must the blame lie for a situation which denies these workers an adequate salary—the absence of which prevents full enjoyment of the accepted American Standard of Living by these workers and their families?

The blame to a great degree must rest at the door of the White House.

The 4 presidential vetoes of wage legislation since 1954 have denied Government employees sufficient purchasing power to enable them to maintain pace with ever-increasing price increases. Thus, these 4 vetoes cannot be justified on economic grounds.

They cannot be justified on moral grounds, because a policy which persists in maintaining low wages not only disregards the dignity of the worker, but denies him a just share in the fruits of his productivity.

The indifference of the Executive Branch in the area of fair Federal wages is perhaps most reprehensible from the point of view of equity. By Federal statute, civil servants are prohibited from striking to enforce their economic demands. The forfeiture of this economic weapon places Government workers in a position unique in accepted bargaining practices. Because the Federal Government virtually exercises life and death control over wages of its employees, it has a special and specific obligation to deal fairly, speedily and adequately with the salary needs of public employees. This it has not done.

The 4 presidential vetoes to date of Federal salary legislation constitute an unenviable record—a record that is also unequalled in the 181-year history of our nation.

For the foregoing reasons, your Committee recommends adoption of this Resolution, together with a strong pledge by this convention of the full support of the entire AFL-CIO for the Legislative program of the affiliated Government employee organizations.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary McDonald the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

. . . Committee Secretary McDonald presented the following report:

RESOLUTIONS Nos. 7-21-25-27-29-31-32-55

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, this morning we adopted Resolution No. 18, entitled "Government Employees' Legislative Program." This resolution, of course, was unanimously adopted. We have in the original book of resolutions presented to the delegates, the first book, Resolutions Nos. 7, 21, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32 and 55. All of these resolutions were covered by Resolution No. 18, and consequently the Committee recommends that no additional action is necessary. Texts of these resolutions follow:

PRINTING OF GOVERNMENT SECURITIES, MONEY AND STAMPS

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate James L. Connor, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, To require that all negotiable securities, paper money and stamps be plate printed from engraved plates in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in Convention assembled at Atlantic City, New Jersey, December 5, 1957, go on record in favor of enactment of legislation by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America that notwithstanding any other provision of law the faces, backs, and tints of all United States negotiable securities, United States paper money, Federal Reserve notes, United States postage and all other stamps that are now being plate printed from engraved (intaglio) plates in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, shall continue to be so plate printed from engraved (intaglio) plates, together with the designing and engraving necessary for the accomplishment thereof, shall be done in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in the Department of the Treasury; that the technique and/or quality of the engraving, the printing, and the paper upon which they are plate printed shall not be reduced or simplified merely to accommodate automation.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES 1958 LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates James A. Campbell, Esther F. Johnson, Timothy J. Kelly, American Federation of Government Employees.

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, pledge its support to the affiliated organizations in the Government Employees' Council of the AFL-CIO and instruct the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO to support the following legislation for that purpose:

1. Immediate salary and wage increases in line with present-day living costs, wage increases in private industry and higher employee productivity.

2. Legislation recognizing the right of employee unions to consult with agency officials on personnel policies and practices; union representation on all boards considering such policies; provision for voluntary payroll deductions of union dues.

3. Hospitalization and medical insurance protecting Federal employees and their families with an adequate contribution by the Government as well as an employer and employee union representation in the administration of the program.

4. Recognition of the effects of "automation" on the job status of employees and participation of employees in benefits resulting from increased mechanization.

5. Establishment of a 35-hour work week.

6. Appointment of independent boards of appeal with employee union membership to make binding decisions on all adverse personnel actions.

7. Restoration of 26 days Annual Leave and 15 days Sick Leave for all Federal employees, with the right to accumulate 60 days annual leave.

8. Development of Government-wide promotion standards; promotion from within an agency; recognition of seniority as a factor; union representation in competitive promotion plans.

9. Full overtime pay for all hours worked in excess of 8 in any workday; elimination of compensatory time; time-and-one-half for all Saturday work; double time for Sunday work; increased night differential rates; establishment of an additional day off when a holiday occurs on Saturday or other non-work day; retention of present overtime benefits where they exceed the minimum outlined above. This applies to both classified and wage board employees.

10. Continued improvement of the Civil Service Retirement System.

11. Establishment of impartial commission to study and recommend needed improvements in present classification and wage board systems.

OPPOSE COMBINING FIRE AND POLICE DEPARTMENTS

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates John P. Redmond, Wm. D. Buck, Howard P. Barry, James T. McGuire, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The combining of a Fire and Police Department into a so-called "Safety Department" is dangerous, resulting in higher insurance rates and lowered protection for the public, and

WHEREAS, Over the years this plan has failed to be approved of in the several cities in which it was tried out, and

WHEREAS, The integration or combining of a Fire and Police Department has proven to be more costly in operation than two separate departments and the efficiency of each department has been reduced; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO delegates assembled in convention at Atlantic City, New Jersey, beginning December 5, 1957, go on record as opposing the combining of Fire and Police Departments, and be it further

RESOLVED, That, in the best interests of our citizens, proper publicity be given and all affiliates of the AFL-CIO notified and instructed to use every means to prevent the combining of Fire and Police Departments.

SKILLED CLASSIFICATION FOR FIRE FIGHTERS

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates John P. Redmond, Wm. D. Buck, Howard P. Barry, James T. McGuire, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The duties of the fire fighter require skill in his profession and are becoming more complex and diversified due to the many types of new materials now in use, and

WHEREAS, Many types of material are of very inflammable composition and many produce toxic gases and poisons while burning, and

WHEREAS, Firefighting is a highly hazardous profession and most subdivisions of government pay less than the scale for skilled workers in most areas; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO in Convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., go on record in favor of placing the fire fighters in their skilled classification, and be it further

RESOLVED, That notice of this classification will be forwarded to all affiliates and the proper government agencies.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF FEDERAL AND STATE EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Neil C. Sherburne, Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The foremost problem that faces the world today is the constant search and struggle of people all over the world for freedom and liberty of thought and expression, and

WHEREAS, In the United States, a country that should lead the world in preserving and promoting democratic processes, Federal and State employees have less liberty and personal rights in the field of political action than similar employees in other countries; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in convention assembled, go on record to suggest and urge members of Congress to secure the enactment of legislation amending the Hatch Act, Civil Service Rules and Executive Orders nullifying them where they are inconsistent with the following in regard to political activity of Federal and State employees:

Delete from existing statutes:

The prohibition against taking an active part in political management or in political campaigns.

Preserve the following phases of present law:

1. Prohibit the use of official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results.

2. Prohibit solicitation or political contributions in a Federal Building or on Federal premises by anyone or during the hours of Federal employment.

3. Prohibit solicitation or receipt of anything of value in return for promises of use of influence to secure an appointive position in the United States or an advancement of position.

4. Prohibit discrimination against employees because of political activities.

5. Prohibit discrimination against those on relief because of political activities.

6. Prohibit granting of special benefits as a reward for political activities.

7. Prohibit a superior official from requesting or requiring the rendition of political work by a subordinate.

8. Prohibit any reference or inquiry as to political activities or affiliations upon appointment to vacancies except as to membership in organizations in which membership by Federal employees is prohibited by law.

9. Prohibit any coercion or threats to employees, to influence elections.

10. Maintain present penalties or make them more severe for violation of the above principles, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Members of Congress.

PROMOTIONAL POLICIES FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Neil C. Sherburne, Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Present promotion policies as directed by the Civil Service at present are not adequate, and

WHEREAS, It becomes increasingly important and necessary to "spell out" in detail the broad general pattern necessary for the Civil Service to follow, and

WHEREAS, The Civil Service does not adequately take the initiative in planning and requesting adequate legislation to support fair and reasonable standards of employment for Federal employees, and

WHEREAS, The standards for Federal workers are continuously lagging and falling further behind those work standards of other than Federal employment, and

WHEREAS, The Federal employee does not have the right to strike (has voluntarily given up this right, to show his good will) and therefore must rely upon the good will, initiative and generosity of an all paternal employer; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in Convention assembled, support legislation, which will be designed to secure the establishment of adequate promotional policies for Federal employees.

SALARY INCREASE FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Neil C. Sherburne, Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The wage policy of Congress concerning postal employees has been so niggardly that positions in the postal service cannot compete with others in recruitment of help, and

WHEREAS, This poor wage policy for the last ten years has been most detrimental to all employees in the postal service necessitating that they work part-time at other jobs and get their wives to work so as to supplement their income in order to keep up with employees in private industry, and

WHEREAS, Such a wage policy has gradually lowered the quality of help in the postal service to such an extent that it is becoming increasingly difficult to recruit help and most of the help that stays comes from the bottom of the register, the job not being attractive enough monetarily to attract the type of people formerly attracted into the postal service, and

WHEREAS, It is high time this poor wage policy of Congress was corrected in order to insure induction of proper kind of help into the postal service, and a bill H.R. 1116, introduced by Congressman Lesinski in the 84th Congress will provide a \$600 annual salary increase which would enable postal workers to again lift up their heads; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in Convention assembled, go on record endorsing legislation similar to the Lesinski Bill, H.R. 1116 of the 84th Congress which will grant a \$600.00 salary increase to postal employees.

HEALTH AND ACCIDENT PLAN FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The administration has seen fit to institute a group life insurance plan for Post Office employees, which operates at a minimum cost to said employees, and as a result has accumulated a huge surplus, and

WHEREAS, There now exists a dire need for a group health and accident plan for postal employees and their families; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations assembled at Atlantic City, New Jersey, December 5-13, 1957, go on record as favoring an equitable health and accident plan for postal employees and their families, with full cost to be borne by the Federal Government.

. . . Committee Secretary McDonald moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL INSURANCE FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Neil C. Sherburne, Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, Much has been done in private industry to support and provide hospitalization and medical insurance for employees in private industry, and

WHEREAS, Monetary compensation for Federal Employees has never been adequate as compared to that in private industry, and

WHEREAS, Federal employees are entitled to fringe benefits at least equal to those in private industry, and

WHEREAS, Preservation of the health of the Federal Employees and their freedom from worry of the monetary provisions required thereof to encourage the efficiency of properly cared for and satisfied and compensated Federal employees, and

WHEREAS, Such improvement in the medical care of Federal employees and their dependents would improve the efficiency of the operation of the Federal Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in Convention assembled, go on record in favor of legislation to provide hospital and medical insurance for Federal Employees.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: No action is required on this resolution, because its subject matter has been covered by action on Resolution No. 18.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates Thomas J. Lloyd, Patrick E. Gorman, Joseph Belsky, R. Emmett Kelly, Marvin W. Hook, Harry Poole, Ray Wentz, Sam Twedell, Roy Scheurich, Leon Schachter, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, Industrial hazards and injury are recognized as significant factors in the modern system of production of the nation, and

WHEREAS, The loss of life or limb of the breadwinner is a concern not only of the worker and family directly involved but to the community as well, and

WHEREAS, Several states—some of them as much as forty years ago—introduced and enacted comprehensive Workmen's Compensation laws for the protection of the wage earners of their states, and

WHEREAS, The Workmen's Compensation picture nationally is still a jungle of confusion and patchwork; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations go on record urging the prompt enactment of a sound Federal Workmen's Compensation Law to provide protection on a more adequate basis to those toilers of the Nation who may become maimed or otherwise injured as a result of the production system.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee recommended concurrence in this resolution.

On motion of Committee Secretary McDonald, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

THIRTY-TWO HOUR WORK WEEK FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Neil C. Sherburne, Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are 8 recognized legal holidays for Federal employees, and

WHEREAS, The law provides that if the holiday falls on Saturday for Federal employees working a regular work week, Monday through Friday, it is lost, and

WHEREAS, The passage of a Federal Law providing the establishment of a 32-Hour Work Week during any week containing one of the recognized holidays for Federal employees would facilitate the equitable administration of providing the recognized legal holidays for all Federal employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in convention assembled, support legislation to secure for Federal employees a law providing the 32-Hour Work Week during any week containing one of the recognized holidays for Federal employees.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD said Resolution No. 37 was amended to read as follows:

HOLIDAYS FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 37 (Amended)—By Delegate Neil C. Sherburne, Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, There are eight recognized legal holidays for Federal employees, and

WHEREAS, The law provides that if the holiday falls on Saturday for Federal employees working a regular work week, Monday through Friday, it is lost; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in convention assembled, support legislation to secure for Federal employees

a law providing for the granting of recognized holidays to Federal employees including holidays which fall on Saturday.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved that the report of the Committee be unanimously adopted and it was so done.

REPRESENTATION FOR BLIND PERSONS

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Robert S. Ash, Central Labor Council of Alameda County, AFL-CIO, and Delegate Victor Bussie, Louisiana State Labor Council, and Central Labor Council of New Orleans and Vicinity. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, There is evidence of a tendency on the part of some government officials, both state and national, who are responsible for administering programs of aid to the blind, to avoid consultation concerning the problems of blind people with representatives of bona fide organizations of the blind, and in addition, to exercise the powers of their office to discourage legitimate organization of blind persons by discriminating and threatening discrimination against their representatives and members, and

WHEREAS, The right of organization for representation is a basic principle common to organized labor and all other groups of citizens having a common interest, and

WHEREAS, Any denial of any such right to any group is a threat to the right of self-organization by all groups, and

WHEREAS, Legislation has been introduced in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States (S. 2411—H.R. 8609) the purpose of which is to provide for representation by blind persons through their own chosen representatives and organizations, and to prevent the exercise of official authority in discriminating against the members and officers of these bona fide organizations, and

WHEREAS, The principle of this proposed legislation is consistent with the basic trade union and democratic principle that groups and organizations of individuals, bound together by a common need and common interest, are best acquainted with the nature of their needs and should therefore be consulted as to the content and administration of programs designed to meet these needs; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations endorse in principle the Kennedy-Baring Bill above cited.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved the report of the Committee and it was unanimously adopted.

PROHIBITION

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates of: International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers of America; International Association of Machinists; Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union; International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers; Coopers International Union of North America; United Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America; Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, (1) Our Nation, during thirteen years of National Prohibition (1920-1933) experienced its greatest era of crime and disorder, coupled with the complete breakdown of the law enforcement agencies and the corruption of our entire political system;

(2) During the years of the so-called "noble experiment," moderation (or temperance) in the use of alcoholic beverages was forgotten, the moral code having become so distorted that excess was no longer frowned upon;

(3) National Prohibition destroyed the system of licensed and regulated alcoholic beverages, substituting in their place the illicit, impure and unwholesome products of the moonshiner and the bootlegger;

(4) National Prohibition destroyed the source of billions of dollars in tax revenues for the Federal, State and Local Governments, placing a greater burden of taxation elsewhere. In addition to this loss of revenue, the abortive attempt to enforce the Prohibition Law required the expenditure of additional millions of dollars, placing yet another great burden upon the taxpayers;

(5) The destruction of the alcoholic beverage industries which was the first direct result of enactment of the Prohibition Law, followed by the whole or partial destruction of the allied industries, cost millions of American workers their jobs, flooding the labor market and weakening or jeopardizing the wage structure and working standards of all other workers;

(6) National Prohibition created the gangster and the racketeer; increased the alcoholism and drunkenness rate in the United States; led to the corruption of our youth; made lawbreakers and hypocrites of our citizens;

(7) The American people in 1933 repealed the National Prohibition Law, having tried it and found it a failure. In the referenda conducted that year, approximately 66 percent of the voters favored repeal, and in numerous surveys conducted since then, this same proportion of the people is still opposed to any and all prohibition laws;

(8) Despite this repudiation by a two-thirds majority of the voters, the prohibition forces in the United States are again working to restore the law. Prohibition has again been saddled upon many communities throughout the United States, and unless we organize strong opposition to the prohibition movement, it will continue to spread and eventually succeed in again restoring National Prohibition with all its accompanying evils, not the least of which will be the loss of employment for millions of American workers; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations go on record as being unalterably opposed to the enactment of any and all prohibition laws, National, State or Local.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD recommended adoption of the resolution on behalf of the Committee.

... The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

RAILWAY LABOR ACT AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Michael J. Quill, Matthew Guinan, Ellis F. Van Riper, James F. Horst, Gustav Faber, Eugene Attreed, Frank Sheehan, Transport Workers Union of America. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, The Railway Act has provided fair and workable procedures for the settlement of labor disputes in the airline and railroad industries, and

WHEREAS, Senator John W. Bricker (R-Ohio) has introduced in the United States Senate a Bill, S-656, to amend Section 201 of the Railway Labor Act; this proposal would limit and restrict the right of certain employees to organize by altering the definition of the term "employee" or "subordinate official" as presently contained in that section; and

WHEREAS, Under present legislative authority, the National Mediation Board, the administrative agency of the Railway Labor Act, is charged with determining what constitutes a proper class and craft and what constitutes an employee or subordinate official, for representation purposes under the Act, and

WHEREAS, The proposed amendment would make it impossible for the Board to exercise its authority in these cases and would result in the destruction of many class and craft determination decisions which have been reached through the free, impartial and carefully considered independent hearing process over many years, and

WHEREAS, This amendment would also deny presently unorganized workers self determination and their free, impartial and carefully considered independent hearing processes plus the right to union representation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the AFL-CIO does hereby pledge its energies to the defeat of this or any other measure which would deny these members their long established rights or deny employees effective union representation.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the resolution.

PRESIDENT MEANY: This resolution has to do with an attempt to weaken labor's position under the Railway Labor Act, which, of course, has been on the statute books for many years. And the resolve is that we are opposed.

The report of the Committee favors the adoption of the resolution. Is there any discussion? Is there any objection?

Hearing none, the resolution will be considered carried.

LIBERALIZING THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Michael J. Quill, Matthew Guinan, Ellis F. Van Riper, James F. Horst, Gustav Faber, Eugene Attreed, Frank Sheehan, Transport Workers Union of America.

WHEREAS, Railroad workers for many years have supported legislation to amend the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act to provide more liberal benefits for the workers and their beneficiaries covered by these acts; and

WHEREAS, Railroad workers for many years have proposed and endorsed legislation which would provide for:

1. The right of railroad workers to retire at full benefits after 30 years of service, regardless of age;

2. Reduction of the present standard retirement age of 65 to 60;
3. A substantial increase in retirement benefits to meet the increased cost of living; and

WHEREAS, There is a compelling need for a substantial increase in unemployment and sickness benefits for railroad workers; and

WHEREAS, The railroad carriers have energetically lobbied for legislation which would disqualify thousands of railroad workers from unemployment benefits, increase the waiting periods, eliminate sick benefits and attempt to destroy the law in many other ways; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the AFL-CIO again calls upon the 85th Congress to adopt the labor-endorsed amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act which would liberalize benefits for the railroad workers, and to reject company-sponsored legislation which would weaken or undermine the act.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee recommended that this resolution be amended as follows:

LIBERALIZING THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT

Resolution No. 63 (Amended)—By Delegates Michael J. Quill, Matthew Guinan, Ellis F. Van Riper, James F. Horst, Gustav Faber, Eugene Attreed, Frank Sheehan, Transport Workers Union of America. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, Railroad workers for many years have supported legislation to amend the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act to provide more liberal benefits for the workers and their beneficiaries covered by these acts; and

WHEREAS, Railroad workers have proposed and endorsed a bill (H.R. 4353 and S. 1313) which would amend the Railroad Retirement Act as follows:

1. Benefits of every kind would be increased by 10 per cent. The only exception, which would affect very few, is that an annuity could not be raised higher than the average railroad pay an employee received before he retired.
2. An employee retired for disability would not lose his annuity for any month in which he earned more than \$100 if his total earnings in the year did not exceed \$1,200. For each \$100 earned over \$1,200, he would not lose more than one month's annuity.
3. Women employees with less than 30 years' service would be eligible to retire on a reduced annuity at the age of 62. Women with 30 years' service could, as under the present law, retire with a full annuity at 60.
4. A wife or husband could choose to receive a reduced spouse's annuity at the age of 62, instead of waiting for a full annuity at 65.
5. The "insurance lump sum," up to \$750, would be paid even if the deceased employee leaves a survivor who is entitled to an annuity.

6. The maximum pay credited toward annuities would be increased from \$350 to \$400 a month.
7. As a result of the increase in credited pay, the "residual lump sum" would be increased.

And would amend the Railroad Retirement Tax Act as follows:

1. The maximum taxable pay base would be increased from \$350 to \$400 a month.
2. The tax rate on employers and employees would be increased from 6¼ per cent to 7½ per cent.

And would amend the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act as follows:

1. The daily benefit rate would be increased from 50 to 60 per cent of the pay an employee received in his last rail employment.
2. The maximum daily benefit rate would be raised from \$8.50 to \$10.20.
3. Jobless benefits would be paid for Sundays and holidays.
4. The number of days for which unemployment benefits would be paid in the first registration period would be increased from seven to ten.
5. The unemployment pay period would be lengthened for employees with five or more years of railroad service. The longer the service, the more the period would be lengthened.
6. The minimum "base year" earnings required to qualify for unemployment benefits in a "benefit year" would be increased from \$400 to \$500.
7. The maximum earnings on which an employer would pay the unemployment insurance tax would be increased from \$350 to \$400 a month.
8. The unemployment tax rates paid by employers would be increased on a "sliding scale," depending upon the amount of money in the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Fund; and,

WHEREAS, The railroad carriers have energetically lobbied for legislation which would disqualify thousands of railroad workers from unemployment benefits, increase the waiting periods, eliminate sick benefits and attempt to destroy the law in many other ways; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the Convention of the AFL-CIO calls on the 85th Congress to pass H.R. 4353 and S. 1313 which contains the labor-endorsed proposals to liberalize benefits for railroad workers and to reject company-sponsored legislation which would weaken and undermine the program.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: In behalf of the Committee, Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the resolution.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the reading of the resolve of Resolution No. 63, as amended. The motion is to adopt the resolution.

Is there any discussion? Is there any objection?

Hearing none, the resolution will be considered carried.

PROCEDURES FOR AN EFFECTIVE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

Resolution No. 64 (Amended)—By Delegates Michael J. Quill, Matthew Guinan, Ellis F. Van Riper, James F. Horst, Gustav Faber, Eugene Attreed, Frank Sheehan, Transport Workers Union of America. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, American railroads in general and the Pennsylvania Railroad in particular have decreased inspections and repairs of equipment far below the minimum specified by Federal regulations; and

WHEREAS, Such relaxing of safety standards has led to an alarming increase in railroad wrecks and the resultant toll in deaths and injuries among passengers and workers; and

WHEREAS, The Interstate Commerce Commission is charged with the responsibility for the inspection and maintenance of mechanical equipment in the U. S. railroads to assure minimum safety precautions, and

WHEREAS, The Interstate Commerce Commission has admitted that it has been unable to police properly the safety regulations of the Locomotive and Railroad safety sections of the Interstate Commerce Act because of insufficient funds allotted to the ICC; and

WHEREAS, The ICC has also admitted that it is so understaffed it has been forced to permit the various carriers to conduct their own so-called investigations into the causes of wrecks on their own property; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the AFL-CIO most earnestly and vigorously supports the request of the Interstate Commerce Commission for sufficient funds and manpower to conduct its vital work in order to prevent the tragic rail disasters which have levied such a staggering toll of death, injury and destruction in the past two and one-half years.

[The Resolutions Committee had removed one paragraph from the resolution as submitted; it read: "Whereas the Congress—in the face of this deplorable situation—voted a further cut in the funds appropriated for the ICC to enforce safety on the rail routes of our nation."]

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the resolution.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to point out in this resolution that attention is being called to the fact that the Interstate Commerce Commission is not carrying out its job of making the inspections that are necessary to provide for safety. This is a case where you get legislation which is beneficial and proper but you fail to get the results that the legislation intends because—and this is an old trick—because not enough money is provided for inspectional

forces to carry it out. So this resolution, of course, calls for the Interstate Commerce Commission doing its job and, of course, getting sufficient money to do it.

Is there any discussion on this resolution?

Is there any objection?

Hearing none, the resolution will be considered carried.

ENACTMENT OF A NATIONAL SUPPLEMENTAL SURPLUS FOOD BILL TO AID THE NEEDY OF OUR NATION

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates Michael J. Quill, Matthew Guinan, Ellis F. Van Riper, James F. Horst, Gustav Faber, Eugene Attreed, and Frank Sheehan, Transport Workers Union of America. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, There are untold thousands of people in America—the aged, blind, disabled, widowed—who live at the brink of daily starvation because the purchasing power of their small fixed income or pensions has been all but destroyed by the continuing rising cost of living, and

WHEREAS, Untold millions of dollars are being spent to store surplus food, and

WHEREAS, Millions of tons of this food are constantly being destroyed due to spoilage and deterioration, and

WHEREAS, The attempt of these people to survive in hunger and need amidst a land of plenty and vast surpluses is a disgrace to our national reputation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations calls upon the Congress and the President of the United States to enact a Supplemental Surplus Food Bill, programmed to channel regular, proper and practical amounts of supplemental food to those specified in this resolution and others who are in need, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO spearhead the fight for the enactment of legislation which embodies the above recommendations.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: In behalf of the Committee, I move adoption of the resolution.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The motion is to adopt Resolution No. 65 regarding the disposition of national supplemental surplus food to the needy of the country. Is there any discussion? Is there any objection?

Hearing none, the resolution is carried.

BIRTHDAY OF FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Michael J. Quill, Matthew Guinan, Ellis F. Van Riper, James F. Horst, Gustav Faber, Eugene Attreed, Frank Sheehan, Transport Workers Union of America. Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

This second biennial convention, honoring the memory of the great Franklin D. Roosevelt who gave a Magna Carta to the working

men and women of this country in the Wagner Act and other outstanding humanitarian measures which advance the living standards of America's toiling masses, hereby recommends that January 30th, the birthday of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, be a legal holiday.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I proudly move adoption of this resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time we will interrupt the work of the Resolutions Committee. They will be back later with further material. I want to recognize the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: The Credentials Committee has examined ten additional credentials and recommendations that the delegates who have been certified be seated. Their names will appear in the record. In addition, the Credentials Committee has looked at five requests for changes and has acted favorably thereon. The changes likewise will appear in the report. The Committee recommends adoption of this supplemental report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the reading of the supplemental report. The recommendation is to adopt. Is there any discussion? Is there any objection? If not, the report of the Committee will be adopted and the delegates seated.

Introduction of Canadian Fraternal Delegate

At this time I want to present to you another of our official fraternal delegates who is in attendance at this Convention. The relationship between the United States of America and our neighbor to the north is a unique relationship in world history. As you well know, we have 3,000 miles of border between the United States and Canada without fortifications of any kind. We have situations where Canadian citizens come across the border to work in the United States and American citizens go across every day to work in Canada.

We have had a warm fraternal relationship with Canadian labor for a great many years. I would like to remind you that the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress which was merged with the Canadian Congress of Labor a year or so ago was many years older than the American Federation of Labor itself. There was a Canadian National Trade Union Center for a number of years before we had a National Trade Union Center in the United States.

While there is this close relationship and while much of the membership of the Canadian Trade Union Center is made up of members of national unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, it is a separate entity and of course conducts its own business. It is under no circumstances a step-child or a poor relation of the AFL-CIO. It is a strong trade union movement which stands on its own feet. However, we have this close fraternal relationship and we are very, very happy to have representatives at our Conventions here in the United States.

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to present to you an outstanding representative of Canadian labor, the fraternal delegate to

this Convention from the Canadian Labor Congress and the Secretary of that organization, Brother Donald MacDonald.

MR. DONALD MacDonald

(Secretary-Treasurer, Canadian Labour Congress)

President Meany, Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler, Distinguished Guests, Officers and Delegates to this Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization: May I, first of all, extend to you the fraternal greetings of the Canadian Labour Congress and my fellow Executive Officers, President Claude Jodoin and Executive Vice-President Gordon Cushing. We are naturally greatly pleased and honored to have the opportunity of participating in even a modest way in this tremendously significant event. It is our sincere hope that your deliberations will be marked by the spirit of harmony and common endeavor that brought your great organization into being. We are confident that there will flow from this truly representative parliament of Labor policies and decisions that will redound to the continued march of progress of your members and your nation in particular, and the free trade union movement of the world in general.

This Convention of the AFL-CIO comes at a time of great crisis. On the international scene, there is the indication that the Soviet Union is technologically ahead of the Western World. In both the United States and Canada, the economic situation has deteriorated. In my own country, unemployment this winter will be the worst since the war. The American situation does not seem to be very much brighter. We seem to have reached a point of economic levelling off or perhaps worse. Our own movement is being subjected to widespread attacks. In Canada there is a concerted campaign by employers' organizations to undermine us by crippling legislation. In the United States, the unions are being subjected to a storm of abuse because of the actions of a few individuals and a few unions. Happily, however, in both countries, for the first time in many years, our movement is united. That enables us to face with courage and confidence our international problems, and our internal economic difficulties, and to resist the attacks upon us.

I am proud to be able to say to you today, that within a few short weeks following the merger of the former Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the former Canadian Congress of Labour in April 1956, the administration of our new Canadian Labour Congress was completely integrated and functioning as a unified force in every sphere.

Since then all our provincial federations without exception have been successfully merged and all our local labour councils throughout the country with only four exceptions are also merged. We anticipate that these four will be united before our next convention in April 1958.

At the time of merger our Canadian Labour Congress represented in all slightly more than one million members; today we can truthfully claim to have 1,100,000 members. This increase has been brought about through the affiliation of the formerly independent Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and several other smaller unions plus the organization of thousands of new members into our affiliated unions.

Our influence with governments at both the national and provincial levels has increased immeasurably since the foundation of the CLC. However, important as are those gains in members and influence, I would not suggest for a moment that they are the yardsticks by which Labour can best measure success. The only true criterion of this is the benefits to the membership, the nation and the free world. Neither would I wish to create the impression that as a result of Labour unity all our internal problems have automatically disappeared. What I do say is that our problems are now within the family and problems within a family are easier settled than problems between families.

If unity is to have full meaning for the workers of our respective countries, the first responsibility that awakens upon us is to organize the unorganized. We cannot afford to be complacent while millions of workers remain outside our movement. It is all too easy at Conventions like this to talk of past achievements. But we have too great a responsibility to the future to concentrate overmuch on the past.

It is a strong paradox that in two countries like ours, where political freedom has been so far advanced, so many workers should continue to live under economic dictatorship. Unorganized workers spend the greater part of their lives under the autocratic control of corporations whose attitude is at best paternalistic and at worst, ruthless exploitation. A worker is not truly free when he is only able to go to the ballot box and cast a vote; he becomes vastly freer when he can join in determining the conditions under which he is going to work.

Organizing the unorganized is not an easy task. But I am confident that it is going to be undertaken and carried through. Now, more than ever, we must strengthen our base and extend our influence. I cannot conceive of a worse fate for our movement than to become a closed community with a fence around it.

To the outside world, it must seem strange and anomalous that the Labor Movement of this continent should be composed in large part of international unions instead of purely national ones. In Canada, international unionism enjoys the allegiance of the vast majority of organized workers. It has been that way for a very long time. It has become a natural arrangement. We in Canada accept it, and we have no wish to disturb it. We have gained much from it and expect to gain much in the future. We hope you have, and will, also. Nonetheless, we are as proud of being Canadians as you are of being Americans. It is for that reason that we have brought into being the Canadian Labour Congress as an autonomous Canadian trade union centre, with both national and international unions in its ranks. In its legislative and organizing policies, its jurisdictional decisions, and all other aspects of its existence, it is a fully independent, completely Canadian organization. It could not be otherwise, and I know you would not expect it to be otherwise.

Canada is a rapidly growing country, growing in population, in economic strength, and international importance. In recent years, it has become more and more influential as a middle power. Its position as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations on the one hand, and as a close friend and partner of the United States on the other, together with its membership in NATO and the Colombo Plan, have given it a role altogether out of proportion to its size, a role that is

perhaps unique. As a result, inevitably, Canadians feel a stronger sense of national identity than they have ever felt before, and the Canadian Labour Movement was bound to affirm its own national identity. In our own world federation, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Canadian Labour Congress is a middle power, playing a part which we think is not without significance. This underlines the importance of having in Canada a trade union centre wholly and unmistakably Canadian in character. Thus, while the ties that bind the Canadian Labour Congress and the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations must and will remain firmly knit, our two centres must be free and equal partners within the world movement.

This unity of equals becomes increasingly necessary. The sudden and spectacular emergence of the Soviet Union as a major scientific and thus military power, confronts us with a challenge which we must meet for the sake of our very survival. The emergency which Fascism created united us effectively, and the last war proved that we are capable of fighting totalitarianism when fighting becomes necessary. But Communism is a much more serious challenge than Fascism ever was. It is more ominous because it is successful. Its danger lies in its appeal to people who have never known the meaning of freedom as we understand that term. It is a menace because it is a system without any moral foundation, based as it is on the principle that the end justifies the means.

Meeting this challenge requires from the free world more than the building up of bigger and better military stockpiles. It means more than the ability to send projectiles into the upper reaches of the earth's atmosphere or even beyond it. Scientific ingenuity is not the only criterion of superiority. Plainly, a free society is not the only one in which scientists can work, and make progress. A country with the resources and the will to use them to the exclusion of other things obviously can produce scientific advances.

There is something else which must distinguish the Communist world from the free world. There are values which we enjoy which the Soviet world lacks. We believe that without those values no man can be wholly free or wholly happy, whatever material comforts he may enjoy. These values include the opportunity to do something that is socially useful; the conviction that every man is a child of God, free to develop his own personality and talents, not an instrument for manipulation by the state; the belief that honesty and integrity are virtues which should be cultivated and preserved. To these must be added the belief that every man should be free to express his views, to worship as he pleases, to give his children the best education available; to participate in the affairs of his country; to be free from arbitrary interference by the State; to join organizations of his own choice. But beyond that, there is the need to be free from the fear of economic insecurity.

We are involved not so much in a struggle to produce more successful satellites or better ballistic missiles. Our task is to give real life and meaning to those values which I have just described. They have got to mean something not only to the people of this continent, but to people elsewhere. To the people of South America, Africa and Asia, the values we claim to stand for should be just as important as the material advantages we seem to be offering to them. "We cannot

bribe nations with gifts of munitions or food or machinery. But we can and should persuade them that it is better to be free than to be enslaved; and Communism is slavery in every sense of the word. We have got to show that it is possible at one and the same time to feed and clothe and shelter a man and his family, and give him the self-respect which comes from his ability to assert his individuality and to speak his mind." Neither one nor the other is satisfactory in itself, they must be joined together in an indivisible unity. In short, political democracy is not enough; it must be joined with economic democracy.

It seems to me that we of the Labor Movement more perhaps than any other group, have a stake in furthering this partnership of political and economic democracy. Our very existence is closely tied to both. Whatever we have done so far to influence governments to strengthen both must be doubled and re-doubled. This involves building up more effectively than ever before that state of mind which will strengthen public opinion for these great objectives. It is an educational job, and it involves our Labor Movement in every respect of its being. We have got to wage our fight on several fronts at the same time, for the strengthening of the values of a free society, for economic security, for a world free of the threat of annihilation.

This is a tall order. I will not deny it. But it is an objective worth aiming at. It is one worthy of the Labor Movement. And one in which we can enlist the support of other groups in our society. At the risk of being presumptuous, therefore, I will close by expressing the hope that this Convention must do more than fulfill its constitutional requirements. It must pledge itself anew to undertake these great social tasks which are a challenge to our generation and to our countries. Now more than ever the Labor Movement must be in the forefront. Let us go ahead with the job.

I am confident that you will accept that challenge and carry through successfully. In the job that lies ahead I can assure you of the cooperation and support of the Canadian Labor Congress.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure we all appreciate the inspiring message delivered by Brother MacDonald, and we are very, very happy to have him here with us to stay with us through the end of this Convention, with his very charming wife. In your behalf, I express to him our sincere appreciation for his visit and his very fine talk to us here this morning.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for a supplemental report of the Executive Council.

SECRETARY TREASURER SCHNITZLER: We have two statements here by the Executive Council, one on the United Textile Workers of America and the other on the Merger of State and Local Central bodies submitted to the Convention by the Executive Council. They do not require unanimous consent.

PRESIDENT MEANY: If there is no objection, these reports of the Council will be referred to the appropriate committee and brought to the attention of the Convention for disposition.

Introduction of German Trade Union Leader

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I am going to present to you another speaker who comes from across the water, in Europe. I want

to assure you of the tremendous interest the workers of Germany have in the welfare of the workers of the United States and, of course, a corresponding interest on our part.

The American trade union movement owes a great deal to the German movement. We inherited, in a sense, the structure of the German movement back in the early days. Many of our organizations were fashioned on the pattern worked out by the German workers a century ago.

Following the last war, representatives of American labor spent considerable time in Germany and gave whatever aid we could give to the rebuilding of the German trade union movement that had been destroyed by Hitler, and the leaders of which had been sent into exile or into concentration camps. It was rather an odd situation created at the conclusion of the war when Germany was divided into zones and the Allied Occupation Armies took their place in these various zones.

Following the usual custom of the military, the Army sequestered immediately all public buildings for Army use as headquarters, dormitories, mess halls, and many other uses that the occupying army found necessary to carry on its work.

In taking over public properties in Western Germany, our Army, along with the French in their zone, the British in their zone, took over buildings that were at the time technically public property, because they were in the possession of the State, but a great many buildings which had been stolen from the trade union movement by Hitler, appropriated by him for use of his so-called Labor Front under the direction of the notorious Dr. Ley.

So it was part of the job of the trade unionists from the free world to convince the occupying authorities that these properties were not really public properties, they were properties that belonged to the German worker, paid for by him and stolen from the German worker by Hitler.

We had representatives of American labor—I am quite sure you are all more or less familiar with that situation—who spent a good deal of time and were instrumental in easing the way so that the German worker could get back his property, that he could get permission to meet and to organize and to develop his trade union progress that had been interrupted by the advent of a dictator.

As a result of this assistance, as the result of the determination of the German trade unionists who had stood up to Hitler, the determination to re-establish their movement, the German Federation of Labor in Western Germany was re-established. It is known as the DGB, and today represents a tremendous bulwark of freedom in that very important part of the world.

So it is with real pleasure this morning that I present to you for a short talk the President of the DGB, Brother Willi Richter.

MR. WILLI RICHTER

President, DGB, German Federation of Labor

... Mr. Richter addressed the Convention in German.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Secretary Schnitzler will read the translation of the remarks of Brother Richter.

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZLER: The following is the translation of Brother Richter's address:

Mr. President, Sisters and Brothers: It is indeed a great honor for me to bring to you the greetings of the Executive Council of the German Trade Union Federation and of the more than six million trade union members in the Federal Republic of Germany.

May I also most cordially thank the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations and its President, George Meany, for the invitation to attend your important convention.

My friend, Kurt Stuehler, and myself have been privileged to be guests in your country since the beginning of November. Unfortunately, there is not enough time here, to give you, dear sisters and brothers, an exhaustive report of our manifold impressions. We can assure you, however, that we could observe with pleasure many outstanding achievements of the American people, and particularly of American labor and its unions which exceeded our expectations. We went to important centers of government, industry and economy. In Washington, New York, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, Denver, San Francisco and Knoxville we had the opportunity of frank discussions with representatives of your government and of thorough visits in important enterprises. Everywhere we could discuss acute problems of mutual interest with leading union officials. It was your President, George Meany, and Walter P. Reuther, William F. Schnitzler, Joseph D. Keenan, Victor Reuther, Henry Rutz and many other brothers who as friends put their time at our disposal and extended an exemplary hospitality to us. To all of you we express our gratitude, together with the hope to be able to welcome you at some time in Germany.

We could observe that labor by combining its force in influential and active unions headed by experienced leaders has made great progress in its struggles with industry. May we congratulate you, sisters and brothers, on this progress.

There are some problems which you are confronted with as well as we are. You are being attacked from all sides, as it is also the case in our country. The employers claim that we are responsible for price increases on account of our wage demands. The employers demand from us a wage stop but they do not guarantee the price stop. We must state that labor is being deprived of its well-earned share in the increase of productivity and in the national product. Of course, in our country the purchasing power of wages has also been increased, thanks to the efforts of the unions. However, real wages are time and time again reduced through renewed price increases. Such price increases represent an important factor toward the devaluation of money and may lead toward endangering the currency. We demand a stable economy and to that end stable prices are essential. But we are also expecting a continued improvement of the standard of living for all of labor. Industry should at last begin to lower the prices of its products. This would mean for industry to sacrifice a small portion of its profits but industry will only then contribute to the preservation of the currency.

In view of the continued threat to freedom and peace offered by totalitarian powers we may remind you of the fact that the German labor movement stood in the forefront of the fight against Hitler's dictatorship.

Many of our best brothers were persecuted, imprisoned, tortured and murdered. For us in Germany, therefore, the creation of a free, strong and unified labor movement was imperative. It is our conviction, and our experience has taught us that conflicts must be solved by peaceful means in order to create and preserve peace in the world. We expect the recognition of the United Nations as the sole instrument of peace by all nations and the fulfillment of its resolutions in all parts of the world.

Dear friends, you are not unaware of the problem which is paramount to us Germans and which is calling for a solution, the problem of reunification in freedom and peace. The German Trade Union Federation has submitted to the attention of the world its demands for the reorganization of a reunited Germany.

This manifesto contains the following passage:

"The German Trade Union Federation and its affiliated trade unions fight for the realization of democracy as a form of government and as a way of life and pledge themselves to a free, democratic and socially just order. They subscribe to the Charter of the United Nations and to the International Conventions on Human Rights of the United Nations."

We are happy to note that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in its report which is in your hands now has taken a positive position with respect to the reunification of Germany and we want to thank you for that.

If our efforts shall lead to the goal chosen by us and if their results shall be permanently secured in peace and freedom, we must never tire of creating and strengthening independent trade unions in the world. More than ever we must join forces in the I.C.F.T.U. in order to fend off the onslaught of world bolshevism and to help the oppressed nations to gain their freedom. Above all we must help all people who are ruled by dictators to keep alive their faith in the ideals of the free world so that theirs remain the strength for a rebirth of their freedom. The I.C.F.T.U. has created an International Solidarity Fund to bolster the ranks of freedom. The trade unions of the free world want to raise the means through this fund which are required to combat oppression everywhere and to preserve freedom.

Through their active efforts for social progress the trade unions contribute to social justice, strengthening of democracy and safeguarding of peace in the world.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to express our appreciation to Brother Richter for his visit and his very nice talk to us this morning.

I would like to explain that the presence here of a number of high officials of the European movement was for the purpose of conferring with the officers and Council members of the AFL-CIO on problems that we have pertaining to the ICFTU that could not be handled by correspondence. Very frankly, there were some differences of opinion. These representatives of European labor very kindly agreed to come here during this Convention, to make the long trip across the ocean so that we could discuss these matters.

I can say to you very happily that we have had these discussions and we have cleared up a number of misunderstandings, and I think we have charted the way toward better cooperation within the ICFTU. I am quite sure the trouble taken by these officers of European unions to come here and make this visit is well worthwhile. I am sure that we appreciate the fact that they made the trip rather than ask us to go across at a time when it would be quite difficult.

British Fraternal Delegates

I am going to give you two more speakers who will address you very briefly, two gentlemen who flew in here last Friday afternoon from Great Britain and who will be on their way from Idlewild Airport in New York at 5 o'clock this evening, going back to attend to their own pressing problems.

The first of the two speakers I wish to present to you is the President of the British Trades Union Congress and the General Secretary of the British Seamen's Union, our old and good friend, Tom Yates.

MR. THOMAS YATES

President, British Trades Union Congress and General Secretary of the British Seamen's Union

MR. YATES: President Meany, fellow trade unionists, and dear friends:

This is indeed a great pleasure for me to again attend one of your conventions. In recent years I have become a frequent visitor, but I have a pretty good excuse for that. While attending to my own affairs, it has given me the opportunity of not only meeting some old friends, but improving the bonds of solidarity that does exist between the members of my organization and the seafarers of this great continent.

When President Meany invited my colleagues and me to come to Atlantic City and discuss the problems that we are faced with in our World International, I want to assure you that not only did we welcome the invitation, but we felt certain that, gathered together here in an atmosphere of this kind, we could resolve those problems that have been with us now for many, many years. I would just like to say this in conclusion. I am satisfied beyond any doubt whatsoever that the understanding that has been reached with the committee of the AFL-CIO, mainly responsible for world organization and the financial aspects that deal with that vast problem, have found not only common ground but complete unanimity. I'm pretty certain that we are not only cementing what has been done in the past, but we are making a new and a clear cut break into world international affairs.

I thank you again, George, for this opportunity.

I would also like to take this opportunity for saying "cheerio" to the friends I've got in the Seafarers International.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Brother Yates.

At this time I want to present to you for a brief address the chief executive official of the British Trades Union Congress, the General Secretary of that organization, who has visited us many times in the past and who is likewise here at this time in order to participate in the conferences I referred to—the General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, Sir Vincent Tewson.

SIR VINCENT TEWSON

General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress

President George Meany and friends—and I think that's sufficient—I am not going to make a speech. If I were to speak in any representative capacity, I don't know just what I would do. You have fraternal delegates from Britain in the persons of my good friends, Wilford Beard and Joe O'Hagan; and from the ICFTU you have the President and General Secretary. You just heard from the Chairman of our General Council and President of next year's Congress. So if I just chat informally without making a speech, perhaps you will bear with me if I make probably a few personal remarks.

First of all, I would like to say to the scores of folks that I can see sitting in front of me, and to my friends on this platform, how wonderful it has been to come and meet old friends and to make new ones. I have said many times in these all too short few hours that it has been almost like coming home to meet so many friends.

I remember that it is just two years ago since I had the pleasure of being here before on what I think most of you will agree was an historic, yes, an almost emotional occasion for Labor in the United States. It was then that, by a great active statesmanship, two organizations were brought together, not under any misapprehension that problems would be solved, but that at any rate with the problems that had to be faced in the future, those problems would be faced by a united labor movement in the States.

President Meany has referred to talks which have taken place during the week end. It is true that there have been misunderstandings, there have been problems, but there are some married men here no doubt, and I think it is safe to say that in the best of regulated families there are sometimes misunderstandings. In this human family in the trade union movement there are bound to arise misunderstandings, and I hope that we will never speak with entirely one voice and think on one line, because that is not the way of progress.

Of one thing I feel convinced—that in the discussions which have taken place this week-end there has been a sincere desire to recognize, on the part of all concerned that, in the face of this gigantic task which we have to face in the free trade union movement, the movement is much bigger, the problem is much bigger than these little difficulties which arise. I believe there has been, without any extensive record, an act of good faith, and we know we always have with us the dismal Jimmies and the cynics who might doubt that this is an important milestone in the history of international relations, but for my own part I believe that this act of faith marks a milestone. Whilst it will be possible for the various trade union movements through the ICFTU to march onward, aye, and probably leave worthy footprints on the sands of time, what is more important still is that we shall be able to get on now with the job of trying to lift the standards of people who are living today. That is the purpose of our talks, and I have my firm convictions that from here we go on united as a great family with those little things, those little misunderstandings resolved.

It's been grand to be here, grand to see you all, and my good wishes for the future.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure that we all appreciate the fact that these gentlemen have traveled so far just to spend approximately

three days with us and to discuss these very important matters. We also appreciate their remarks here this morning.

I think that it would be appropriate at this time, before Secretary Tewson and President Tom Yates of the British Trades Union Congress, leave to return to New York to get aboard an air plane late this afternoon, for me to tell them and to announce to this Convention that the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO, meeting yesterday agreed to present to the Executive Council and then to this Convention a proposal that the AFL-CIO pledge its best efforts to raise a fund for the International Solidarity Fund of the ICFTU—a fund designed to help trade union and worker victims of oppression in different parts of the world, a fund which really had its inception in the spontaneous response of all labor throughout the world to the plight that the Hungarian trade unionists and their friends found themselves in in November of 1956.

We intend to ask the Council and this Convention to pledge their best efforts to raise for that fund in the three-year period beginning January 1 a total of \$1 million. This, of course, will be over and above all the dues and other obligations which come with membership in the ICFTU. I have no doubt what the response of the Council and the Convention will be on this score, and I thought it would be appropriate to give that information to the Convention and to Brother Tewson and Brother Yates before they left here this morning.

Again, I sincerely express the appreciation of the Convention to these gentlemen, to Brother Richter and the others who have taken the time and the trouble to come to meet with us and discuss and try to solve some of our pressing problems. Thank you very much.

At this time the Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Executive Council Report, Vice-President Reuther.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN REUTHER: Brother Chairman and fellow delegates, each delegate received a copy of two reports, the full report of the Executive Council and the supplementary report. Both of these reports were referred to our Committee on the Executive Council's Report. We have held two meetings and we are now prepared to report to the Convention. I would like to express the appreciation of the Chair of the Secretary for the cooperation that the members of the Committee extended to us in facilitating the bringing forth of this report.

I think the delegates need to understand that the procedure that we are following at this Convention varies slightly from the procedure which perhaps the AFL followed in reporting out the Executive Council's Report. I should like to clarify this procedure so that you will know precisely how we intend to proceed.

Our report does not deal with future policy. Our report deals exclusively with the actions of the Executive Council and the executive officers in the period between the First Convention and this Convention.

We will merely be reporting those actions. The delegates will be free to discuss them. But we need to keep in mind that new policy, whether it be constitutional or broad policy matters, will be

handled specifically by resolutions that will be reported out by the Constitution Committee and the Resolutions Committee.

Specifically, for example, the Constitution Committee will report out recommendations dealing with financial matters and per capita tax matters, and while we refer to those matters in our report, in adopting our report you will not be disposing of those matters. Your action on the specific recommendation of the Constitution Committee will dispose of the matter on per capita tax and other related questions.

I am sure that many delegates are concerned with how we are going to handle the question in the broad area of ethical codes. When you act upon our report, while we will be reporting on those ethical codes, you will not be deciding whether you approve of those codes or whether you disapprove. The Resolutions Committee will bring out a specific resolution which will place before the Convention the six codes adopted by the Executive Council, and at that time the Convention will have an opportunity to discuss and act specifically upon those ethical codes.

The same thing will be true of the matter of the Fifth Amendment. This is not a matter embodied in an ethical code; it is a procedural matter, an internal procedural matter by which the Executive Council has been implementing the ethical codes within the broad framework of the Constitution as it relates to ethical and moral practices. Here again the Resolutions Committee will bring forward a specific resolution dealing with the question of the Fifth Amendment as it relates to internal procedures and internal practices; and here again you will have an opportunity to discuss this matter and to act upon it.

Now, there will be many other broad resolutions on subject matters that we cover in our report in a very brief way on which the Resolutions Committee will bring out specific resolutions, and you will have an opportunity of discussing and acting upon each of these matters separately.

I outline these matters so that you will understand that our report is not the place where you will be required to make specific decisions on some of these important matters, that there will be specific resolutions in the case of broad policy statements and in the case of the Constitution Committee there will be specific recommendations.

At this time I am privileged to present to you the Secretary of our Committee who will read the report. He is the President of the United Papermakers and Paper Workers Union, Brother Paul Phillips:

. . . COMMITTEE SECRETARY PHILLIPS read the following report:

TEXT OF REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

The Committee on the Executive Council Report has carefully studied and analyzed the Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council covering the two years since our last convention. That document is truly an historical recording of the great events that have marked our labor movement during these two important years.

We commend this Report to members and leaders of our unions, and to students of our trade union movement, as a document of permanent value.

As the Report notes, there have been great accomplishments. Of course, there have also been differences of opinion among the people of our trade unions during these past two years. But, in the words of the Report, "the decisions that are hammered out through democratic deliberation are in the final analysis the best for a democratic organization . . ."

The Report which the Executive Council has prepared, reflects this democratic spirit. It serves, indeed, as an account of the Executive Council's stewardship of our American trade union organization.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report

The Committee is impressed and pleased by the detailed financial reporting included, in the Report, in the documents submitted to the Convention by the Secretary-Treasurer.

These reports fully comply with the letter and spirit of our Codes of Ethical Practices, which call for full and frank reports of the handling of union funds. These reports disclose every aspect of the finances of our organization. In making this report available, the Executive Council is setting a splendid standard for the entire labor movement. It is to be noted with pride that the total net worth of the AFL-CIO have increased by \$745,067.55 in the period from December 5, 1955, to June 30, 1957; but it should be firmly remembered that the responsibilities and financial needs of the organization are constantly increasing. The rise in net worth should, by no means, lead to a feeling of smugness or self-satisfaction concerning our finances, in view of the needs of the organization and the challenges which we are certain to face in the two years ahead.

Your Committee has noted with approval the decision of the Executive Council to report to the Convention on the question of per capita and assessments to assure adequate income for the AFL-CIO in the future.

The report of the Auditing Department indicates that careful supervision is being made of the finances of directly affiliated locals. In two cases of such directly affiliated locals, President Meany ordered the removal from office and from membership of officials involved in serious financial malpractices; in ten other cases, action has been taken against union officials who have not fully met the financial responsibilities of their office.

It should be a matter of pride that the AFL-CIO is maintaining high standards of responsibility for itself and its subordinate bodies.

Death of Two Vice-Presidents

The Committee joins with the entire labor movement in mourning the untimely deaths of two of our vice-presidents during the past two years. As the Executive Council has noted, the death of Matthew Woll was a "great loss" to our movement for he had provided a high degree of leadership in a widely varied range of activities; and to them all, he brought the mark of intelligence and understanding.

Willard E. Townsend was another splendid trade unionist who had devoted his entire life to strengthening the spirit and the foundations of our democracy and our labor movement, in order that they might better serve the American people. We mourn his loss.

Removal of Vice-President Beck

The Committee notes with approval the removal of Vice-President Dave Beck from his position on the Executive Council on the grounds of "personal violations of the AFL-CIO constitution and the rules, regulations and codes adopted thereunder." The Committee concludes from the Report that the decision in the case of Vice-President Beck was fully justified.

Standing Committees

The Committee takes notice of the listing of the members of the 14 Standing Committees. These Committees, composed of various officers of our affiliated unions, and operating under the direction of the President, have performed a continuing and valuable service to our organization. They have helped to make more effective our work in a large number of areas.

New Charters Issued

The Committee is gratified that during the past two years, new charters have been issued to four international unions: the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the American Train Dispatchers Association, the American Railway Supervisors Association and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. These new affiliations are indicative of the attraction of the AFL-CIO for clean democratic trade unions that have hitherto been unaffiliated. The Committee welcomes these new affiliates into the family of the AFL-CIO and feels certain they will make a constructive contribution to the labor movement.

Mergers of Unions

The Committee views with approval four mergers of international unions that have occurred in the period covered by the Executive Council Report. These mergers are: International Metal Engravers and Marking Device Workers Union—merger with the International Association of Machinists, Barbers & Beauty Culturists Union of America—reaffiliation with the Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America; Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee—merger with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; International Brotherhood of Paper Makers—merger with the United Paperworkers.

The process of voluntary merger is one that is encouraged by the AFL-CIO, through its constitution and general policy; and it is a mark of the spirit of unity that these mergers have taken place voluntarily and in the interests of the workers represented by the merging organizations. We join with the Executive Council in extending our congratulations to those people whose "cooperation and vision" helped make possible these mergers.

Jurisdictional Disputes and Agreements

Your Committee has studied with approval the sections of the Executive Council Report dealing with disputes processed under the AFL-CIO constitution and under the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement.

It is not generally realized that since December 1955, approximately 300 disputes have been processed by the president's office under provisions of Article III, Section 3 and 4 of our Constitution; and that the majority of these disputes have been settled. The record testifies to the cooperative spirit of our affiliates in seeking to work out constructive solutions to their problems through reasonable and honorable methods. Similarly, the No-Raiding Agreement—which first went into effect in 1954—has provided a method of settling disputes among the 105 unions which are signatory to this voluntary pact.

Between December 1955 and October 1957, 66 cases were processed; and in the period between 1954 and 1957, an additional 69 cases had been handled under No-Raiding Agreement procedures. Of the total of 96 cases, 33 have gone to Mr. David L. Cole, the distinguished mediator who serves as umpire under the No-Raiding Agreement.

Your Committee looks with approval on these successful efforts to bring about honorable agreement among our unions on these difficult matters.

Building Trades-Industrial Union Department Committee

The Committee notes with satisfaction the efforts so far made by the officers and the Executive Council to develop "rules of procedure for the adjustment of any conflict of interest that may presently exist, or may arise, in the future" between affiliates of the Building and Construction Trades Department and affiliates of the Industrial Union Department. While no final agreement has yet been reached, there have been a series of efforts to find a solution to the problems that have arisen in this field, and we are gratified that a subcommittee of the Executive Council was able to agree unanimously on June 28, 1957. The Committee expresses the hope that the Executive Council will give immediate attention to this problem, so that an early solution may be found.

State and Local Mergers

The Committee takes pleasure in the Report of the Council concerning progress to date on the merger of the state and local central bodies. We note one error in the compilation of state bodies which have merged: state merger has not occurred in the State of Massachusetts, and the total figure for state mergers thus should be 33 rather than the 34 listed in the Report.

In addition, there have been 169 mergers of local central bodies.

The statistics do not adequately represent the devoted work and cooperative spirit that have made possible a solution of the complex problems of bringing together state and local bodies into single organizations. The Committee extends its congratulations to the state and central bodies that have so far completed merger, and expresses hope that the number will be rapidly increased. We agree wholeheartedly with the statement of the Executive Council that the "states where merger has been completed have provided a better relationship and valuable gains for the membership of the affiliated local unions."

Women's Auxiliaries

The Committee takes pleasure in the Report of the Executive Council that a merger of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor (formerly AFL) and the National CIO Auxiliaries (formerly CIO) was scheduled to take place on December 7, 1957. We feel certain that through merger, the women's auxiliaries will be a valuable adjunct to our trade union organization.

Ethical Practices

The Executive Council Report has quite clearly dealt in great detail with the ethical practices activities of the AFL-CIO during the past two years.

Your Committee, like other members of the labor movement, has been deeply concerned by the fact that a tiny minority of union officials have failed to meet the sacred trust of leadership, and have permitted themselves to serve the forces of corruption. The Committee wholeheartedly approves of the adoption by the Executive Council of the Ethical Practices Codes and of the steps taken by the Executive Council and the Officers to enforce the ethical practices resolution unanimously adopted at the 1955 convention. The Report is enhanced by the publication of the supplemental report containing all the major documents in the cases of the six unions which have been cited by the Ethical Practices Committee, as well as two directly affiliated locals in which the president found it necessary to intervene.

The Committee recommends to the delegates the clarifying discussion concerning the AFL-CIO policy statement on procedure in cases where union officials have used the Fifth Amendment "to avoid scrutiny by proper legislative committees, law enforcement committees, or other public bodies into alleged corruption. . . ." We believe that the discussion on the Fifth Amendment—together with another section discussing the question of retroactivity in ethical practices cases—will do much to clarify the thinking of members of our movement concerning the nature and intent of our ethical practices codes and policy statements. It is the firm belief of your Committee that the labor movement must adhere to high ethical standards and that the provisions of our Constitution against corruption, communism, and totalitarianism must be at all times strenuously defended. We commend the Council and officers for their work in this field.

The Committee wishes to make clear that it is not the responsibility of this Committee to request specific action by the Convention on either the codes or other ethical practices matters. Your Committee limits itself only to a discussion of past events and trends included in the Executive Council Report.

Organizing the Unorganized

The Committee has read with sympathy and understanding the report of the efforts of the AFL-CIO to organize the unorganized during the past two years. It is regrettable—but understandable—that in view of developments and the stirring up of anti-labor sentiment, our organizing efforts have been somewhat impaired during the period covered by the Report.

Nevertheless, the official figures of National Labor Relations Board elections show clearly that unions are continuing to organize and are meeting with considerable success in bringing new members into our unions.

It is gratifying that our Executive Council has reported realistically on the problems that have confronted it in the organizing field and that it is determined to continue these organizing activities in the future. Your Committee feels that the entire organization has a responsibility to give every encouragement to our organizing activities; and to recognize the need for public relations endeavors designed to change the climate of opinion so that our future organizing activities may be increasingly successful.

Political Activities

The Committee commends the section of the Executive Council Report dealing with political activities. The Report points out clearly and logically that labor has entered the field of politics both as a matter of responsibility to our democratic society and as a necessity to protect in the halls of government the successes which our labor movement has won at the collective bargaining table.

It has become apparent that the reactionary forces which constitute the main enemy of labor in America have sought to repeal, in the national Congress and in the state legislatures, our hard-won gains. To a large degree, the effective political activity of labor has been able to halt these sinister efforts. However, as the Report points out, our enemies have now become engaged in a new campaign: the limitation of labor's efforts in the political field.

This section of the Executive Council Report—with its summary of labor activities in recent elections, its statement of non-partisanship, its determination to further increase labor's effectiveness in the political arena—should be read by every union member who wants America to be free, strong and prosperous.

National Economy

The Report contains a detailed analysis of our national economy. It discusses the present downward drift of our economy; takes note of serious imbalances in the economy; and examines with logic and clarity the wage-price-profit relationship.

It is clear from this discussion of the national economy that high wages are not the cause of rising prices, which in large measure have been established not by the forces of demand and supply, but by administrative decisions of huge corporations in control of basic sectors of the economy. This section of the Report is an arsenal of economic fact that provides answers to malicious propaganda against this country's traditional and time-proven policy of fair wages for working people.

The Report buttresses this position with a detailed and impressive discussion of such subjects as taxation, depressed areas, atomic energy, collective bargaining developments and minimum standards for wages and hours.

International Relations

The last two years have been a period of international turmoil, and the AFL-CIO has been true to its obligation to adopt positions in support of democracy and peace. The AFL-CIO can be proud of the role it played in support of the courageous Hungarian people fighting for their freedom against Soviet oppression and in helping the thousands of refugees from the Soviet-dominated dictatorship to re-establish a life for themselves in America and other parts of the free world.

Throughout these two years, the AFL-CIO has been alert to the danger of Soviet imperialism, and the fundamental challenges of the communists to the wellbeing and peace of the entire world.

It is clear, from the Executive Council Report, that Soviet penetration in the Middle East has contributed greatly to the turmoil in that region during much of the past two years. The Executive Council Report recalls the support given by our organization to the Eisenhower Doctrine as a method of seeking to avoid aggression in that area, and the belief that the Middle East can be "transformed from a hotbed of war into a bulwark of peace, from a terribly depressed area of economic backwardness, poverty and despotism into a force for peace, democracy and prosperity."

From the Report, it is clear that the AFL-CIO has been outspoken against colonialism in every part of the world.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to which the AFL-CIO belongs, has been an effective voice of the free world labor movement. We are pleased that through our affiliation, we have contributed to the strength and recognition of the ICFTU—in the words of the Executive Council—as the "spokesman for free labor in the councils of the world . . . During the two years of its existence the AFL-CIO has endeavored to strengthen the international organization of free labor unions and to help insure the success of its manifold activities."

We note with pleasure the effective role of the AFL-CIO in the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), and in the Joint U. S.-Mexico Trade Union Committee.

It is further a matter of great pride that the AFL-CIO, through its Worker Delegate and many other AFL-CIO participants, has contributed of its experience and viewpoint to the effective functioning of the International Labor Organization.

It is a matter of particular pride to the AFL-CIO that our President, George Meany, has been appointed to the United States Delegation to the Twelfth General Assembly of the United Nations.

We fully subscribe to the sentiments of the Executive Council that Brother Meany's appointment marks "a landmark in the history of American labor's growing influence in international affairs," and the record indicates his effectiveness as a member of the U. S. delegation.

Social Security

The Executive Council Report contains a detailed and valuable report on developments in the area of social security, public assistance, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, health programs

and welfare plans. This section of the Report constitutes a valuable summary of developments in this whole field, and it reflects the keen interest of the AFL-CIO in developing programs and policies to make possible a constantly more effective governmental social welfare program for the American people.

Worker and the Community

The Executive Council Report, under the general title of "Worker and the Community," has grouped several subjects in which the AFL-CIO maintains a keen interest: community services, housing, education, civil rights, labor and the law, and labor and the churches.

The section is indicative of labor's participation in the broad aspects of life in our country and of labor's determination to act as a constructive force in the service of all the American people.

Civil Rights

As the Report makes clear, "the AFL-CIO assigned a top priority to its civil rights policy." Our organization has consistently striven to achieve enjoyment of all rights for every minority group in our country. The activity of the AFL-CIO has been directed both inside the labor movement, and in the broader area of public and governmental activity.

Because of our correct position on civil rights, we have been subjected to a campaign of falsehood, evil propaganda and outright attack. For example, efforts by such groups as the White Citizens councils to divide and disrupt our unions have been unsuccessful. Our efforts at organizing in the South have been met in many cases by un-American propaganda, which has distorted the facts of our civil rights position and sought to inflame workers and communities against us through lies and falsehoods.

The AFL-CIO has held fast to its civil rights position, and your Committee agrees with the Council that our position is morally right.

In the Congress, the AFL-CIO lent its influence and support to the passage of the legislation designed to protect the voting rights of minority groups. As the Executive Council pointed out, the final bill is "not as good as it might have been, but it does have great potential strength."

We commend the Executive Council for its statement that the AFL-CIO will continue in the future to press for improved rights for minority groups until these fundamental democratic rights are fully guaranteed for every citizen.

Education

Your Committee joins wholeheartedly with the Executive Council in expressing disappointment at the continued rejection by the Congress of a Federal School Construction Bill.

The labor movement has endeavored for many years to win greatly needed support from the Federal government for our nation's educational system.

The recent disclosures of educational, scientific and technical advances in the Soviet Union culminating in the launching of two

earth satellites emphasizes the need for vast improvement in America's school system. If as the Executive Council has pointed out, our school system functions at less than full efficiency, it will be to the detriment of our country's national security now and in the future.

Housing

The Executive Council Report correctly finds that residential construction activity has been far below the needs of our rapidly expanding population. Low-rent public housing programs, which are the only effective means of making homes available for low-income families, have been virtually stopped.

In addition new starts in private home constructions have been far below the number needed.

The Administration in Washington has made, as the Executive Council pointed out, "virtually no worthwhile recommendations" in the housing field and the Congress has "ducked" much of its responsibility in this area.

The well-being of the American people demands that our housing program be greatly expanded.

Community Services

Through its community services program, the AFL-CIO has made significant steps towards working more effectively with other sections of the population for the benefit of the total community.

We have called for better social service, provided by competent personnel having access to more adequate facilities. Labor has risen to its responsibilities in numerous Community Chests and United Givers Funds. Through counselling programs thousands of AFL-CIO members have received training in the citizens and community responsibility. The dramatic community services work in helping relieve the victims of Hurricane Audrey when it hit the coast of Louisiana is a symbol of labor's desire and ability to help those who need help.

It is evident, as the Executive Council pointed out, that in our society, "the union is more than a union—it is a community organization"; and the union member has a responsibility to be an active citizen in his community.

National Legislation

The chapter on national legislation provides an excellent summary of labor's position and labor's activities in a host of legislative problems. Time and space do not permit a detailed discussion of the number of issues in which the AFL-CIO has taken a position and used its influence for good during these past two years.

The Committee commends the Executive Council Report for its report in the legislative field — a summary which ranges from Alaska-Hawaii statehood to health legislation; from atomic energy to Pay Television; from Taft-Hartley to juvenile delinquency.

Your Committee concurs with the Executive Council Report in its belief that the Taft-Hartley Act now, as in the past, has been an active instrument of anti-unionism; and that through a National

Labor Relations Board which is increasingly hostile to organized labor, the Taft-Hartley Act is being administered for the benefit of employers against the interests of workers and their union.

In the field of minimum wages, we voice approval of the efforts of the AFL-CIO to secure extension of coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to "millions of workers now unjustly denied its protection," and express the hope that the liberalized amendments which the AFL-CIO has favored will without delay be enacted into law.

The Committee concurs in the belief of the Executive Council that the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act — which provides for decent minimum standards of wages and working conditions for employees of firms under contract to the Federal government — has been weakened by amendments enacted in 1951. It is regrettable that limitation of funds for the determination of these minimum standards has steadily weakened this entire program. As a result, as the Executive Council points out, in many industries there are no determinations of minimum wage standards and working conditions for employees working on public contracts; and, in many other "industries," the determinations are "long out of date."

The Committee concurs also with the Executive Council finding that Congress has "made no serious effort to investigate and improve its prevailing wage policies" during the past two years in the cases of both the Walsh-Healey and Davis-Bacon Acts.

The Committee has noted the Presidential veto of salary increases for postal and federal employees, which will receive further consideration at this Convention.

The Committee also concurs in the discussions of the Executive Council on all the subjects covered in the field of national legislation.

State Legislation

The Executive Council has correctly devoted considerable attention to the vicious drive toward passage in the states of legislation to outlaw union security, under the fraudulent title of so-called "right-to-work" laws. We commend the Executive Council for its extremely valuable summaries and situation reports and the status of the so-called "right-to-work" laws, anti-picketing legislation, political campaign legislation, licensing legislation and other restrictive measures in the various states.

Satisfaction can be taken from the overwhelming defeat of a so-called "right-to-work" referendum in the State of Washington and in the repeal of a so-called "right-to-work" law in Louisiana—although such a statute was later passed covering agricultural workers and employees of the sugar processing industry in that State. It is a matter of deep regret that the legislators and the governor of the State of Indiana permitted the passage of a so-called "right-to-work" law in that state.

We join with the Executive Council in endorsing labor's determination to fight each and every so-called "right-to-work" law proposal with all of our strength, at both the Federal and state levels; to work for the repeal of "right-to-work" laws in various states and to work for the repeal of Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which makes these viciously anti-union measures possible.

We commend the Executive Council for its emphasis on matters of state legislation, since there is increasing evidence that the state legislatures may be the main arena for the fight against anti-labor legislation and other reactionary measures during the next year or two.

Headquarters Departments

Your Committee has noted with approval the reports of the various headquarters departments. These reports indicate a thorough devotion to AFL-CIO's program and aspirations, and we commend the work of these departments during the past two years.

Trade and Industrial Union Departments

The Executive Council Report contains reports from the six constitutional departments: the Building and Construction Trades Department; the Industrial Union Department; the Union Label and Service Trades Department; the Maritime Trades Department; the Metal Trades Department; and the Railway Employees Department.

The Committee does not believe it necessary to review these in detail. Suffice it to say that the reports indicate that these departments are functioning in such a way as to be of value to their affiliated unions and the members of those unions.

We note with approval that a number of these departments have gained new affiliates during the past two years. To cite merely a few examples out of many, for instance, the Textile Workers Union and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees have affiliated in recent months with the Union Label and Service Trades Department; and the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association has affiliated with the Maritime Trades Department.

Omission of AFL-CIO Maritime Committee Report

It has been called quite correctly to the attention of your Committee that through an apparent oversight, no report was included from the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee. It is the hope of the Committee that in the future, efforts will be made to insure the inclusion in the Report of every organization which is entitled to a place in this document. The Committee recommends that the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee Report be incorporated into the proceedings of the Convention.

Executive Bodies

The Committee takes notice of the fact that your Executive Council has met on twelve occasions since the 1955 convention; that the Executive Committee has met on ten occasions during the same period; and that the General Board held its first meeting in September 1956 and is scheduled to hold another meeting during December 1957.

Your Committee finds, on the basis of the Executive Council Report, that these three groups, together with the executive officers, have contributed a broad and statesmanlike type of leadership to the AFL-CIO during the past two years. We commend them, the officers of our affiliated unions, and the staff members who assist our officers, for their contribution to the cause of labor.

Conclusion

The Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council is a document of far-reaching significance. It truly reflects the viewpoint of the AFL-CIO and reports honestly and accurately the activities of our great trade union movement during the first two years of its existence as a unified trade union organization.

We commend this Report to the delegates as a truly historic document. We move that this Executive Council Report be accepted by the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Respectfully submitted,

Walter P. Reuther, Chairman

Paul L. Phillips, Secretary

Michael Fox

George Canary

William J. Farson

Chester A. Sample

Ross D. Blood

John O'Hare

George Fecteau

Paul A. Nagle

Alvin E. Heaps

G. E. Leighty

Fred Fulford

John P. Burke

Sam Scott

Jesse Clark

Eugene E. Frazier

Clarence Sayen

J. Cline House

Russell Stephens

Joseph McCurdy

H. E. Gilbert

Howard Coughlin

James M. Roberts

Luigi Antonini

COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL REPORT

Addenda

On Page 42 of the Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, under the heading, "Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen," there is a misstatement of fact.

The error is found in the sentence reading: "As a result of protests received from Switchmen's Union of North America and the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America, consultations were had with the officers of these three Unions."

The Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America did not register or file any protest in this proceeding.

Jesse Clark
President B. R. S. of A. and Member
of Committee on the Executive Council
Report.

... In conformity with the recommendation of the Committee on the Executive Council Report, the following report was submitted for inclusion in the proceedings of the Convention at this point:

1957 REPORT and 1958 PROGRAM of the AFL-CIO MARITIME COMMITTEE

Introduction

The AFL-CIO Maritime Committee functions in Washington, D. C. as the administrative and legislative office of the National Maritime Union, American Radio Association, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, and the United Steelworkers of America (maritime workers on the Great Lakes).

From its establishment at the first CIO Convention in 1938 to date, Joseph Curran has been the Committee's Chairman. Hoyt S. Haddock is the Executive Secretary.

The Committee continues in its primary function to protect and expand the gains of merchant seamen and shipyard workers by legislative and administrative action before the U. S. Congress as well as the administrative agencies of our Government.

In its second decade of existence the Committee has proved itself as a valuable asset to our seamen and other maritime workers. Because of the extensive control of the maritime industry by our Federal Government, the Committee is the protective shield against attack by those who utilize the U. S. Congress and Government agencies to destroy the hard-earned gains made by seamen in collective bargaining and successful legislative achievements.

In this report we shall select and cover the highest priority fighting issues confronting our merchant marine. Therefore, there will be no attempt to cover the hundreds of other issues with which we deal.

U. S. Merchant Marine

At the last convention we reported that as of July 1, 1955, our active U. S. Merchant Marine consisted of 1,163 seagoing ships of 1,000 gross tons and over, manned by 57,500 seamen. Two years

later, as of July 1, 1957, our Merchant Marine consisted of 1,154 ships, manned by 60,700 seamen. Although these figures seem to indicate that our Merchant Marine has attained a stabilized state, actually it has been losing ground in its world position. Each year our foreign waterborne trade has been increasing sharply while the cargo carried in American bottoms has barely budged upward. Therefore, percentagewise, our American flag ships are carrying proportionately less of the total cargo each year. For example, from 1952 through the middle of 1957 our waterborne foreign trade increased by over 45%. During the same period, the number of active ships in our Merchant Marine decreased by 44% and the number of seamen's jobs decreased from 98,000 to 60,700 or 37%.

In 1952 American bottoms carried 34.3% of our total foreign waterborne commerce, while today we are carrying less than 20%. Thus, we are going downward from instead of upward towards the expressed desirable goal of having our American flag ships carry at least 50% of our foreign waterborne commerce.

U. S. Shipbuilding

World shipbuilding continues to boom despite the current picture of serious over-tonnaging of the world sealanes. On July 1, 1957, the principal shipbuilding nations of the world were constructing or had orders on hand for 2,830 ships of 1,000 gross tons and over, aggregating 35,000,000 gross tons, and 53,000,000 deadweight tons. By type these ships consisted of 1,700 dry cargo ships, 1,089 tankers, and 41 passenger or passenger-cargo ships.

The three leading shipbuilding nations are Great Britain, Germany, and Japan. The leading nation, Great Britain, has orders for 540 ships, aggregating 6,159,000 gross tons, or 17.6% of the world total shipbuilding orders. Germany has orders for building 565 ships, aggregating 5,773,000 gross tons, or 16.4% of the world's orders. Japan has orders for 321 ships, aggregating 5,446,000 gross tons, or 15.5% of the world's orders.

The United States is number six in orders for new ship construction. On July 1, 1957, our private shipyards had orders for a total of 96 ships of 1,000 gross tons and over, aggregating some 2,300,000 gross tons, and 3,642,000 deadweight tons. Thus, our shipyards held slightly less than 7% of the total world-wide shipbuilding orders.

Of the new construction orders for 96 ships (does not include ship conversions) in our private American shipyards, 7 ships, aggregating 45,490 deadweight tons, are for Government account. 89 ships, aggregating 3,596,316 deadweight tons, are for private account. Of the 89 ships for private account, 84, aggregating 3,547,100 deadweight tons are tankers, and 5, aggregating 49,216 deadweight tons, consist of 4 passenger-cargo ships and 1 sea-train ship. Of the 84 tankers, 28, aggregating 1,351,000 deadweight tons, are for foreign flag operations. These are spill-over orders placed with American yards only because foreign yards are too busy for prompt delivery.

Of the 84 tankers on order in private American shipyards, 53, aggregating 2,052,800 deadweight tons, are a result of the transfer-foreign-and-build "program." In order to realize these shipbuilding orders, our Government has granted shipowners permission to transfer foreign 127 ships, aggregating approximately the same total tonnage as the ships on order.

Of the 96 ships on order in our private yards, 14 have had work started on them.

It is important to note that our Government has been emphasizing the building of tankers under the transfer foreign program. On the other hand, they have de-emphasized the building of dry cargo and passenger ships. This has resulted in the Congressional refusal to appropriate shipbuilding funds for fiscal year 1958. Congress, witnessing the non-expenditure of available shipbuilding funds for subsidized ships, refused to appropriate the \$120,000,000 requested by the Maritime Administration and, instead, reduced this figure to \$3,000,000, none of which is for shipbuilding as such.

At the present time the Maritime Administration is entering into ship construction contracts which call for the long-range replacement of some 300 subsidized ships costing over \$2 billion. However, all parties concerned are worried about future appropriations for this program. At this time the ship replacement issue is before the National Security Council which includes the President, Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization.

The Eisenhower Administration has killed the tanker trade-in-and-build program as well as the program calling for the building of 15 tankers by and for private interests who would charter them to the Military Sea Transportation Service. These two programs enacted into law in 1954 were designed to modernize our tanker fleets and, at the same time, place T-2 tankers in our National Defense Reserve Fleet. Part of the result of the scuttling of these two desirable tanker programs was witnessed during the Suez Crisis. We and the free world were caught short of tankers and economies of our overseas Allies were balanced on the brink of disaster. Moreover, it is now estimated that the shortage of tankers resulted in the rise of oil prices which are estimated as increasing the cost of oil products to the American consumer by \$1 billion a year.

We shall continue to exert a long-range shipbuilding program in conformity with the intent of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. This type of realistic program will provide a steady and adequate flow of orders to our private shipyards and maintain a realistic employment level for our nation's shipyard workers. Moreover, it would help our nation to achieve a modern American flag merchant marine adequate to service our foreign trade in peacetime and to serve as our fourth arm of defense during a national emergency.

Effective Control and Transfer Foreign

On December 19, 1955, the Marad-Navy (Maritime Administration and Navy Department) Planning Group issued a report entitled, "Ocean Shipping to Support the Defense of the United States." We were startled by language in the report which stated "ships deemed to be under 'effective control' consist of certain ships owned by U. S. citizens and registered under the flags of Liberia, Honduras, and Venezuela." In conjunction with this statement the report included the so-called "effective control" ships in the definition of our active operating U. S. Merchant Marine. It immediately became plain to us that the Eisenhower Administration was changing the definition of "American Merchant Marine" and deliberately violating the intent of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 and other American maritime

laws. These laws specifically state that our nation shall maintain an adequate American flag merchant marine owned, operated, and manned by U. S. citizens. We immediately engaged in an all-out attack upon this most serious threat to our merchant marine.

During this session of the 85th Congress, the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee took cognizance of our position and held hearings covering the "effective control" concept and the transfer of American merchant ships to the runaway flags of Liberia, Panama, and Honduras. In fact, Senator Warren G. Magnuson, Democrat, Washington, and Chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, introduced S. 1488, a bill designed to curtail the free transfer foreign of our ships.

In testifying before the Congressional Committees, the Maritime Administrator strongly supported the Administration's "effective control" concept and transfer policy. He stated that these transferred ships would be under the effective control of the United States during a national emergency and, therefore, were more desirable than even the ships in our National Defense Reserve Fleet. He stated that our nation's defense needs were adequately protected by the Maritime Administration's requirements that these so-called "effective control" ships shall be 51% American-owned and that the shipowners should pledge to make them available during a national emergency. This position was supported by the Department of Defense as well as by the shipowners themselves.

It is clear that many parties, including our Government departments, have quickly forgotten the role played by our American flag merchant marine during World Wars I and II, the Korean War as well as the Suez crisis. Also, it is clear that the shipowners are completely blinded by the short-range grasping for a few extra dollars of profit resulting from transfer foreign of their ships. It is worthy to note that these are the same shipowners who are constantly and continually issuing strong statements in favor of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 and other maritime laws favorable to our merchant marine.

In a comprehensive 88-page study we advised the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the dangers contained in the so-called "effective control" concept. Also, we informed them of the long-range, suicidal approach of transferring our ships to the runaway flags.

In our analysis we showed the post-World War II phenomenal growth of the runaway flag fleets of Liberia and Panama. In 1924 Lloyds Register reported only 15 ships flying the Panamanian flag. As of June 30, 1956 there were 510 ships, aggregating 5,865,000 deadweight tons, under the Panamanian flag. On that date there were 570 ships, aggregating 8,805,000 deadweight tons, flying the Liberian flag, and 55 ships, aggregating 482,000 deadweight tons, flying the Honduran flag. This is a total of 1,135 ships, aggregating 15,152,000 deadweight tons, under the 3 runaway flags.

In 4½ short years, January 1, 1952 to June 30, 1956, the deadweight tonnage under the Liberian flag increased by 654%. In 1952 there were 78 ships, aggregating 1,167,000 deadweight tons, under the Liberian flag as compared to the 570 ships, aggregating 8,805,000 deadweight tons, on June 30, 1956.

In 3 short years, June 30, 1953 to June 30, 1956, the deadweight tonnage under the Liberian flag increased 287%.

The bulk of the ships under the runaway flags are owned by Americans. Next to the Americans in the amount of ownership are the Greeks. Strongly enough the United States and Greece are becoming more similar as absentee owner shipping powers as the years go by. Evidently we are now in the vicious cycle that Greece has been in for some years. Our ships, like theirs, are beginning to fly the runaway flags in place of our own national flags.

It is estimated that Greek shipowners control 1,425 ships, aggregating 10,425,800 deadweight tons. Also, they have ordered for construction 346 ships of 5,602,425 tons. These ships being built, added to the Greek-owned ships now in operation, equal 1,771 ships of more than 16,000,000 deadweight tons. However, only 1 out of 4 Greek-owned ships will be sailing under the Greek flag. The remainder will be under foreign flags. Almost one-half of the total Greek-owned ships will be under the runaway flags of Liberia and Panama.

Some American companies are taking a leaf from the books of such world adventurers as the Greek shipowners and are discarding national loyalty for the opportunity to make a fast and easy dollar regardless of our national and world security.

As of June 30, 1956, there were a total of 386 ships of 1,000 gross tons and over, aggregating 6,330,808 deadweight tons, owned by American companies and operated under foreign flags. Also, there were a total of 117 ships, aggregating 4,006,992 deadweight tons, which were being constructed for these companies to operate under foreign flags. The 10,337,800 deadweight tons of these 503 ships is 76% of the 13,694,000 deadweight tons of the entire U. S. flag merchant marine on June 30, 1956. Of these 503 ships, 242 are operating or being constructed for operation under the runaway flags of Panama, Honduras, and Liberia.

Of these 503 ships, 393 are seagoing tankers, aggregating 8,564,905 deadweight tons, which are operated or under construction for operation by affiliates of American companies. 258 tankers or 84% of the 306 seagoing tankers actually in operation are owned by five large oil companies. 71 tankers or 82% of the 87 tankers under construction for foreign flag operation are owned by the same five companies. The numbers and tonnage of the foreign flag tankers now operated or building by company are: Cities Service, 4 tankers, aggregating 155,696 deadweight tons; Gulf Oil Corporation, 36 tankers, aggregating 928,733, deadweight tons; Secony Mobil Oil Co., Inc., 35 tankers, aggregating 600,165 deadweight tons; Standard Oil Co. of California, 75 tankers, aggregating 1,319,471 deadweight tons; Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, 152 tankers, aggregating 3,125,161 deadweight tons; and the Texas Company, 27 tankers, aggregating 587,688 deadweight tons.

In our study we showed that the runaway fleets are a threat not only to our merchant marine but also to the merchant fleets of all maritime nations. Shipowners operating under these flags of convenience pay only small token taxes to the runaway flag nations, have extremely low manning costs, and little, if any, safety standards costs. We of the maritime nations are achieving relatively good wages and working conditions for our seamen, maintain high safety standards which are costly, and pay taxes which are used to protect ourselves

and the free world against military aggression. Therefore, it is obvious that the runaway ships can drive all ships flying bona fide maritime flags off the high seas in a matter of time. Our original observations along these lines are now being accepted by shipping circles in other maritime nations. Their publications are beginning to emphasize the serious threat of the runaway flags to all maritime nations.

After many weeks of hearings Congressman Herbert Bonner, Chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, stated that our nation's maritime policy is completely confused and befuddled. Senator Magnuson said the same on the Senate side. After strong and vigorous prodding by these pro-American Merchant Marine Congressmen, the Administration finally admitted that our nation's maritime policy is also a mystery to them. They stated that the National Security Council is now deliberating the need of an American flag merchant marine.

This all shows the need for a positive and vigorous administration of our maritime laws. This we have not gotten from the Executive branch of our Government. It has become abundantly clear that only Congress can get their policies administered in the interest of the people. To achieve this the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee must require that the Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administration obtain specific program authorizations prior to submitting their budgets to the Appropriations Committees. This will place the Legislative Committees in a position of having Congressional policy carried out by the agency. Too, legislation must be adopted making the Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administration direct agencies of the Congress, removing their policy and program-making and administration from the Department of Commerce.

We shall continue to fight for maritime policies which conform with the intent contained in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. In this fight we will join forces with the far-sighted Representatives and Senators in the U. S. Congress. We hope to eventually convert the American shipowner to supporting his American flag merchant marine, particularly the subsidized companies.

Marine Hospitals

The United States Public Health Service hospital and medical care program for merchant seamen is one on which we can report with a brighter tone. As you will recall, shortly after the Eisenhower Administration came into power in 1952 they had issued a directive to completely eliminate the Marine Hospitals in one stroke. We had intercepted this confidential order and began the fight which changed the action of this Administration toward the Marine Hospitals.

This year the President's Budget requested an appropriation of \$44,399,000 for the Public Health Service hospital and medical care program for the fiscal year 1958, which ends June 30, 1958. This is \$8,588,000 more than the 1957 budget request of \$35,11,000. This is one of the very few appropriation requests which sailed through Congress without feeling the meat-axe of the economy bloc. It was passed without cutting a penny from the original request.

At the present time the Public Health Service program includes 16 hospitals and 23 outpatient facilities. Of the 16 hospitals, 12 are

general hospitals, 1 a tuberculosis hospital, 2 neuro-psychiatric hospitals specializing in the treatment of narcotics addiction, and the National Leprosarium at Carville, Louisiana. Although all of these facilities are not specifically for merchant seamen, we consistently include the over-all budget in our analysis because they are all closely interrelated and the shaking of any one segment can destroy all parts of this program.

Although the increased appropriation will result in some improvement in the Marine Hospitals, it is far short from the program improvements that we are proposing. Our improvements include more adequate dental and eye care, better feeding, and so forth.

Public Health Service indicated last year that they would request additional monies this year to bring their program into line with what we have requested. We assume they have done this. However, this does not mean that their request will get by the Bureau of the Budget. We have indications from the field that anti-merchant seamen care representatives of the Bureau are again ready to try and eliminate this care via the budget.

50-50 Provision

Since the passage of Public Law 664, 83rd Congress, the Permanent 50-50 Law, our fight has become somewhat easier in our desire to have at least 50% of our Government-generated cargoes shipped in American bottoms. However, from time to time there are stirrings by foreign shipowners as well as by the American Farm Bureau Federation which are aimed at destroying the 50-50 concept.

This Congress has recently authorized increasing our surplus farm commodity shipments under Public Law 480, 83rd Congress, from \$3 billion to \$4 billion. This is an extremely important shipping commodity to the American berth line operators as well as to the tramps. These cargoes will assure our ships of sailing full, especially on trips where there may be a shortage of general cargo for that particular voyage.

The latest attack on the 50-50 principle occurred recently when Japan, strongly supported by the American Farm Bureau Federation, lashed out at the requirement that American flagships carry at least 50% of the farm commodity cargoes resulting from a \$115,000,000 loan requested from the Export-Import Bank. As you will recall, Congress in 1934 passed Resolution #17 which states that our ships should carry 100% of these cargoes financed by Export-Import Bank loans. However, by common practice our nation agreed to permit the foreign loan recipients to carry up to 50% of these cargoes in their own ships or ships of other foreign nations. The Farm Bureau, which is an organization that farms the farmer, immediately ran up to Congressional Hill with the arguments that this 50-50 provision was onerous and discriminatory against the Japanese. They argued that, if 50-50 is invoked, the Japanese would cancel their request for the Export-Import Bank loan to purchase U. S. farm commodities. Their arguments were quickly neutralized by spokesmen friendly to our maritime industry and the Farm Bureau's actions were fruitless. As soon as it became known that the United States would apply the 50-50 concept the Japanese, without a further murmur, made the loan and signed the contract for our surplus commodities.

We shall continue to try to convince our Government that it should take seriously the wording of Public Law 664 which states that our ships shall carry "at least 50%" of our Government-generated cargoes. This law must be interpreted and enforced in a manner which will assure our ships of carrying more than 50% of these cargoes up to 100%.

Coast Guard Security Program

At the present time the Coast Guard Port and Vessel Security Program is in a latent phase. The U. S. courts have ruled that the Coast Guard program was unconstitutional because of the hearing methods utilized. The court ruled that the appellants should have the right to receive specific bills of particulars outlining the derogatory information contained therein, the right to confront witnesses whenever practical to have such witnesses present, and other reasons.

Recently, the President's Commission on Government Security issued a report which is in compliance to Public Law 304, 84th Congress. This law requires the Commission to analyze all of the Government's security programs and to submit recommendations which would make these laws uniform and more effective. A large segment of the report, we wish to point out that the one recommendation is come the United States. Without going into the fine details of this section of the report, we wish to point out that one recommendation is completely contrary to the strong position taken by American maritime labor. That is, the report recommends the elimination of the tripartite appeals boards and the substitution of this tripartite arrangement by Coast Guard examiners only. In 1950 when we established the voluntary security program, our Government assured us that it would be on a tripartite basis which affords our seamen and the longshoremen a fair shake. When this issue is presented before the U. S. Congress we will fight to preserve the tripartite system.

Action Program For 1958

1. Press for the elimination of the so-called "effective control" concept which is the instrument of long-range destruction of the American Merchant Marine.
2. Press for new legislation and for proper administration of present law to prevent the transferring of American flag ships to foreign flags and to bring under the American flag those foreign flag ships owned by Americans.
3. Press for a long-range ship replacement program for private U. S. shipyards designed to prevent block obsolescence of our merchant marine and to retain skilled workers in our private shipyards.
4. Strive for legislation which will legalize bona fide maritime rotary shipping hiring halls.
5. Strive for the proper administration of Public Law 664 so that our ships carry at least 50% and up to 100% of our Government-generated cargoes. Block any attempt to amend this law which would weaken it.
6. Seek to bring to U. S. private shipyards the shipbuilding being done in foreign yards for American shipowners and the U. S. Government in the offshore procurement program.

7. Continue to strive for a program to curtail the Military Sea Transportation Service's maintaining a merchant marine in competition with our privately owned and operated merchant marine.

8. Continue to support the operating and construction subsidy provisions contained in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 in order to enable our American Merchant Marine to compete effectively with low wage foreign competitors.

9. Strive for a realistic maritime training program geared to the needs of the industry.

10. Achieve codification of shipping laws and modernization of the archaic maritime laws.

11. Press for the adoption of the ILO Maritime Conventions.

12. Continue to fight in order to stop Congressional appropriations committees from using the unit limitation method of freezing operating-differential subsidies. This practice tends to establish a monopoly on operating subsidies and can destroy the American flag merchant marine under normal conditions.

13. Continue to block proposed Government policies aimed at destroying the American Merchant Marine.

14. Obtain legislation establishing uniform standards for seamen's unemployment compensation.

15. Seek to have Congress improve and coordinate the Government methods of studying and acting on maritime problems with the goal of achieving a continuity of long-range maritime policy.

16. Seek rehabilitation of our coastal and intercoastal shipping.

17. Obtain Government, labor, and management cooperation to increase the carriage of a great portion of our export-import commerce in American flag ships.

18. Urge the Administration to initiate a program specifically designed to realize at least 50% of our ore and oil imports in U. S. flag ships.

19. Seek amendment to the 1936 Merchant Marine Act which will prevent the sale or conversion to foreign flag operation of a U. S. flag service which has been assisted by subsidy.

20. Obtain administrative and Congressional action to assist U. S. flag tramp companies.

21. Seek amendment to law preventing discharge of U. S. seamen and their replacement by foreign seamen in foreign ports.

22. Work to amend mutiny statutes in order to prevent their use in labor disputes.

23. Seek to make permanent the Federal Law on absentee voting for seamen.

24. Press for establishment of an adequate public relations program operated by the Maritime Administration to sponsor the American Merchant Marine.

25. Seek legislation to clearly define the specific authority and responsibilities of the Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administration under present legislation, and make the Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administration direct arms of Congress thereby removing these functions from the Department of Commerce.

26. Urge that maritime legislative committees pass programs authorizing legislation each session of Congress prior to the appropriating committees' consideration of the Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administration appropriation.

Joseph Curran,
Chairman

William Steinberg

John Grogan

David J. McDonald
AFL-CIO Maritime Committee

... During the reading of the above report Vice President Potofsky assumed the Chair.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY PHILLIPS: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the Committee's report.

... The motion was seconded.

VICE PRESIDENT POTOFSKY: You have heard the report of the Committee on the Executive Council. What is your pleasure?

The motion is for adoption.

Is there any discussion?

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, International Typographical Union: I am very mindful of the statement made by Mr. Reuther as to not adopting certain specific decisions with regard to the codes that have been discussed and which will be brought in by resolutions specifically.

I rise only to go on record as opposing any particular part of this report, whatever it may be, that in anywise infringes upon the autonomy of International Unions.

VICE PRESIDENT POTOFSKY: The record will show that Brother Randolph records himself as he has stated.

Are there any further comments?

... The motion to approve the Committee's report was carried.

Communication

December 6, 1957

George Meany, President, American Federation of Labor
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Convention Headquarters, Ambassador Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.

Please convey to the delegates and officers attending the second historic Convention of the United Labor movement best wishes and fraternal greetings from the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People. Because we know that a strong militant and honest

trade union movement is essential for the continued growth of a free America. The NAACP reaffirms its support of democratic trade unionism which has so greatly benefited Negro workers and the entire Negro community. The vigorous support of the AFL-CIO for civil rights measures can be of major significance in eliminating racial discrimination and segregation at the work place and within the community. During this critical period in the struggle for civil rights we look forward to continued cooperation with the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
20 West 40th St., New York 18, New York

VICE PRESIDENT POTOFSKY: The Chair will call upon Secretary Schnitzler to introduce a foreign delegation, the delegation from Italy.

Introduction of Italian Visitors

... Secretary Treasurer Schnitzler introduced the following representatives of the Italian labor movement:

Italian Union of Labor

Ferruccio Clerico, Italian Union of Labor, Regional Director of Italian Institute of Assistance to Workers.

Antonio Degasperri, Technician in Central Switch Stations, CISL National Union of Telephone Workers. Technician in Central Switch Stations.

Giancarlo Manica, Italian Confederation of Labor Unions. Secretary of Provincial Union of Transport Workers at Rovereto. Trade Union organizer.

Vincenzo Marotta, Italian Confederation of Labor Unions. Secretary of the Provincial Labor Council of CISL at Lecce. Teacher of Literature.

Pietro Sangiorgi, Italian Union of Labor. Secretary General of Provincial Labor Council of UIL at Bologna. Head of Commercial Office of Fiat Auto Company.

Carlo Borra, Provincial Secretary of CISL Provincial Union at Turin. Employee of Riv Ball Bearing Company.

... Following the introduction of the above guests, Carlo Borra addressed the Convention in his native tongue, after which Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler read the following translation:

MR. CARLO BORRA

Provincial Secretary of CISL Provincial Union at Turin

Mr. President and Brother Delegates, I feel proud and glad to present this convention with the best wishes of the Italian democratic workers. We shall never forget that the understanding and the generosity of the American labor movement helped us in our hard struggle for a democratic way of life.

The fight of the Italian workers against Communism was not an easy one. We fought with the belief we were choosing the right way to achieve freedom and that it is the task of every free worker to fight against everything that tries to limit the freedom of the individual. This belief is deeply rooted in our hearts, as it is in yours. The democratic Italian unions have to operate under conditions very different from yours. We are not always able to adopt your methods. We feel though, that at the basis of your actions as well as of ours, there is a common desire: that is, that all men can and should enjoy the goods of this earth and thus fully develop their personality and improve their standard of living.

Your actions and your achievements represent to us an example. May we be able, according to our traditions, to follow it to the benefit of our workers.

May you always be able to operate in accordance with your ideals which are the hope and the guarantee to all workers who believe that justice cannot exist without freedom and democracy.

. . . President Meany in the Chair.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure we all appreciated that very fine message from the representative of the Italian workers group. This is getting to be sort of a little United Nations of our own.

I now have a group that I want to present who have come a long way to be here in Atlantic City today. They are brother trade unionists from Japan. I would like to introduce them to you. Brother Munemichi Suwa, Secretary of the Organization Department of the All Seamen's Union, Tokyo. Shigeo Saito, Vice President, National Federation of Coal Miners. Takeshi Fukuda, Vice President of the Zenro Movie and Theatre Employees' Union. Nagatoshi Mukai, President of the National Federation of Electric Power Workers' Unions.

And now the leader of the delegation, Hisashi Kageyama, President of the All Japan Seamen's Union.

MR. HISASHI KAGEYAMA
President, All Japan Seamen's Union

. . . Mr. Kageyama addressed the Convention in Japanese.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Schnitzler will interpret the remarks of our good friend from Japan.

SECRETARY TREASURER SCHNITZLER: It is my great honor and privilege to have this opportunity to make a congratulatory address at this AFL-CIO Convention on behalf of the democratic labor unions in Japan.

I am convinced that this meeting, with good sense and strong faith, will establish pertinent policies and programs and increase the prestige of rightful unionism in a democratic society thereby fulfilling the trust and expectations of the working people throughout the United States. It is also to be hoped that keen interest will be shown at this gathering for the promotion of international labor movement.

History records the great role played by AFL-CIO in the organization and development of ICFTU. Today, when the threat to the human

existence is greater than ever, there is an increasing need for the freedom-loving workers to band themselves together on an international scale.

It is my firm belief that the Japanese labor movement will have a sound and democratic growth, although it is now confronted with many difficult problems. On an international front, I can make a firm promise that we Japanese workers will fight for the same cause as yours, disregarding the difference of race, creed or nationality.

I conclude this short address by wishing every success to the Convention and health and happiness to the delegates.

PRESIDENT MEANY: On behalf of the Convention I express our appreciation to Brother Kageyama and those who accompanied him on this long journey to meet with us today. I am sure we are very happy to have them here and we hope that the fraternal ties between America and Japan will be further enhanced by their visit.

. . . Following announcement of the times and places of various committee meetings, the Convention was recessed at 12:10 o'clock p.m., to reconvene at 2:00 o'clock p.m.

PROCEEDINGS
Second Constitutional Convention of the
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

THIRD DAY — AFTERNOON SESSION
MONDAY, DEC. 9, 1957

The Convention convened at 2:10 p.m., President Meany presiding.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions to continue his report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Secretary McDonald will present another section of the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

**SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC INFORMATION AND FUNDS FOR
HIGHWAY BUILDING**

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Lawrence M. Raftery, Wm. H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, Julius Skoglund, Herbert Baker, James Meehan, Frank Owens, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The right to know and to make a choice is a built-in component part of our American Way of Life, and

WHEREAS, A better choice can be had by being fully informed through visual as well as other forms of education as set forth in the printed word, by picture and otherwise, and

WHEREAS, We can have full access to the scenic and historical effects of this great land of ours and at the same time full access to the artistry of brush and lettering, properly arrayed by locality according to the choice through local determination, and

WHEREAS, The sound cause of safety, national defense, civil defense, unified giving, counteraction to juvenile delinquency and numerous other essential causes of our fundamental national existence are well and substantially promoted through open air displays, and

WHEREAS, Through devious devices, exaggerated claims have been made and continue to be made against such displays without offering authenticated basis for costs to the public treasury for effacing such displays from within eye range of the new interstate highway system, and

WHEREAS, The defraying of such costs most certainly must detract from the sums otherwise available to the fundamental proposition of laying down the greatest mileage of roadways, in the least time and at the lowest possible costs, and

WHEREAS, The enemies of Labor have a way of trying to twist almost any figures to misrepresent the true wages paid our members by claiming that "labor runs up the cost," despite the constant reduction in manpower displaced by technological advances; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., expresses its full endorsement of all efforts thus far exerted by our Legislative Department in behalf of the interstate highway program, inclusion for the first time and continued retention of the prevailing wage provision and acceleration of progress in construction work without interference or delay or diversion of funds to any other purpose beyond that specified in the basic act as set forth under Public Law 624 of the Eighty-fourth Congress.

. . . COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

(See also Resolution No. 120, introduced by Metal Trades Dept. on "Highway Program," in the Tuesday morning proceedings).

THIRTY-FIVE HOUR WORK WEEK FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Neil C. Sherburne, Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Present standards of living and present annual increases in productive capacity of the nation as a whole have been forthcoming, and

WHEREAS, It is the privilege of Federal employees—as well as all other employees—to receive their just share in the increased standard of living made possible by increase in productivity through more effective utilization of machines, and

WHEREAS, The hourly work week has been gradually decreased throughout the years to enable labor to share in this increase in productivity, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO has gone on record supporting at this time the decrease of the normal 40-hour work week to a normal work week of 35 hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in convention assembled, reaffirm its support of any and all legislation which will forward the cause for a 35-hour week for Federal employees without loss of pay, and that this Convention assembled make this resolution a part of the legislative program for the next two years.

. . . COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

OPPOSITION TO MILITARY LABOR PERFORMING CIVILIAN WORK

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, In Naval Shipyards, approximately one-third of the work involved in the repair, overhaul and modification of Naval vessels in active service is being done by the Navy Department's enlisted personnel, and

WHEREAS, This destructive competition sharply limits the ability of the civilian employes of Naval Shipyards and other Naval activities doing industrial work to improve their working conditions, better their wages, and make proper contribution to the continuing growth and development of American organized labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the second biennial convention of the AFL-CIO go on record as being opposed, in general, to competition between private citizens and military labor and, in particular, to the present practices of the Navy Department in this respect; and to effect such legislation as may be necessary to effectively prevent the continuation of such practices.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the resolution.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Resolution No. 116. Is there discussion? The motion is to adopt the resolution. Is there objection?

Hearing none, the resolution is adopted.

MAINTAINING NAVY YARD OPERATIONS

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, Practices now being pursued by the Government could result in the closing of any of the existing Naval Shipyards due to the removal from such yards of many of their operations for which they are equipped, and the resultant alleged higher cost of maintenance of the facility, and

WHEREAS, The present Administration is disregarding its responsibility to its Navy Yard employes and transferring work from Naval Shipyards to private industry at greater production costs, thus not saving money for the taxpayer and impairing the work opportunities of the Navy Yard workers, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the second biennial convention of the AFL-CIO go on record as opposing the present practices of the Federal Government in this regard and express its full support of the position of the Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO in opposing removal of work from Naval Shipyards and in insisting that the Government maintain full operations at each of these established Naval Installations.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council. I so move.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Resolution No. 119, and the motion is to adopt that report,

referring this resolution to the Executive Council. Is there discussion?
Is there objection?

If not, it is so ordered, and the resolution will be referred to the Council.

FIELD REPRESENTATIVES FEDERATION

Resolution No. 14—By Delegates William J. Farson, Charles A. Perlik, Jr., American Newspaper Guild.

WHEREAS, The Field Representatives Federation, a union supported by a majority of the organizers on the staff of the AFL-CIO has sought and been denied recognition by the AFL-CIO, and is therefore seeking certification from the NLRB,

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO is contesting the jurisdiction of the NLRB over these employees;

WHEREAS, The most fundamental principle of trade unionism is that employees have a right to be represented by a union of their own choosing, and

WHEREAS, Failure of the NLRB to assert jurisdiction over such employees as these organizers could serve only to narrow further the meaning of "employee" under the Taft-Hartley Law, and to endanger the bargaining status of such employees as salesmen, commission employees, insurance agents, and others who are found in the newspaper industry as well as other industries; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO go on record as urging the Executive Council to reconsider its position and agree to recognize the Field Representatives Federation as the collective bargaining representative of the organizers on the staff of the AFL-CIO.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Resolutions Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

ANTI-UNION PROPAGANDA

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Gordon C. Preble, Nebraska State, AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, The many students in our high schools, colleges, and universities over the entire nation have been for some time receiving propaganda put out by the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Chamber of Commerce, etc., in the form of pamphlets and brochures pertaining to organized labor, and

WHEREAS, It goes without saying these pamphlets and brochures are definitely anti-union and are being sent out cleverly worded for the purpose of poisoning and warping our young American's minds against organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Many of these students are yearning for labor's side of the story in that day after day students come into the State AFL-CIO offices seeking this information, and

WHEREAS, During the past summer the Executive Board of the Nebraska State AFL-CIO felt it their express and urgent duty to attempt to counteract this propaganda in the State of Nebraska, and

WHEREAS, This propaganda is being sent not only to Nebraska but to the remaining forty-seven states as well; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in Convention Assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on December 5, go on record wholeheartedly endorsing the program effectuated by some State affiliates in attempting to counteract the anti-union propaganda that is being sent into the libraries of our schools by the organizations outlined above and be it further

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO use every means at its command to see that similar action is taken in all of the state central bodies to place the AFL-CIO NEWS in the libraries of all high schools, colleges and universities, both public and parochial, within their respective states, and be it further

RESOLVED, That if upon proper investigation it is found that any state central body is unable financially to accentuate this program, then serious consideration should be given on the part of the AFL-CIO to subsidize such program, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO give serious consideration to dedicating a small section of their official publication, the AFL-CIO NEWS, to a question-and-answer program or something similar for the benefit of those students who know nothing or very little of the trade union movement and who have only received the reactionary employer's version of organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO advise all state central bodies to contact and work with their respective State Department of Education in carrying out this program, and be it finally

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO make available to all state central bodies any pamphlets or brochures put out by the national office on different issues so that the state central bodies in turn can mail a copy of same to the libraries of all high schools, colleges, and universities within their respective states.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee recognizes the importance of combating the anti-union propaganda which the enemies of labor have been distributing to the nation's teachers and school children. We endorse the objectives of this resolution and recommend it be referred to the Executive Council for such further action as is deemed advisable.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WHITE COLLAR AND PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchardt, John M. Fewkes, F. Earl McGinnis, Jr., Herrick S. Roth.

WHEREAS, The organization of the so-called white collar and professional workers of the nation, including the organization of teachers in the public schools and higher educational institutions constitutes a larger and more significant area of potential union membership than ever before, and

WHEREAS, These unorganized white collar and professional workers continue to lag behind the economic gains achieved by the organized workers affiliated with the AFL-CIO, and

WHEREAS, Nonetheless, great areas of white collar workers caught in this economic pinch show reluctance to organize into unions and therefore avoid both responsibilities and benefits of the united membership available in the AFL-CIO, and

WHEREAS, Questions are being raised constantly, both within and on the outside of the labor movement on difference in attitudes between white collar and other worker groups in our economic structure; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations do hereby recommend to its Executive Council that it undertake an independent professional research study in all areas of the nation to determine the soundest basis for the organization of the unorganized white collar and professional workers and to include in such determination:

(a) The organizational interests of various classifications of such workers.

(b) The problems which the white collar workers consider the most injurious to their economic well-being.

(c) The attitudes, beliefs and ideas of white collar workers toward organized labor.

(d) The attitudes and beliefs of such workers toward their respective employers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO Executive Council proceed with a nationwide organizational program, based on the results of such professional study, aimed at the organization of white collar and professional employees and that this program include co-ordination of AFL-CIO organizational activities in this field with those of its respective affiliated National and International Unions representing such white collar and professional jurisdiction.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee is deeply impressed with the need for strengthening the organization of white collar and professional workers as part of the general task of building and trade union movement. We endorse the general objectives of this resolution and recommended that it be referred to the Executive Council for such further action as is deemed advisable.

... The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

IMPORTATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF NON-RESIDENT ALIEN ARTISTS

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Angus Duncan, Jackie Bright, Donald E. Conaway, Hyman R. Faine, and Pat Somerset, Associated Actors and Artistes of America.

WHEREAS, The importation and employment of non-resident alien artists (excluding Canadian citizens) in radio and live television is a chronic problem; and

WHEREAS, The salaries paid to some alien artists are so high as to preclude appreciable employment to resident artists, or so low

that resident artists cannot compete with non-resident alien artists because of lowered financial standards; and

WHEREAS, Wide divergencies of rules and policies exist among foreign unions and/or governments, as compared to the United States Bureau of Immigration's similar rules and policies, so as to practically eliminate reciprocal employment opportunities by American artists; and

WHEREAS, The continued importation or employment of non-resident alien artists further reduces employment opportunities for members of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations go on record as heartily opposed to such practices and urges appropriate governmental remedial action.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee sympathizes with the general objective of this resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for such handling as is deemed necessary.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

PROPOSAL FOR THE FORMATION OF A NEEDLE TRADES DEPARTMENT

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, A. Mendelowitz, I. H. Goldberg, and S. Deckler, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, The establishment of a Needle Trades Department in the AFL-CIO, patterned along the lines of other industrial departments already operating as part of the AFL-CIO, would enhance the possibilities of strengthening the organization of the workers employed in the apparel trades and create additional opportunities for improving the economic position of the many hundreds of thousands of workers employed in these trades; and

WHEREAS, The need for and the advantages to be derived from such a Needle Trades Department, while recognized for many years, have now been brought within the range of possibility by the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, in convention assembled, in Atlantic City, New Jersey, approve the formation of such a Needle Trades Department and instruct the Executive Council to take such measures as may be necessary to establish and maintain such a Department.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consultation with the interested affiliated unions to determine their wishes in this matter.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

CERTIFIED AIRCRAFT AND ENGINE MECHANICS

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates Michael J. Quill, Matthew Guinan, Ellis F. Van Riper, James F. Horst, Gustav Faber, Eugene Attreed, and Frank Sheehan, Transport Workers Union of America.

WHEREAS, The Civil Aeronautics Administration has attempted to secure amendment of the Civil Aeronautics Act to exempt aircraft manufacturers and CAA approved repair stations from the requirement that a CAA Certified Aircraft and Engine mechanic must sign for maintenance and overhaul repair work, and

WHEREAS, Senator John W. Bricker (R-Ohio) has introduced an omnibus aviation bill S-656 in this, the first session of the 85th Congress, to write this change into the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 and to exempt the airlines of this country from the employment of Certificated A and E mechanics as well, and

WHEREAS, The Transport Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, in the interests of aviation safety, fears that the enactment of this measure completely eliminating the Certificated A and E mechanic, would reduce the standard of mechanical repairs and results in reduced safety standards, and

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States, instead of permitting the widespread lowering of standards by large-scale exemptions from the present requirements for certificates, should be making every effort to provide every possible safety requirement for the protection of its citizens traveling by air, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the AFL-CIO, vigorously oppose any measure contributing to the lowering of Safety Standards in the repairing of our great civil air fleet, and we pledge to exert every effort to prevent the adoption of Senate Bill S-656 by the Congress of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Chairman and Members of the Senate and House Committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consultation with the appropriate unions concerned with the air transport industry.

... The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

LICENSING OF FLIGHT ATTENDANTS

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates Michael J. Quill, Matthew Guinan, Ellis F. Van Riper, James F. Horst, Gustav Faber, Eugene Attreed, and Frank Sheehan, Transport Workers Union of America.

WHEREAS, Increased duties and responsibilities are constantly being placed on flight stewards, stewardesses and pursers through the use of larger commercial aircraft of greater pay-load capacity, and

WHEREAS, Emergencies in flight require the presence of the "operating crew" in the cockpit leaving the cabin attendants with the full responsibility for the lives of as many as 90 to 100 passengers for emergency evacuation or ditching at sea, and

WHEREAS, Cabin attendants are the only crew personnel on aircraft who are not licensed by the Civil Aeronautics Administration, and

WHEREAS, Certification of Flight Attendants would insure that adequate safety procedures are established and that these most important crew members would be adequately trained and experienced before being allowed to assume the responsibility for life and limb of large numbers of passengers in crash landings, ditching and emergency situations, and

WHEREAS, Congressman Peter F. Mack (D-Ill.) has introduced in the House of Representatives a bill, H. R. 7301, enactment of which would amend the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 so as to require the licensing of flight attendants by the Civil Aeronautics Administration upon their successful completion of a CAA approved training course, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the AFL-CIO pledges its full support in actively pressing for the successful passage of H. R. 7301 in the second session of the 85th Congress, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Chairman and Members of the House and Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committees.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consultation with the appropriate unions concerned with the air transport industry.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

SUPPORT OF PENDING STRIKES IN NEW YORK CITY DEPARTMENT STORES

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Max Greenberg, Alvin E. Heaps, Jack Paley, Alex Bail, Arthur Osman, Sam Kovenetsky, and Sam Lowenthal, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.

WHEREAS, The labor movement recognizes that the greatest area of exploitation of American workers today is the white-collar field and particularly its huge, large unorganized retail section, dominated by giant profitable chains.

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO has set as a major legislative goal the achievement of a \$1.25 Federal minimum wage for all workers, and there still exist groups among the 20,000 organized department store workers in New York City who have yet to reach this minimum standard of decency.

WHEREAS, In New York City the 6,000 department store workers in Bloomingdale's and Stern Brother's department stores, facing simultaneous contract expirations on March 1, 1958, are determined to secure a \$1.25-an-hour minimum hiring rate in collective bargaining now in progress.

WHEREAS, These two department stores are a part of the two largest department store chains, Federated Stores and Allied Stores, which have outlets in two dozen cities across the nation.

WHEREAS, The efforts of New York department store employees to achieve the modest goal of a \$1.25-an-hour minimum hiring rate are being bitterly resisted by these chains because of the nationwide effect these efforts will have in helping to raise retail wages everywhere, and thus the prospect of a strike at these two stores is a very real and serious one; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO recognizes the moral and organizational implications of the pending strikes at Bloomingdale's and Stern's department stores in New York City; that the AFL-CIO wholeheartedly endorses and supports the efforts of the 6,000 employees who are members of the RWDSU, to achieve a \$1.25 minimum hiring rate and calls on every affiliated union to lend whatever assistance is required in the event these strikes take place.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee recommends that this resolution be approved.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

TELEVISION NEWS AND COMMENTARY PROGRAM

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate E. M. Weston, Washington State Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The National AFL-CIO is considering terminating the contract of Edward P. Morgan and John W. Vandercook both top level radio newsmen, and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor is on trial in the press and in the minds of many people, and

WHEREAS, It is more important than ever for Organized Labor to preserve and promulgate a favorable public relations program; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the National AFL-CIO be petitioned to continue indefinitely the radio news program of both Edward P. Morgan and John W. Vandercook; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the National AFL-CIO formulate plans for a television news and commentary program to further the cause of Organized Labor through this new medium of mass communication.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This Committee is aware of the value to the AFL-CIO of its sponsorship of the radio news programs of Edward P. Morgan and John W. Vandercook. However, any decision regarding the sponsorship of these radio news programs or of any television news program must carefully weigh many different factors. We recommend that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON MONTGOMERY WARD

Resolution No. 80—Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The Executive Council has given careful consideration to the report submitted to President Meany by the special sub-committee of this body appointed by him to assist the Retail Clerks International Union in efforts to win a peaceful agreement on new contract terms with the management of Montgomery Ward.

The record shows clearly that the failure to reach such a settlement is entirely the responsibility of the company. The union was willing to compromise and did compromise. The company refused to yield anything. It took the unheard of position in these modern times that increases in wages are exclusively the business of the company and not a matter for collective bargaining with the duly certified union of its employees.

In view of recent developments and disclosures in the labor-management field, the Executive Council believes it is the clear duty of responsible and decent American business firms to deal honorably and fairly with clean and democratic trade unions representing their employees. This is today a moral obligation as well as a legal one. Otherwise, business corporations must be held responsible for encouraging corruptly dominated unions, one of the worst forms of anti-unionism.

Because this case, as the sub-committee emphasizes in its report, presents a serious challenge to the entire trade union movement, the Executive Council recommends:

1—That this Second Convention of the AFL-CIO go on record as severely condemning the labor policy of Montgomery Ward in this case, which is just as disgraceful as that company's refusal to obey a Government directive during the last War.

2—That the Convention authorize and direct the officers of the AFL-CIO to provide moral, legal and financial support to the Retail Clerks International Association in order to win this fight quickly.

3—That the AFL-CIO, through its appropriate staff departments, publicize this case to the fullest extent so that all American workers and their families and friends, as well as the public at large, may know the truth about the labor record of Montgomery Ward.

4—That all affiliated unions, and the labor press throughout the country be urged to employ the facilities at their command to the same end.

This Committee has carefully reviewed the supplementary report of the Executive Council regarding the negotiations between the Retail Clerks International Association and the Montgomery Ward Co. We have been amazed to learn how arbitrary and reactionary the attitude of the Montgomery Ward management has been during these negotiations. Their intransigent attitude led for the first time to a situation where the AFL-CIO, through two specially designated Vice Presidents, actually took part in collective bargaining negotiations.

This Committee recommends full support to the recommendations of the Executive Council regarding these negotiations which raise such critical issues for the future of collective bargaining throughout the country.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The motion is to adopt the recommendations contained in Resolution No. 80. Is there any discussion? The Chair recognizes Vice-President Carey.

VICE PRESIDENT CAREY: Mr. Chairman, I rise to speak in support of this resolution.

Associated with Vice President Joseph Keenan, we sought to assist the Retail Clerks in the extremely difficult task they had in trying to bring about collective bargaining in good faith with the Montgomery Ward Corporation.

This company has a long record of anti-unionism. Many of us well recall that under the leadership of S. L. Avery, Montgomery Ward defied an order of an agency of the United States Government while our nation was engaged in a very serious war. In an effort to enforce that directive, the United States Army found it necessary to carry Avery from his offices.

Again we have this same corporation acting in defiance of the law of the land that workers have the right to organize and bargain collectively. Joe Keenan and I found that this corporation insisted that wages was not a matter for collective bargaining, but wages had to be determined on a unilateral basis by the company, and by the company alone. Questions such as insurance, pension programs, even those pension programs paid for by the employees of Montgomery Ward, but could only be established by the company and could only be modified and administered by the company.

The Committee of the two Vice Presidents of this Executive Council, appointed by President Meany, found that the Union was reasonable in its approach. It was very moderate in its demands on Montgomery Ward. Seventy-nine retail establishments represented by this Union in the present negotiations have been trying for months to get ordinary collective bargaining established in these retail stores.

If you were as well aware of the facts involved in this case as the Committee of the Executive Council, the officers and members of this Retail Clerks Union, especially those employed by Montgomery Ward, you would understand that this should not be their fight alone. This is a battle for the rights of people to organize and get just a small measure of justice from this well financed and powerful corporation.

I would hope that this Convention would show its feelings in supporting the Retail Clerks in their efforts by unanimously supporting this resolution now before this Convention.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there any further discussion?

The motion is to adopt the recommendations of the Executive Council contained in this Resolution No. 80.

. . . The motion to adopt the resolution was carried unanimously.

. . . The report of the Committee was continued, as follows:

SUPPORT OF EMPLOYEES OF SUNKIST AFFILIATES

Resolution No. 91—By Delegates Ralph Helstein, C. R. Hathaway, A. T. Stephens, Russell Lasley, Fred Dowling, Charles Hayes and Russell Bull, United Packinghouse Workers of America.

WHEREAS, in November, 1953 the employees of the Santa Clara Lemon Association, and Somis Lemon Association, the Oxnard Lemon

Association, the Carpenters Lemon Association and the Seaboard Lemon Association, all of which are affiliates of the Sunkist organization, selected their union by secret ballot in an NLRB election, and

WHEREAS, after the 1953 election, these affiliates of Sunkist refused to bargain with the union designated by their employees, and

WHEREAS, in April, 1955 these Sunkist affiliates were found guilty of unfair labor practices, and

WHEREAS these Sunkist affiliates refused to comply with the NLRB orders and carried their fight against the union of their employees into the courts, and

WHEREAS, the United States Court of Appeals affirmed the NLRB orders and the Supreme Court of the United States turned down an attempt by these Sunkist affiliates to carry their case further, and

WHEREAS, now, over four years after the election, these Sunkist affiliates are going through the forms of occasional meeting with the union but are prolonging and delaying negotiations, are insisting on impossible and meaningless contract provisions and are giving every indication that they wish merely to wear down their employees and that they hope to avoid reaching any fair contract until a time when they can try again to force the union through a new merry-go-round of NLRB proceedings, and

WHEREAS, the employees of these Sunkist affiliates have requested that the consuming public refuse to buy the lemon products of these Sunkist affiliates unless and until these affiliates arrive at a fair and reasonable collective bargaining agreement with the representatives of their employees; therefore be it

RESOLVED that:

1. The AFL-CIO calls upon these affiliates of the Sunkist group to engage in real collective bargaining with Local 78 of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, AFL-CIO, the designated representative of its employees, and

2. The AFL-CIO pledges its own support, and calls upon all AFL-CIO affiliates to lend their assistance, to Local 78, UPWA, AFL-CIO, in all steps necessary and proper to protect the rights of these employees under the law and to help them in achieving fair and reasonable working conditions under an honorable collective bargaining agreement, and

3. The AFL-CIO calls upon the huge Sunkist organization to clear from the name of Sunkist the onus of anti-unionism by seeing to it that these Sunkist affiliates engage in good faith collective bargaining and arrive at a fair agreement with the designated representative of its employees, and

4. The AFL-CIO urges all union members and friends of labor to help these employees by refusing to buy the lemons and lemon products of these five Sunkist affiliates unless and until these Sunkist affiliates sign a fair and reasonable collective bargaining agreement with the representative of these employees.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee recommends approval of this resolution.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

O'SULLIVAN CONSUMER BOYCOTT

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates L. S. Buckmaster, Joseph W. Childs, Desmond Walker, Francis A. Maile, John J. Skiffington, A. E. Musselman, Charles Gash, and Harry W. Brown, United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Some 400 workers have been on strike against the O'Sullivan Rubber Corporation in Winchester, Virginia, for the last 19 months because that company has consistently refused to consider a fair and reasonable contract with Local 511 of the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, and

WHEREAS, the members of this local union are only striving for a better standard of living than the \$1.39 average hourly wage that was paid by the company, and

WHEREAS, these strikers, many with 25 to 30 years of service, have had their job rights arbitrarily taken away by the company because of a decertification election conducted under Taft-Hartley Law provision that allows only scabs and strikebreakers to vote and denies the right of the ballot to those most concerned—the strikers, and

WHEREAS, this provision of the Taft-Hartley may well provide the formula for other anti-labor employers to destroy unions, and

WHEREAS, this same provision of the law has been denounced as blatantly unfair by all who cherish justice and fair play, and

WHEREAS, the unfairness of the O'Sullivan situation, from its inception, has inspired a nationwide consumers boycott of O'Sullivan heels, soles and other of the company's products, and

WHEREAS, the affiliates of the AFL-CIO have given their complete support to this effort; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO, in full recognition of the legal and moral issues involved, pledges and gives renewed support to the consumer boycott and to the court tests that may be necessary to eradicate the "O'Sullivan formula" from the law of the land.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, this resolution is covered by Resolution No. 131 and the Committee recommends, therefore, no further action is necessary.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the recommendation of the Committee in regard to Resolution No. 95, pointing out that it is covered by Resolution No. 131 and no further action is necessary.

I think that at this time we had better have a report on Resolution No. 131 and then we can consider the two things together.

KOHLER AND O'SULLIVAN BOYCOTT

Resolution No. 131—Submitted by Committee on Resolutions

Two heroic groups of workers have carried on historic battles for long periods of time for dignity and economic justice against arrogant and despotic employers who have used the worst features of the Taft-Hartley act to resist the legitimate demands of their employees.

These workers are the more than 3,000 members of United Auto Workers Local 833 in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, who were forced out on strike at the Kohler Company on April 5, 1954, and the 400 members of Local 511, United Rubber Workers, who have been on strike since May 13, 1956, against the O'Sullivan Rubber Corporation of Winchester, Virginia.

In the case of the Kohler strikers, the company was found guilty recently of repeated and flagrant unfair labor practices and violations of the Taft-Hartley act throughout the more than three and one-half years of this strike, but still has refused to settle the dispute as it has refused every other effort by the UAW and impartial persons to negotiate, mediate or arbitrate settlement of the strike.

From its original accumulation of an illegal arsenal of guns, tear gas and other weapons in advance of contract termination, through its refusal to bargain in good faith and its discharge of the union leaders, up to its most recent refusal to settle the strike on the basis of the NLRB examiner's findings, the Kohler Company has clearly indicated its intention to wipe out the union. The Taft-Hartley law has been toothless in the face of Kohler's defiance.

In the case of the 400 members of the United Rubber Workers on strike for the last 19 months at the O'Sullivan Rubber Company, that company has consistently refused to consider a fair and reasonable contract which would provide a better standard of living for its members than the \$1.39 average hourly wage paid by the company.

Workers at this company had clearly evidenced their desire to be represented by the United Rubber Workers when they voted in an NLRB election on May 13, 1956, 343 for the URW to 2 for no union.

The company hired strikebreakers when the O'Sullivan workers voted 355 to 2 to strike for a decent contract. The company then invoked the union-busting section 9 (c) 3 of the Taft-Hartley Law, under which only the scab replacements can vote on whether or not they want the union continued. Naturally, with the strikers looking on, but not voting, the scabs voted for no union.

The entire American labor movement has recognized from the outset of both the Kohler and O'Sullivan strikes not only that the cause of these workers is morally right and economically sound, but that the very life of the labor movement is at stake if these anti-labor employers are permitted to utilize the scheme, tricks and devices of Taft-Hartley to destroy our unions.

Because of his recognition, the strikers at Kohler and O'Sullivan have had not only strong support from the American labor movement, but also have benefitted from nation-wide consumer boycotts of the scab-made plumbingware of Kohler and the heels, soles and other products of O'Sullivan.

The legal primary boycotts of these scab-made products is the sole major avenue open to the labor movement to show its continued solidarity with the Kohler and O'Sullivan workers and the refusal to tolerate 19th century employer dictatorship in a 20th century era of human progress.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT, this second biennial convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress

of Industrial Organization hereby commends the heroic workers at the Kohler and O'Sullivan companies for their courage and determination to achieve a better way of life for themselves, their children and their fellow Americans.

This convention calls upon the officers and members of all its affiliated unions to continue to lend full moral and economic support to the Kohler and O'Sullivan strikers in their resistance to economic and legislative feudalism.

This convention of the AFL-CIO emphasizes its renewed support of the consumer boycott campaigns being waged against these two companies.

We again call upon Congress to repeal the anti-labor provisions of the Taft-Hartley act which have been so clearly demonstrated in the Kohler and O'Sullivan strikes.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution No. 131.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The motion is to adopt Resolution No. 131 which refers to the Kohler and O'Sullivan strikes. In disposing of Resolution No. 131 we are also taking in a separate resolution, No. 95, on the subject of "O'Sullivan Consumer Boycott."

On the motion to adopt the report of the Committee the Chair recognizes Vice-President Buckmaster, who is also President of the Rubber Workers.

VICE PRESIDENT BUCKMASTER: Mr. Chairman and delegates: Everything that Jim Carey said a moment ago about Montgomery Ward, and everything that can be truthfully said about this Kohler situation applies with equal force to the O'Sullivan Rubber situation. The only main differences between the O'Sullivan situation and these other two is that the O'Sullivan Rubber Corporation has played this thing out to the end of the string, or at least they think it is out to the end of the string.

They have taken every advantage that the Virginia Right-to-Work law gives to that company. They have taken every advantage that the Taft-Hartley Act gives to that company, and they have taken advantage of this technique that has been employed so widely in this country in teaching employers how to evade their responsibility of bargaining with a union after that union has won the right to act as the collective bargaining agency.

This latter technique of evasion of responsibility is just a refinement of the Shefferman technique that has been exposed in the public press in the last several weeks.

Down in Virginia the O'Sullivan Rubber Corporation found an attorney who makes a business of teaching and showing employers how to evade their responsibilities under the law of the land. He does it a little bit more neatly and not quite so crudely as Mr. Shefferman did the same sort of a job for lots of other employers, but nevertheless it is just as effective. In this case the employer went through the motions of meeting at intervals with our Union and pretending to bargain collectively, but at the same time saying to themselves and

others that they never had any intention of reaching an agreement with our Union. They carried that out to the fullest extent.

After approximately one year of that sort of monkey business, then they went to the next step, which was the petition to the NLRB to come in and determine whether or not our Union still represented the employees.

In the meantime, on the other side of the coin, in order to make certain that they would win that kind of election, they employed a bunch of strike breakers from that community and from surrounding states. I have been informed that they have reemployed every drunk that they ever had to discharge from that company in the past 25 years and everyone else that they had to get rid of because they were not fit people. So that is the kind of folks we have working in there today.

When the election was held about two or three weeks ago our people, nearly all the 400 who went out on strike more than a year ago, were not permitted to cast their votes in that election. I suppose we might take a little bit of comfort from the fact that five of the scabs voted for our Union and 288 of them, of course, voted against our Union.

We are not trying to say that this is the only kind of situation we have in the United States. All of us who have to deal with this sort of thing know that this method, these same techniques and these same vicious methods of evading their responsibility are spread throughout the country. It seems to me that it is about time that union people began to realize the viciousness and the dangers which are inherent in this right-to-work legislation and in the Taft-Hartley Act and, further than that, in the kind of National Labor Relations Board that has been handed to us in the past few years. It is absolutely impossible—at least we have found it impossible—to go before the Board and find any remedy to this problem where the employer refuses to bargain in good faith. The National Labor Relations Board is stacked against unions and union people and people who are not now union but who would like to have a union. It is stacked in favor of the employers in nearly every instance and it is getting worse as time goes by.

We bring this matter before you not to solicit aid for those 400 people down in Winchester, Virginia—we are taking care of them. I will say, though, that many unions throughout this country have voluntarily, without being requested to do so, given very excellent moral and financial and physical support to the people down there in the Shenandoah Valley.

We come here to try to help point up to the unions in this country the necessity of greater political action, greater participation in the affairs of our country, in the hope that one of these days we are going to have people in government who will recognize their responsibilities to laboring people as well as to anybody else and that we can change the complexion of this thing by effective political action and by working wherever we are, whether it is on the state level, the community level or on the national level, to help bring this thing about. Thank you very much.

DELEGATE SCHUETTE, Sheboygan County Labor Council: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I rise to support the resolution because, being

a resident of Sheboygan County, which is the locale of the Kohler strike, I would like to offer my encouragement to this Convention to give all the support possible to the Kohler strikers and the boycott program.

It is interesting to note that I have here in my hand a copy of the 1935 Convention proceedings of the American Federation of Labor. Within these proceedings are contained some of the discussions held on a resolution pertaining to the Kohler strike of 1934. In 1934, during the Kohler strike, two of our brothers were killed and 48 were shot in the back. I would like to recall the words of Delegate Charlie Heymanns, who at that time was a member of the Negotiating Committee and who is now the Regional Director for the State of Wisconsin for the AFL-CIO.

Charlie Heymanns said 23 years ago right here in Atlantic City, "We buried our slain brothers that were shot in the back but we will never bury our union principles, come what may. We will never surrender to Kohler's millions and to Kohler's autocracy."

Mr. Chairman, that went in 1935 and I believe it goes today, doubly so. The people who so valiantly have been working and fighting for justice in the Kohler strike have stuck to their guns and continued to fight.

I believe that the proof of the righteousness of the Kohler strikers' cause could be found in the intermediate report handed down by Trial Examiner George Downing in the longest National Labor Relations Board case in the history of the Board. In that case Trial Examiner George Downing pointed out that this company was guilty of surface bargaining and to all intents and purposes was bargaining for posterity. They did it in 1934 and they did the same thing in 1954.

I believe that this Convention should go on record unanimously to support the cause of the Kohler strikers for a valiant fight and for some wonderful support which they received from their International Union.

I am proud that I have been able to be here supporting this cause, because I saw the thing from 1934 through 1957, and I believe, as Brother Charlie Heymanns stated, that we will never let them down. We didn't in '34. We did not in '54, and we will not in '57.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion on the motion to adopt Resolution 131?

... The motion to adopt the resolution was carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, since Resolution 131 is carried unanimously, we should, for the sake of the record, make note that Resolution No. 95 is already covered by Resolution 131, and no further action is necessary.

I so move.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I put that in the record.

... The report of the Committee was continued, as follows:

JAPANESE FISHERY PRODUCTS BOYCOTT

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate George Johansen, Alaska Fishermen's Federal Labor Union No. 1821.

WHEREAS, In view of the imminent destruction of the great red salmon fishery of the Bristol Bay area of Alaska because of unrestricted fishing by the Japanese high seas fishing fleet, and

WHEREAS, the preservation of those stocks of salmon is of utmost economic importance to citizens of Alaska and the West Coast states, and of immense importance as a national food item; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this Convention notify the Secretary of State at the earliest possible moment and urge that the citizens of the Japanese government be requested by the United States government to abstain from fishing in areas where research has found American and Asiatic stocks of salmon to be intermingled, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, that we urge the placing of an embargo on all future importations of canned and prepared frozen Japanese fishery products, be it

FINALLY RESOLVED, that organized labor go on record to not buy such Japanese fishery products and that all labor organizations be notified to that effect, unless a satisfactory agreement is reached with the Japanese government which will protect our salmon fishery resource in the future.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee is in sympathy with the general objective of this resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for such action as it deems advisable.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

JEFFERSON NATIONAL EXPANSION MEMORIAL

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate John I. Rollings, Missouri State Labor Council AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, The St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union indorsed and supported the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial project at its inception, and

WHEREAS, This Jefferson National Expansion Memorial project would not only beautify the River-front Area of St. Louis but it would also be a lasting memorial to a great American Statesman, Thomas Jefferson, and

WHEREAS, The completion of this Memorial project would depict the Gateway to the West by the Saarinen Arch and permanently mark the historic site on which the Louisiana Purchase was made, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Missouri State Labor Council in Convention assembled September 9, 10, 11, 1957 in St. Louis, Missouri go on record in support of the completion of this project, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Missouri State Labor Council requests the support of the AFL-CIO of this Memorial Project.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of the resolution.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Resolutions Committee. The recommendation is that the Convention approve Resolution No. 113. Is there discussion on the motion?

DELEGATE WEBB, St. Louis Labor Union: I want to point out Mr. President, to the delegates to this Convention that this is not only a resolution to beautify the river front in the city of St. Louis, but it is also a resolution to recognize a great President and a great statesman of this country, Thomas Jefferson. As we all know, Thomas Jefferson was a very good friend of the laboring people.

This would be a project to permanently recognize that great President of our United States, Thomas Jefferson, not only as a statesman, but a great real estate man. This resolution is to commemorate and this project will commemorate the Louisiana Purchase, which opened the great western territory of our great United States and gave all of us an opportunity to become workers west of the Mississippi River.

The project when completed will feature an arch that will be higher than anything in the local area which will depict the gateway to the West.

So I ask the delegates to unanimously adopt this resolution, which calls for the completion of this Jefferson Expansion Memorial on the river front of St. Louis.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the resolution and the report of the Committee on Resolution 113. Is there any further discussion? Those in favor signify by saying aye; contrary-minded no.

The motion is carried and so ordered.

Now we will have a report of the Chairman of the Committee on Appeals. I would like to explain that there is a revision in the printed report, in the very last paragraph of the printed report that you have in front of you. The revision will be distributed on a single sheet so the entire report will be just as it is until you get to subparagraph 4, the very last paragraph in the document prior to the signatures. At that time the Committee Secretary will read the substitute which involves a slight change in language.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Rose of the Committee on Appeals.

REPORT OF APPEALS COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROSE: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Appeals is now ready to report on the appeal of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers of America. The Secretary of our Committee, John J. Murphy, will read the report and the Chair will make some observations afterwards.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY MURPHY read the following report:

REPORT OF THE APPEALS COMMITTEE

In Re: Appeal of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America

Basis of the Appeal

Pursuant to Article VIII, Section 7 of the AFL-CIO Constitution the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America, under date of November 24, 1957, notified the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO of its request to present its position to the AFL-CIO Convention. This request was treated by the AFL-CIO as an appeal by the Bakery Workers Union from the actions taken by the Executive Council on September 25 and October 25, 1957, with respect to the Bakery Workers' Union. Pursuant to Article IV, Sections 9 and 10 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, this appeal was referred to the Appeals Committee of the Convention appointed by President George Meany.

Upon due notice to the Bakery Workers' Union, the Committee held hearings on December 4 and 8, 1957. At these hearings there were submitted to the Committee, on behalf of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO the resolution adopted by the Executive Council, the reports of the Ethical Practices Committee to the Council, the transcripts of the hearings before the Ethical Practices Committee and the exhibits thereto. The representatives of the Bakery Workers' Union were given a full opportunity to and did present materials and arguments which they thought appropriate in support of the Union's appeal.

This report is submitted by the Appeals Committee to the Convention of the AFL-CIO on the basis of all of the materials presented to it and the arguments made before it.

The Issues

The issues presented to the Appeals Committee can only properly be understood in the light of the provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution, the resolutions adopted at the founding Convention of the AFL-CIO, the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee, the findings and directives of the Executive Council and the actions of the Bakery Workers' Union with respect to them.

1. The AFL-CIO Constitution

The Constitution which the AFL-CIO adopted with the unanimous concurrence of each affiliated union provided that one of the basic objects and principles of the Federation should be

"to protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic trade unionism."

The Executive Council was given power to conduct an investigation either directly or through an appropriate Committee into any situation in which there is reason to believe that any affiliate is "dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influence . . ." The Council was further

given the authority "to make recommendations or give directions to the affiliate involved" and "upon a two-thirds vote, to suspend any affiliate found guilty of a violation of this section."

The AFL-CIO Constitution preserved the principle of national and international trade union autonomy but, by its provisions with respect to corruption and Communism, it made it clear that no union, large or small, which was corruptly dominated or influenced had a right to remain in affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

The founding Convention of the AFL-CIO implemented these constitutional provisions by adopting, by unanimous vote, a resolution which called upon "all its affiliated national and international unions to take whatever steps are necessary within their own organizations to effect the policies and ethical standards set forth in the Constitution of the AFL-CIO."

The Appeals Committee has considered the appeal of the Bakery Workers' Union with the clear understanding and conviction that these constitutional provisions and resolutions, which were concurred in by the Bakery Workers' Union as well as by every other union which participated in the formation of the AFL-CIO, are necessarily binding upon the Executive Council, upon this Committee and upon the Bakery Workers' Union.

2. The Proceedings Before the Ethical Practices Committee

The proceedings which led to the order of the Executive Council which is being appealed to the Convention arose as a result of an investigation begun at a preliminary hearing on March 15, 1957 when President George Meany requested the Ethical Practices Committee, which had been appointed pursuant to the Constitution, to conduct a formal investigation as to whether the Bakery Workers' Union is "dominated, controlled, or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influence." The Committee held hearings May 7, July 31 and August 1, 1957. The Bakery Workers' Union was given or had available copies of all materials considered by the Committee and was given a full opportunity to respond to all of the evidence against it.

On the basis of the hearings and the materials presented to the Ethical Practices Committee, that Committee on September 16, 1957, submitted a report to the Executive Council. The report is contained on pages 107-140 of the Supplemental Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Ethical Practices Cases which has been distributed to the delegates to the AFL-CIO Convention.

3. The Findings of Corrupt Influence

The Ethical Practices Committee concluded that the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union does not meet the ethical standards required by the AFL-CIO Constitution because of the following unethical and corrupt practices which the Committee found to be in violation of the rules and procedures of trade union morality embodied in the AFL-CIO Constitution:

- (a) the financial relationship between President Cross and an employer in the bakery industry, Martin Philipsborn:

- (b) the acceptance by President Cross of a Cadillac paid for by a local union under trusteeship and concealed as an organizing expense on the local's books;
 - (c) expenditures of union funds for improper purposes, improper procedures with respect to expense accounts, and commingling union funds and personal funds in the same account; and
 - (d) the Executive Board's summary acquittal of Vice-President Stuart and the Union's failure to proceed against him for misuse of funds of a local union of which he was trustee, in the face of plain documentary proof of such misuse, and to insist, not only upon his resignation as an International officer, but also upon his making full restitution to and his expulsion from the Union.
- (a) Improper Financial Relationship Between President Cross and Martin Philipsborn, a Bakery Industry Employer - Conflict of Interest.**

The Ethical Practices Committee found that in 1955, when the Bakery Workers' Union moved its headquarters to Washington, D. C., President Cross borrowed \$56,700 at the low interest rate of 3% from Mr. Martin Philipsborn, a bakery industry employer, in order to purchase a home. This loan was repaid by President Cross eight months later when the Union took over the mortgage.

The Committee also found that President Cross borrowed \$40,000 from Mr. Philipsborn in 1956 for the purpose of purchasing a home in West Palm Beach, Florida. The security for this loan was an unsecured personal note calling for repayment in unspecified annual installments at 4% interest, beginning on September 1, 1957. Following the start of the Committee's investigation, President Cross repaid the loan in full, aided by a loan made to him by one of his fellow officers in the Union.

Mr. Philipsborn's company, Zion Industries, Inc., is one with which the Bakery Workers' Union has had a collective bargaining relationship for many years with respect to its biscuit plant. However, it is significant that the adjoining candy plant, also within the jurisdiction of the Bakery Workers' Union, was not covered by the contract while these loans were obtained. It was only recently that the candy plant was brought under the contract.

From 1944 to 1947, President Cross and Mr. Philipsborn personally negotiated contracts covering employees of this company. Although Mr. Philipsborn sold his interest in the company in 1948, he retained the title of General Manager, received an annual retainer which came to \$72,000 per year in 1955 and 1956, and was paid expenses of \$6,457 and \$7,780, respectively, in those years. While neither President Cross nor Mr. Philipsborn personally participate any longer in regular negotiations covering this company, they did hold a top level meeting on the labor contract as recently as November 9, 1956.

President Cross sought to defend his loans before the Ethical Practices Committee and also before your Appeals Committee, by stating that he believed Mr. Philipsborn had severed his connection with the company, and that he did not become aware of Mr. Philips-

born's continuing active participation in the management and direction of the company until after the commencement of the Ethical Practices Committee's investigation. He said that if he had been aware of Mr. Philipsborn's continuing relationship with the company, he would not have considered the loans from Mr. Philipsborn to be proper.

Yet the record shows that President Cross knew that Mr. Philipsborn's son was the operating manager of the company and that President Cross himself was the one who made the arrangements for the November 9, 1956 negotiating meeting with Mr. Philipsborn. This meeting took place only some two to three months after President Cross had obtained the \$40,000 loan for the West Palm Beach home from Mr. Philipsborn. It is significant to your Appeals Committee that although President Cross surely must have known, after the November 9, 1956 meeting, of Mr. Philipsborn's important role in the company, President Cross began to make repayments on the loan only after the start of the Ethical Practices Committee's investigation in March 1957.

The Ethical Practices Committee found that the substantial loans at low interest rates obtained by President Cross from Mr. Philipsborn plainly were contrary to the fundamental and traditional trade union principle that "no responsible trade union official should have a personal and financial interest which conflicts with the full performance of his fiduciary duties as a workers' representative." This principle is now embodied in paragraph 1 of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Code IV. Such loans, the Committee said, also violated the traditional trade union principle, restated in paragraph 5 of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Code IV, that:

"No responsible trade union official should accept . . . any personal payment of any kind other than regular pay and benefits for work performed from an employer or business enterprise with which his union bargains collectively."

We are in agreement with the Ethical Practices Committee in condemning President Cross' acceptance of "special financial accommodations from Mr. Martin Philipsborn which were considerably more favorable to him than he could have obtained from ordinary commercial lending institutions."

Before the Appeals Committee, President Cross contended that the Ethical Practices Committee had found no more than a "serious error in judgment" with respect to his financial relationships with Mr. Philipsborn. However, this is not a complete or accurate statement of the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee. It is true that the Committee at one point referred to it as a serious error in judgment, but its primary finding on this point, reiterated throughout its report, was that the financial relationship between Philipsborn and Cross was one of the number of "unethical practices" engaged in by President Cross "in violation of the AFL-CIO Constitution" and "was plainly contrary to the basic ethical principles of the trade union movement."

Your Appeals Committee concurs in the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee. We hold that President Cross violated time-honored rules of the labor movement and was guilty of unethical practices when he obtained substantial loans with favored terms and interest rates from a top official of a company which has a collective bargaining relationship with the Bakery Workers' Union.

President Cross thereby placed himself in a compromising position which inhibited his freedom in carrying out his trust of representing the needs and interests of the Union's members at this company. These actions of President Cross clearly constituted unethical practices.

(b) President Cross' Improper Acceptance of Cadillac from a Local Union Under Trusteeship and its Concealment on Local's Books As An Organizing Expense.

Another example of unethical and corrupt practices by President Cross was his acceptance of a Cadillac car paid for by Chicago Local No. 100 and concealed on the Local's books as an organizing expense, at a time when Local 100 was under trusteeship. President Cross had appointed Vice President Stuart as trustee to administer the affairs of this local on behalf of the International Union.

The books of Local No. 100 disclosed, said the Ethical Practices Committee, that in December, 1955, while the local was under trusteeship, a payment of \$13,100.18 was made from the Local's funds to Teamsters' Joint Council No. 43 in Detroit, Michigan. President Cross initially backed up a claim by Vice President Stuart that these funds were to be used in a joint organizing drive. However, the Ethical Practices Committee found that the funds were used to purchase two Cadillac cars, one for President Cross and the other for Vice President Stuart.

President Cross told the Ethical Practices Committee that he had been given to understand that the Cadillac car which he received was a gift from Chicago locals of the Bakery Workers' Union. President Cross also stated that he did not become aware until later of the false entry on the books of Local No. 100. Nor, he said, did he know until later of the efforts made in April, 1956, in Locals No. 100 and No. 300 to cover this entry by showing additional payments of \$2,143.67 each for the purchase of a Cadillac car as a "presentation to Cross," although the car purchased with this money actually went to Vice President Stuart. At that point, President Cross said, he returned his car and insisted that Stuart resign as International Vice President and return the car he received.

Your Appeals Committee deplores the diversion of union funds for private purposes, and the resort to false entries in the books of a local under trusteeship, in order to cover up the purchase of Cadillac cars for the International President and the International Vice President appointed as trustee by the President. This is a gross violation of all precepts of decency and trade union ethics and a corrupt practice.

Even if the Cadillac car had been a gift as President Cross contended, his acceptance of it would still be a serious unethical practice. We concur with the Ethical Practices Committee in its strong condemnation of the practice of using funds of local unions under trusteeship to bestow substantial gifts on International officers. As the Ethical Practices Committee pointed out, the International officers are the supervisors of funds of locals under trusteeship and a gift to the International officer under such circumstances is like a gift to oneself. When an international union places a

trustee in charge of a local union, it is the responsibility of the trustee and the international officers to prevent dissipation of the local's funds and to assure that the funds are used only for legitimate purposes. Above all, union officers and trustees must not use the local's funds for personal enrichment or profit.

The Appeals Committee concurs in the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee discussed in this point (b).

(c) Diversion of Union Funds for Improper Purposes, Improper Accounting Procedures on Expenses, Commingling of Union and Personal Funds.

The Ethical Practices Committee also found as corrupt and unethical practices diversion of union funds for improper purposes, grossly extravagant expenses, improper procedures with respect to expense accounts, and commingling of union funds and personal funds in the same account.

The record before the Ethical Practices Committee showed that President Cross had authorized payments of \$10,000 of union funds to a disreputable person with a criminal record. The Ethical Practices Committee rejected Cross' contention that this woman was a "special organizer" and labeled it as diversion of union funds, improper and unjustified. The Ethical Practices Committee found that while \$2,500 had been repaid by President Cross, the balance remained unpaid.

The Appeals Committee concurs that these payments constituted a flagrant corrupt practice on the part of President Cross.

During 1956, President Cross's expenses totaled almost \$40,000. He drew advances for such substantial expenses as \$2500 for the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Miami in February, 1956; \$1400 for a brief meeting of the Executive Board of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, in July, 1956; and \$4000 during the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Miami, in January-February, 1957.

The Ethical Practices Committee found that President Cross had been extravagant in his expenses and that the Union's procedures for accounting for advances and expenses were loose and inadequate.

It was further found by the Ethical Practices Committee that President Cross established a special account in his own name in a bank in Washington, D. C., after obtaining approval of the Union's General Executive Board. There were commingled in this account, in 1956-57, Union funds of \$7500, authorized by the Board for a special organizing campaign, and personal funds of President Cross totaling more than \$20,000.

President Cross said this special account was necessary to keep the details of the organizing campaign secret. The Ethical Practices Committee found, however, that this was an inadequate reason for the practice in which President Cross engaged of permitting commingling of union funds with his own funds, subject to withdrawal on his signature alone and without any accounting therefor to the Union. This commingling, of course, prevented determinations as to which expenditures were for union and which were for personal purposes.

The Ethical Practices Committee also found that inadequate accounting procedures precluded a check on the propriety of expenditures from funds contributed by two Chicago locals for an alleged organizing drive. Substantial amounts of these funds found their way to Vice President Stuart who was then a trustee of one of the locals. In addition, portions of this account also found their way to a former business agent of Local No. 300, now President of Local No. 1 in Chicago, who placed them in his personal savings account where they were commingled with his personal funds, without records or accounting therefor.

In addition, the Ethical Practices Committee found other evidence of improper records and accounting by locals, including locals under trusteeship, which prevented determinations as to whether expenditures for many items were for union purposes or for the personal benefit or use of International or local officers.

Your Appeals Committee finds that President Cross diverted union funds for improper purposes, made extravagant expenditures of union funds, and improperly commingled his personal funds with union funds set aside in a special account. These are serious corrupt and unethical practices in violation of trade union morality. We further find as unethical practices the improper accounting procedures relative to expense accounts, and the inadequate supervision over the financial affairs of Local unions.

We reiterate the Ethical Practices Committee's injunction that it is the duty of union officers to prevent expenditures of union funds which are not for legitimate union purposes, to curb extravagant expenditures, and to establish sound accounting procedures.

(d) Exoneration of and Failure to Proceed Against Former Vice President Stuart.

The Ethical Practices Committee also found as an unethical practice the manner in which the Bakery Workers' Union dealt with former Vice President Stuart. At first, the Union's General Executive Board summarily acquitted him on internal charges which former Secretary-Treasurer Sims had brought against him and President Cross despite clear documentary proof that Stuart had misused union funds and has given no accounting therefor. While Stuart thereafter resigned his office, the Union nevertheless failed to institute proceedings to oust him from membership and to seek restitution of funds and other things of value, improperly obtained by Stuart.

The Appeals Committee agrees with the finding of the Ethical Practices Committee that Stuart's resignation was insufficient to exculpate the Union's leadership from responsibility for Stuart's defalcations and that the Union was derelict in not proceeding against Stuart.

4. The Action of the Executive Council

On September 25, 1957, the Executive Council, after hearing representatives of the Bakery Workers Union, approved and adopted the September 16, 1957, report of the Ethical Practices Committee and found and concluded that the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America "is dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by corrupt influences in violation

of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO." The Executive Council ordered and directed the Bakery Workers' Union:

(I) To correct the abuses set forth in the Report of the Ethical Practices Committee, and

(II) To eliminate corrupt influences from the Union and to remove and bar from any position or office, either appointive or elective, in the International Union, or in any of its subordinate bodies, those who are responsible for these abuses."

The Executive Council also directed the Union to report on October 24, 1957, to the satisfaction of the Executive Council, the steps taken to comply with its directive.

On October 25, 1957, the officers of the Bakery Workers' Union reported to the Executive Council the steps taken by the Union to comply with the directives of the Council. The Council adopted a resolution stating it was not satisfied that the Union had fully complied with the directives and satisfactorily cleaned house.

The Executive Council directed the Bakery Workers' Union to agree by November 15, 1957, to:

(a) By appropriate action of its Executive Board promptly to restore the status quo by reinstating Curtis Sims to the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the Union so that his case can be passed on if and when he runs for office in the special convention hereinafter directed.

(b) Convene a special Convention of the Union within ninety (90) days at which all international officers shall stand for election, provided that those named in the September 25th directive of the Executive Council and the Report of the Ethical Practices Committee as being responsible for the abuses referred to in that report shall be ineligible to run and shall be barred from office in the international union. The Special Convention shall take such further actions as may be appropriate to correct the abuses set forth in the report of the Ethical Practices Committee to eliminate all other corrupt influences from the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America and to ensure compliance by the International Union with the AFL-CIO Constitution, the Codes of Ethical Practices adopted by the Executive Council and the directives of the Executive Council in this matter.

Finally, the Executive Council declared that if the Union fails to agree to and fully comply with the directives, the International Union shall stand suspended from the AFL-CIO.

5. The Action of the Bakery Workers' Union

On November 14, 1957, the General Executive Board of the Bakery Workers Union adopted a statement of policy and resolution with respect to the October 25, 1957, directives of the Executive Council. The General Executive Board declared that adoption or rejection of the Executive Council's directives is the responsibility of a Convention of the Bakery Workers' Union. Accordingly, the Board agreed to call a special convention of the International Union within 90 days if practicable, but not later than June, 1958, "to resolve all questions

affecting the welfare of the International Union, its constituent local unions and the membership at large and to conduct a new election of all officers."

The Board prescribed that an independent agency such as the Honest Ballot Association or the Governmental Affairs Institute should be engaged to serve with the Convention Credentials Committee in determining questions of credentials and to assist in the tallying of all convention votes.

The Board requested the Executive Council to consider this action as "total compliance with its directives consistent with the Constitution of the International Union."

6. Suspension of Bakery Workers' Union

On November 15, 1957, the Bakery Workers' Union was notified that President Meany had determined that the November 14, 1957 statement and resolution of the General Executive Board of the Bakery Workers' Union did not meet the conditions set forth in the Executive Council directive of October 25, 1957. They were further informed that President Meany had declared that "due to the failure of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America to comply with the Executive Council directive of October 25, 1957, it now stands suspended from the AFL-CIO."

7. Hearing Before the Appeals Committee

We have already discussed and made our findings on the position taken by representatives of the Bakery Workers' Union at the hearing before the Appeals Committee with respect to the merits of the various findings of unethical practices made by the Ethical Practices Committee.

In addition, the Bakery Workers' Union took the position at the hearing that the Executive Council's actions in directing the reinstatement of the ousted Secretary-Treasurer, Curtis Sims, and in requiring that the several vice presidents of the Union stand for re-election at the special convention ordered by the Executive Council, were not justified by any evidence before, or any findings by, the Ethical Practices Committee.

Furthermore, the Bakery Workers' Union informed the Appeals Committee of the steps it has taken, in addition to the calling of the Special Convention mentioned above, to comply with the Executive Council's directives. The Union said that the General Executive Board has adopted the recommendations made by outside management consultants for more efficient accounting procedures designed to prevent improper use of union funds. The Union also stated that former Vice President Stuart has been suspended from membership and charges against him are now being pressed within the Union. Moreover, a Committee of the Union is investigating the defalcations of Stuart and action will be taken against him to recover any amounts improperly taken by him for which he has not previously made reimbursement. The Union further reported that an independent certified public accountant is now auditing the records to determine whether President Cross is responsible to reimburse the Union for any amounts not previously reimbursed by him.

The Bakery Workers' Union asserted that the Union thus had substantially complied with the Executive Council's directives.

Findings of the Appeals Committee

On the basis of our specific findings of corrupt and unethical practices under section 3 above, the Appeals Committee concurs with the findings of the Executive Council on September 25, 1957, that the Bakery Workers Union "is dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by corrupt influences in violation of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO."

We find that the failure of the Bakery Workers' Union to bar President Cross from running for office at the forthcoming special convention in the face of the plain evidence of his being guilty of corrupt and unethical practices, constitutes a failure to comply with the Executive Council's directives to root out corrupt influences from the union.

The Appeals Committee also finds that the Executive Council's October 25, 1957 directive that Secretary-Treasurer Sims be reinstated to restore the status quo pending a new election of officers, was justified and necessary to safeguard the integrity of the entire proceeding by preventing retribution against those who have brought to light the evidence of corrupt influences within the Union. The failure of the Bakery Workers' Union to reinstate Sims constitutes an additional violation of the Executive Council's directives.

Your Appeals Committee further finds that the Executive Council's October 25, 1957 directive requiring new elections at a special convention of all international officers, including the vice-presidents, was amply justified because of the responsibility of all the international officers for permitting many of the unethical practices found above, to go uncorrected.

In addition, your Appeals Committee finds that while the Bakery Workers Union has taken certain measures to correct the corrupt and unethical practices found above, the Union's failure to comply with certain of the Executive Council's directives shows that corrupt influences have not been entirely eliminated from the Bakery Workers' Union.

CONCLUSION

In this case, as in the other cases before it, your Committee on Appeals has been fully conscious of its responsibilities to the workers represented by the Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union. That union has a long history of devoted service to its members and the public. Those members are good trade unionists who are entitled to clean and honest leadership. It is the present leadership, not the membership, which the Ethical Practices Committee and the Executive Council have found to be corrupt and false to the principles of trade union morality. It is the elimination of the corrupt influences from that leadership which was the objective of the Executive Council's actions in this case.

Your Committee on Appeals has also been acutely conscious of the fact that in this case, unlike the case of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, some steps have been taken to eliminate improper practices and to make restitution for the errors of the past. Other steps, the representatives of the Union have told us, will be taken in the future. We do not believe that these are as yet sufficient, but we believe that the AFL-CIO Convention should provide every opportu-

ity for the workers in the baking and confectionery industry to have a union with honest and prudent leadership, devoted to the interests of its members and devoid of any taint of dishonesty or corruption.

It is on this basis that your Committee on Appeals recommends to the Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO:

(1) That the appeal of the Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union from the resolutions of the AFL-CIO Executive Council of September 25 and October 25, 1957 with respect to that union be rejected;

(2) That the Convention affirm the findings of the Executive Council resolution of September 25, 1957, that the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union is dominated or substantially influenced by corrupt influences;

(3) That the Convention affirms the Executive Council Resolutions of September 25, 1957, and October 25, 1957 relative to the Bakery & Confectionery Workers International Union and affirms the suspension of the Union from the AFL-CIO; and

(4) That the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union is expelled from the AFL-CIO, such expulsion to be effective on or before and not later than March 15, 1958, the date to be determined by the Executive Council, unless the Union in good faith initiates immediate steps, to the satisfaction of the Executive Council, to eliminate corrupt influences, to correct the abuses set forth in the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee and the Executive Council, and to bar from international union office those responsible for the abuses, and, to the satisfaction of the Executive Council, completes such steps, not later than March 15, 1958.

Respectfully submitted,

COMMITTEE ON APPEALS

Alex Rose,
President, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery
Workers International Union, **Chairman**

John J. Murphy,
General Secretary, Bricklayers, Masons and
Plasterers International Union of America,
Secretary

I. W. Abel,
Secretary-Treasurer, United Steelworkers of
America

Al Hartnett,
Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers

Felix C. Jones,
General President, United Cement, Lime and
Gypsum Workers International Union

Edward J. Leonard,
First Vice President, Operative Plasterers and
Cement Mason's International Association of
the United States and Canada

Harry Sayre,
Executive Vice President, United Paper-
makers and Paperworkers

A. J. Bernhardt,
General President, Brotherhood of Railway
Carmen of America

John I. Rollings,
President, Missouri State Labor Council

Atlantic City, New Jersey
December 9, 1957

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MURPHY: President Meany and delegates, your Committee recommends adoption of the Committee report.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROSE: I second the motion.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the motion made and seconded. The Chair recognizes President Cross of the Bakery Workers Union.

PRESIDENT JAMES G. CROSS (Bakery & Confectionery Workers Union): President Meany, members of the Council, delegates to this Convention.

I shall take just a few short minutes to defend the right of our Union to retain its affiliation with this Federation, an affiliation which goes back 70 long years.

I have been told that the reinstatement of Curtis Sims and my resignation as President of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America is the price for staying in the AFL-CIO. If that was a personal decision it would not be hard to make. The beating that I and my family have already taken would make resignation of this post a welcome personal relief, but my responsibility goes far beyond my personal welfare or comfort. Only a year ago this Union at its convention unanimously elected me its president.

Under the provisions of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America constitution, I have a duty and responsibility to discharge to the membership of this union. As George Meany said last Friday before this convention,

"I perhaps look at the Constitution maybe differently than the delegate who votes for it and then walks away. I feel that I have an obligation to live up to it, and that is what I am trying to do."

In pursuance of this same duty, I have taken the following steps: Within the next 90 days our Union will hold a special convention, at my request, at which all of the officers including myself will offer our resignations and let the delegates to the convention decide our fitness to continue in office. That is the democratic way for labor unions to settle their problems. Unfortunately some of those here who talk about democratic trade unionism are for it only when they are assured of the result—the way they would like it to be.

And, I might add, after seeing the resolution placed before you today, which I received at 9:30 this morning and the correction just a few minutes ago—they seem to favor democracy only so long as they maintain a veto over the democratic process.

In effect, this resolution says to the 150,000 members of our Union—hold a convention—an open honest democratic convention—have your delegates accredited by the Honest Ballot Association as we propose to do—let the Honest Ballot Association tally the ballots, as we will—do everything you want but we're still going to tell you who to elect and who not to elect.

What happened that brought our Union to this position of defending itself before this convention? A dissident faction carefully organized, well planned and well financed plotted to capture the leadership of this International. They openly supported me and were part of my administration and program as recently as October of last year at the International Convention. All that time they were collecting and hoarding information with which they thought I could be ruined and driven out of the labor movement. First, instead of raising their questions at our convention or at our General Executive Board they broke their stories in the press, ran to the McClellan Committee, and dragged the good name of our International Union through the mud in the public eyes.

This is the same group that has been sitting across the street now for four days waiting for the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America to get thrown out of the AFL-CIO so that they could set up a dual union in our jurisdiction.

But something happened, something went wrong. Somebody's conscience was bothering them. The timing, they said, was too good. It'll look bad if we throw the Bakers out and charter a rump group all on the same day.

It'll look bad, they said, to equate the leadership of the Bakers with the leadership of the Teamsters, especially in view of the mild report of the Ethical Practices Committee on our union.

How, they asked, can we justify our insistence that a self-confessed disloyal trade unionist be reinstated as Secretary-Treasurer of our International.

The AFL-CIO under its constitution created an Ethical Practices Committee to sift the evidence. We had many hearings before the Ethical Practices Committee, which weighed all the evidence and heard testimony. That committee found only four items of complaint. None of these justified a conclusion that our Union is dominated by corrupt influences. None of these charged me with irredeemable guilt.

Our Union has undertaken a thorough going reorganization which even the Ethical Practices Committee commended. Let me emphasize that neither the McClellan Committee, Ethical Practices Committee nor anyone else has ever even charged that our Union is racket ridden, involved with extortionists, gangster dominated. In fact, our Union has been outstanding in enjoying a reputation in the labor movement as clean and incorruptible. Not a breath of scandal has touched our National Pension and welfare plans or any other operation from which benefits flow to our members.

And, although I have some prepared words, I would like at this time to just add a few of my own thoughts in listening to the report of the Appeals Committee.

I have sat in these International and AFL-CIO Conventions for over 15 years. Next year I will have had 30 years of membership in the trade union movement, and only being 45 or 46 years of age. I know what a man faces and I know what an International Union faces when they have to defend themselves against a duly constituted Committee of an organization. But I think it is important, I think it is very necessary, when you look at the four items that are listed in that Appeals Report that as to the question of propriety of the loans, as to the question of George Stuart's resignation, as to the question of the handling of funds in this International Union, as to the question of the Cadillac gift from local unions—I am not going to here again dispute the findings of this Committee—but I say to you that there are many things left out of there which would place a different light upon the circumstances.

George Stuart is no longer a member of this organization, and this things says we have failed to act against him. This thing says that I received a Cadillac car, and put in all these things that it says—that I am the responsible officer—and I don't shirk that responsibility. As to the loans, the Ethical Practices Committee properly found what happened. I have never denied at any time these loans. But there is one thing that isn't shown, and that is the fact that after I had moved myself and family to Washington, although it had voted to forward me the money and had voted to take the mortgage, refused to give me the money and I was contracted to purchase the home, and I borrowed it. And the Union took the mortgage and paid it back and I am paying—or I was until the house was sold—\$250 a month to this International Union at 4 percent mortgage payments.

And as to the \$40,000 home in West Palm Beach, does this say—and I know it does—that I never started paying back until this Committee started investigating? It doesn't say that the loan wasn't obtained until November, 1956, and that there was a six months' semi-annual payment in there and that I didn't even have time to make the first payment because it was within the six months' period and it was a loan recorded as 4 percent.

And because this man that I have known for 25 years—and by his word to me and my family—told me that he had severed all connections and sold all his stock in this company. I had been visiting with him for a period of five or six years in Washington, D. C., without saying one word about the question of the operation of a biscuit plant of which his son was general manager.

I don't want to get into the details. I say to you that the things that may have been found in the Ethical Practices Committee's report are things that do not say to me, nor to this International Union, that "You are such a corrupt and racketeering influence that you must forever get out of the trade union movement to which you have given over 20 years of your life."

Does it say anywhere in that report that this company received a sweetheart or a substandard agreement? There is no such finding. There are no such findings, although the McClellan Committee attempted to say so and we put in evidence to the contrary.

I think I should bring this in now.

Alex Rose the Chairman of the Appeals Committee said last night that I could stay in the labor movement and that my Union could stay in the AFL-CIO if I would consent to stepping out as President and take a job with the Union as a local officer or business agent or as a regional officer with one of our bargaining conferences. And I say to Alex Rose and to the members of this Convention now, if I'm good enough and responsible enough to handle the affairs of a local and if there's nothing wrong with my bargaining for 20 or 30 thousand of our members in one of our Regional Conferences, then what's wrong with my staying on as President. If I'm not so corrupt that I can stay in the trade union movement and work at the local level then what's wrong with my staying on right where I am now leading this International?

Now Alex Rose and everybody else up here may deny this story but in view of what's happened around here in the past few days I'm going to tell it regardless.

Late yesterday afternoon after I and a Committee of the Bakers General Executive Board had met with the Appeals Committee, Brother Rose called me and asked me to meet with him in his room at the Traymore Hotel. The meeting was set for 9:30 last night. I went and there Alex Rose proposed to me that I could stay on as a local or regional officer of the Bakers if I would step down from the presidency of this International Union.

And even as he made this proposition to me and assured me that his Committee had as yet arrived at no final decision concerning the Bakers, the New York City papers—the Times and I believe the News—carried last night in their first edition and they were on the streets with the resolution that you now have before you. Even before the Bakery Workers Union was advised of the decision of the Appeals Committee the press, the public knew what that decision was.

And as late as 11 o'clock last night when I left Alex Rose and went back to the Claridge and met with a majority of the General Executive Board of the Bakers we had no idea that the final decision had been made.

We relied on the good faith of Alex Rose and other men on this platform, and we were earnestly seeking a way out of our mutual problem. Shortly after midnight John Reid, a Vice President of this International from Toronto, Canada, went to a meeting of the Appeals Committee with a counter proposal from our International Union. He told the committee that the General Executive Board could not re-instate Sims and that the General Executive Board—and I think I should re-emphasize and restate it—could not bar Cross from running for the President of this International. He told the committee his belief that the General Executive Board would be even willing to go so far as to accept not a monitor but an impartial chairman, a member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, to chair our convention.

What we didn't know was that they had already made their decision, that the report that you now have in your hands was at the printer's and that the story was already in the newspapers on the streets of New York. So where do we stand now? We're damned if we do and damned if we don't. We are holding a special convention. All our officers, including myself and Curtis Sims can stand for election.

But if we don't elect the men that The Executive Council wants us to elect, then we're out.

We disagree with the findings and conclusions of the Appeals Committee report.

We deny that the Executive Council of this Federation has the power or the right to direct any autonomous International Union within this Federation to violate its own constitution in the fashion that we are now asked to violate our Constitution. That document provides that any member of this International Union in good standing can run for any International office in the Union and I am in good standing and if at our convention I am nominated I have every intention of running for International office. By the same token, Curtis Sims has the same right and privilege under our constitution.

We deny that the officers of this Federation has any right to require us to reinstate a man removed from office under the provisions of our own Constitution and a code of procedure set up under it that provides full due process.

We deny that the officers council of this federation has the right to override the decision of the Federal District Court which said that we acted properly in removing Sims and in refusing to reinstate him. There is far more involved here and far more at stake then the fate of one individual or the fate of one small Union. The mere insistence by the leaders of this Federation on a posture of cleanliness and honesty does not justify the destruction of the self-governing democratic existence of any affiliated autonomous International Trade Union.

As for myself I am not corrupt or unfit. Let the members of our Union judge for themselves whether I should hold office.

I'm the whipping boy now—the scapegoat, through this means our Union will be handed a slate of officers acceptable to others who are outside our organization.

But who can say that ours will be the last such Union ordered out of the AFL-CIO for refusing to accept dictation. Or that I am the last International President or officer unjustly driven out of the union movement—if this decision goes through.

We appeal to the conscience and free will of the delegates to judge this situation with open minds—with the same capacities for honest judgment that they have shown over many years in the labor movement.

We cannot call on you for votes or support in terms of what we've done for you.

There isn't an individual delegate in this hall—there isn't a single member of the Executive Council of this organization nor the top officers of this organization—who can say I or my delegation here have petitioned any of you to vote for us. We say use your own good judgment. This organization cannot threaten. This organization is not a powerful organization. It is a good trade union, loyal to the democratic procedures that made this AFL-CIO; loyal, yes, to the Administration when sometimes we disagreed with it.

As for myself, I say to you we are a small International Union. We are relatively poor. In short, we're expendable, but that is no

reason for depriving our membership of their right to self-government, which this entire drive against corruption was supposed to serve.

Let our members make their decision without the club of expulsion hanging over their heads.

I want to at this opportunity say a word of thanks to the Ethical Practices Committee, to the Executive Council, to you delegates now. You have borne with me on a problem for many, many hours these past eight months. I say to you again, it's no pleasure for me to stand at this podium and address a group of trade union leaders, some of whom I have known for many, many years, and to know while I am talking to you that as far back as April of 1957, before ever one piece of evidence was put on this case, before I had ever appeared at the McClellan Committee, before I had ever given any testimony to the Ethical Practices Committee, before I had ever been in front of the Executive Council of this body, one of the highest officers of this organization, in a television broadcast in Washington, D. C., notified the nation that I was guilty and would have to get out as President of this International Union. If you don't believe me, we have the tape recordings of that broadcast.

I say to you the prejudgment in this case, and then the considered judgment of the Appeals Committee and the considered findings of the Ethical Practices Committee and the Executive Council are not such that they warrant the complete disassociation of myself from the labor movement and for those who follow this International Union's administration severance from the house of labor.

I ask you delegates to give serious consideration to the vote that is being put to you. Vote your minds as trade unionists. There are explanations I could give. I want to close on this note. I have offered to this Executive Council, I have offered to the Ethical Practices Committee. I will now offer to every single delegate in this hall, you come as individuals with accountants, if you so desire, to our International office and we will provide you with the proper explanation of these extravagant vouchers they talk about.

I want to thank you for the attention you have given me.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Vice President Winter.

VICE PRESIDENT WINTER: Delegates, I am one of the older members of the Bakery International Union with some 56 years of membership in back of me. I will start paying my 57th year's dues this coming January.

I have taken part in all of the struggles that have prevailed in the organization of the Bakery Workers since it had some 15,000 members in toto. I think I am one of the oldest young men in the entire International Union. There are some possibly 200 of us left out of the original group.

I have gone through every struggle nationally and locally that was had in my home town that prevailed over the years, and I have wondered and I have tried to figure out what in all of those years has the International Bakery Workers ever done to any other International Union in affiliation with this Federation. What have we done that is wrong? Have we invaded jurisdiction? Have we got any complaint

from any International Union here that because we have committed wrong, we ought to be thrown out of this Federation?

We haven't missed one per capita tax payment to this Federation on any member that we ever collected dues from, nor to any other of our affiliates. We haven't done anything wrong to the organized labor movement. I don't see why we should be punished for it.

We have a problem, sure we do. We have internal difficulty. That is what this amounted to from its very inception. This is an internal trouble that we have. There is a lot of jealousy involved in it, and I am responsible for 90 per cent of it. I brought nearly all of it into the International Union from Bill Schnitzler to Curtis Sims and also to Jimmie Cross. We have got too many people in our International Headquarters that have brought a lot of dissension and selfishness and jealousy. This popped out because of that. This should have been settled in our General Executive Board. This whole question should have been settled there. I knew that there was going to be a bust, I knew that. I didn't know how, but I knew there was going to be a bust. I was informed of such from Curtis Sims, that he was going to break out. He was going to—I thought he possibly would bring this up in our General Executive Board, where it rightfully belongs, and I believe that 90 per cent of it at least could have been ironed out in our International Union. But it was broadcast to the whole of the United States, and as I know the Bakery and Confectionery Workers I know that they are a sound, a strong, a responsible organization and they didn't have this coming to them.

I tried to find a way to settle it, if it could have been done. The man Jimmie Cross is a protege of mine; so is Schnitzler. Whatever waste Jimmie Cross has been responsible for, so has Bill. There is no question about that; I can prove it. I don't think anything about it, however. They had their way of carrying on organizational work; I had mine. I was known as the stingiest President they ever had.

But there is one conflict. Schnitzler had no use for Cross and neither did Curtis Sims. With Curtis Sims it was a different proposition because he was circumvented and he didn't like it. So was Conway and he didn't like it. So was Bill Ring and he didn't like it. Those fellows had eternal youth and trouble with it.

I want to tell you that all three of them are good trade unionists. I am not questioning that. There is nothing wrong with this fellow James Cross as a trade unionist that can't be straightened out. His accomplishments are second to no President that the International Bakers Union ever had, and I have been a part of the trade for 61 years and I know whereof I speak.

There in the large group sitting up in the right-hand corner are possibly a very few leaders with whom I have not had something to do. They are dissident for some reason. They don't know what they are doing. Is it because they have recently obtained health and welfare? Is it because they have recently obtained pensions? Is it because recently they have obtained regional bargaining, or what is it? Is it because they have been able to get together and obtain better benefits than they ever obtained from any President of the International Bakers Union, including Schnitzler and old Herman Winter?

Listen, there is nothing wrong with the Bakers Union that can't be corrected within the Bakers Union. No, we have been lambasted by the whole United States. I never thought that the day would ever come that I would leave this organization the way I am leaving it here. I have to necessarily step off the Council; that goes with it. It is all right with me. I don't like it, but it is all right with me. I still say the Bakers Union is a good, clean, honest organization and whatever is wrong in it we can correct and we will correct it.

So please don't do anything that will cause such dissention in our movement that we can't correct it.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Chairman Rose of the Committee on Appeals.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROSE: The Committee, Mr. Chairman and delegates, wishes to correct an error on page 6, line 5. Where it now says "November 6, 1957, it is to be "1956."

Before I proceed speaking on behalf of the Committee, I would like to make a statement that deals with a matter that might be identified with the previous appeal before this Convention by the Teamsters Union. There were stories in the newspapers to the effect that there were going to be reprisals against the Hatters Union strikers in Louisville, Kentucky. I am very happy to announce right now that the Teamsters announced in Louisville, Kentucky, that they will not cross the picket line. They are continuing to support our strikers.

I think this is a very fine demonstration, because it proves that, in spite of four differences, there are more things that we have in common that unite us than divide us.

Now, I will make my reply for the Committee and for myself.

You have noted that Mr. James Cross referred to some conferences which I had with him, and he even said that I would deny it. Well, very frankly, I don't intend to deny it. All I intend to do is to correct it. Within that correction you will see the full measure of this amazing and demagogic James Cross.

I and every member of our Committee received a telegram that James Cross and his committee wished to reappear before the Appeals Committee. We scheduled a special committee meeting for Sunday at 3:30. Then, as the chairman of the committee, I felt it was my duty to call up Mr. Cross to speak to him and to find out what is he trying to do, bring additional evidence? Is he trying to come up with any new plans? Or perhaps, as I had a right to hope, they had decided to comply with the decision of the Executive Council and withdraw the appeal.

When we met in conference, I told him the Committee had no decision yet, and that was correct. I told him that in the morning. I told him something different in the evening. I told him the Committee has no decision, and I would like to find out the facts that I just mentioned. He told me that they wanted to reappear because they wanted to bring more evidence of their compliance with the decisions of the Executive Council.

In the course of the conversation he made the same appeal to me which he made to you, that he thought he was entitled to another chance in the labor movement. Here he denied his guilt. In a private conference with me he did not deny his guilt, but he felt he was entitled to another chance.

Then he mentioned emotionally that he couldn't even be a local officer of his own local union that he built up from 20 members to 5,000 members. As I listened to that I wasn't sure in my own mind whether he was or wasn't barred from holding local office. I told him to appear at 3:30 before the Committee.

When he went away I reread the report again. There I saw that under the decision of September 25 there was a reference that he cannot hold any office, appointive or elective, in the International Union or any of its subordinate bodies. This was on page 141.

I further read on page 142, which was a decision made subsequently by the Executive Council on October 25, which only refers to "shall be barred from office in the International Union."

I realized that in these two statements there is something that I don't know what it is. I made up my mind to inquire.

I want to tell you also, which is very important, that when he made that remark he can't even be a local officer of his own Detroit organization, I said to him, "Well, would that make a difference?" And he said it would. That stuck in my mind.

We went to a hearing at 3:30 and he reappeared there, and so did Herman Winter. This committee met, I think, until about 4 o'clock or 4:30.

I have my committee here with me, and every word I say can and will be verified by my committee.

When they retired we began to deliberate our decision. Within an hour and a half we arrived at a decision—the decision which you now see in this report. In fact, there were changes made, as you know, as late as this morning.

We decided after we made the decision that we were going to be subject to further consideration until the very last minute before we left for this Convention. We thought, "We want to follow the good judgment and the good fraternal behavior and action by the International officers," who made a statement at this very Convention that they were holding themselves open until the very last minute for the Teamsters to come up with a proposition to comply.

In fact, I told the newspaper men that no matter what decision they hear we have made, it cannot be considered final until such time as we report to this Convention.

Then I decided to discuss with someone I knew would understand better than I, and I did, what are the two different expressions. And, very frankly, I was told that this could be interpreted that he has a right to hold local office. So after the conference—Mr. Cross, before he left, made a statement that he will hold himself in readiness for anything we have on our mind to recall him for any further discussion or any question. I called him up and I told that I wanted him to meet me at 9:30, because our Committee decided after we arrived at our

decision at 6 o'clock to turn the copy of our material over to the printer and to reconvene at 11 o'clock for the purpose of examining the report from the printer. So I knew I had time, and at 9:30 I called up. I called up immediately after the meeting and made an appointment for 9:30 and Mr. Cross told me he would like to bring somebody along with him, and I said I had no objection.

As we met again at 9:30 I started off by saying, "At this time we have made our decision" because I felt that not until our Committee made its decision do I have the right as the Chairman of the Appeals Committee to even request compliance because I was, together with the members of the Committee, to judge the appeal; that the only time that I had a right to ask for that compliance was after we had made our decision. And I told him that we had decided to accept the report of the Executive Council decisions and to deny the appeal.

And now I said, "If you are ready to accept the findings of our Appeals Committee and thereby accept the findings of the Executive Council, and you raise the question this morning as to whether you have right or no right to be a local officer, I am willing when my Committee meets again tonight to take it up for their interpretation." In fact, I said, "I will even go as far as to talk to the President of the American Federation of Labor-CIO to find out from him what his judgment is on the interpretation. But I will not do that unless you let us know that you are ready to comply with the decision of the Appeals Committee and with the decision of the Executive Council and Withdraw your appeal."

And so in the end a few ideas came up again which began to look like bargaining, and we wanted no bargaining and we immediately cut it short and said, "We have to go back to the Committee." And I made a statement, "Mr. Cross, you don't have to call. Let your lawyer call up," because they told us they were going to a meeting of their General Executive Board. And I said, "Let your lawyer call up our lawyer and if he will say that your Executive Board is ready to accept compliance with the Executive Council's decision I will then take it up with the Appeals Committee, I will then take up with George Meany to interpret the two expressions on two different occasions whether you are or you are not qualified. I said, "I will not take it up unless I know from you that there is a readiness on your part to withdraw the appeal and to comply."

Why would a man who started off saying that he can't get a fair trial, that all the decisions have already been made in advance, interpret all the procedures of a fair hearing and a fair trial and interpret every effort that I made to give him an opportunity—I would like to answer at this very minute Brother Herman Winter—to honorably settle the good and the honest differences which exist, to correct them within our organization? This is precisely what we wanted to accomplish if we could.

We acted out of our convictions and I must say very frankly there were people who were warning us on the Committee to be very careful when we were discussing with Mr. James Cross. They said, "You don't know that man." I said, "I am not interested in what kind of man he is; I am interested in what kind of a Committee we are going to be as far as exercising our responsibility as an Appeals Committee is concerned."

I have no regret because we did not give them the full measure of all the hearings they wanted. When they came before our Commit-

tee late in the evening and they said they wanted to make proposals, we didn't deny them. When they made their proposals we simply disregarded them and reaffirmed our previous decision, because we were not there to make any further negotiations. We had no such authority. The only thing we had authority for was to either accept the appeal or deny the appeal, either to approve the Executive Council's findings and directives or not to approve them. That is the only thing we could do.

But the very same James Cross, if I had not done everything I did, would have stood before you here and said that this was a rubber-stamp committee and it was a kangaroo court and that they had no opportunity to put their case before the committee in full. He would also say to you today that he had been denied even the opportunity of being a local officer. I have no answer as to whether he would or not, because this question was not resolved and didn't have to be resolved. This matter stands uninterpreted.

Let me tell you that I am ready to admit that in Mr. James Cross we have a very persuasive and a very appealing speaker. He knows what appeals to the labor mind. But Mr. James Cross is a dual personality. There are two James Crosses, one that was and one that is. The first one knows how to appeal but the second James Cross did not speak today. The second James Cross is in the racket of unethical behavior, of extravagance, of conflict of interests, of corrupt influence, and I may say of terrorism within the organization itself. It is this James Cross that we are speaking about in our report today. It is this James Cross who is today a liability to his membership and to the entire labor movement. It is this James Cross who in the eyes of the public, in the eyes of public opinion, stands as a symbol of selfishness, of corruption and of betrayal of labor trust.

James Cross argued before our Committee that his General Executive Board and his membership are the only ones to determine what is extravagant. If you heard him today you heard him once again tell us that he is in good standing and he will run for reelection, because according to the Constitution of his union he is in good standing.

Well, maybe the General Executive Board of the Bakers International Union does have full jurisdiction to determine what is extravagant and what is evil. In the last analysis, the Bakers International Union will at their Convention make their final decision. But they will have to decide as to whether they want James Cross or whether they want the American Federation of Labor and CIO. They will have to choose between Cross' conception of morality and the AFL-CIO conception of morality.

One thing is sure: If you adopt this report today and they meet at their Convention within 90 days, they cannot have both. They can either have James Cross or they can have the American Federation of Labor and CIO. If they want to have Cross they can have him but they cannot have him with the badge of honor which is the AFL-CIO. Very frankly, otherwise—the Bakers will understand what I mean—it will be like taking a union label and putting it on non-union bread.

Cross falls back on the issue of autonomy. We know that this is a very ticklish, very sensitive issue with every single union. The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations has not abolished autonomy. If autonomy means autonomy of democratic

self-government of the unions, every union can have autonomy. But if it means autonomy for wrongdoing, there should be no autonomy of this kind.

Every single member who joins an International Union takes on a responsibility to his International Union, and every single International Union that belongs to the entire labor movement must have a responsibility to the entire labor movement. Those six letters AFL and CIO, are the flag of the labor movement and anybody who has that flag has within his hands the power to do it honor or to besmirch it, to do it good or to do it evil, to bring it credit or to bring it discredit.

I don't think autonomy should be stretched to a point where simply by having a majority on the Executive Board it becomes your final authority on what to do with the symbol, the flag, of the American Federation of Labor-CIO.

Yes, Cross said today that the mere insistence by AFL-CIO leaders on a posture of cleanliness and honesty makes him the scapegoat. I heard a delegate here the other day during the discussion on the Teamsters appeal say that we are trying to sacrifice individuals or organizations to appease anti-labor elements in order to prevent anti-labor legislation. I deny this categorically. We acted on Friday out of our deep convictions, and we are going to act today out of our deep convictions. Before we begin to worry about anti-labor minded people on the outside we must first worry about anti-labor behavior within our own ranks. Only when we clean our ranks and only when we come with clean hands to the public can we have a case with the public.

No matter how much we regret parting with segments of the labor movement, we have no choice. We cannot compromise with evil because if we do we become evil ourselves. Thank God that the vast majority of the labor movement is clean, honorable and dedicated.

Yes, you can compromise with a viewpoint. You can even compromise with an opponent, but you cannot compromise with evil without becoming affected by it yourself.

Yes, I too am concerned about the threats that hang over the head of the labor movement with anti-labor legislation. But I am not afraid. Once we have a clean labor movement we know that in a democracy the legislators must reflect the opinion of the majority; and labor, together with our families and with our natural allies, are the majority in our country. And just as when you have to think here of our economic interests, we will know how to take care of our legislative interests.

Yes, we admit—we don't deny that we have racketeers in labor, but I say we have no labor racketeering, because there cannot be labor racketeering just as there cannot be church racketeering or charity racketeering. By its very nature labor is a moral movement opposed to evil and corruption. But because we were not vigilant and because we have been careless and we have permitted individuals to come into our ranks—and everybody knows that the underworld has penetrated our ranks just as they have penetrated business—and the great tragedy is that we have had an underworld a long time ago and God knows that we may have it for a long time to come, but we did not have an underworld with charters. This labor movement is determined that no one will be a racketeer and no one is going to be an underworld in action under the name of our American Federation of Labor and CIO.

I say that the anti-labor legislators and other enemies of organized labor would like to hang racketeering on our neck and the neck of the entire labor movement. And I say that by action of our Convention Friday—and I hope today—we will repudiate all the enemies of organized labor that are trying to discredit the entire labor movement.

One thing that emerges from all this discussion we have had until now and might have during this coming week, and that is that we are today re-examining our movement in its full depth, and what some people don't understand is that the labor movement cannot live by bread alone. The labor movement must have ideals of high moral conduct, a sense of responsibility to their own membership and to the entire public, because the labor movement was built by ideals. Those men and women who built the labor movement, those who have martyred themselves in order to build the labor movement, they didn't do it just to keep a number of people, such as James Cross, in comfort. The labor movement was created for the purpose of creating a new life, a higher standard of living and dignity and respect for the American worker.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to say a few words in this case, because I have been in it, God knows, whether I like it or not.

A great deal of stress has been placed on the terrible crime of allowing this matter to become public. If that is a crime, then I to some extent am responsible for that.

About the first day of last March Curtis Sims came to my office and he said to me, "I am going to prefer charges against the General President of our organization."

Curtis Sims was the Secretary-Treasurer of this union, not of a local union, not of a region—Secretary-Treasurer of the International Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union, who, like Jim Cross, was elected unanimously by a convention held in San Francisco a year ago last October. He had with him some documentary evidence that looked very conclusive regarding some of the things that later came out to public view.

Well, my reaction to this situation was the normal reaction, I think, of anyone in my position. I said, "Is this an inter-union rivalry of some kind," I said, "that I have been hearing reports about?"

He said, "Yes, I suppose you could call it that, but that has nothing to do with my charges." He said, "My main reason for coming to see you is because of a situation I find in our International Union where I am about to prefer charges against the President, and there is no procedure available in our International Union to hear such charges."

I asked him how that came about. He said, "Well, at our convention in October of 1956 the convention officially did away with the procedure for hearing charges that had been in the Constitution for some years, and they instructed the President or the Executive Board," —I am not certain which, but they instructed someone in authority, perhaps the attorney, to prepare a new procedure, and gave the Executive Board permission to adopt a procedure. In other words, the convention delegated its authority to the Executive Board to come up with a new trial procedure of some kind.

self-government of the unions, every union can have autonomy. But if it means autonomy for wrongdoing, there should be no autonomy of this kind.

Every single member who joins an International Union takes on a responsibility to his International Union, and every single International Union that belongs to the entire labor movement must have a responsibility to the entire labor movement. Those six letters AFL and CIO, are the flag of the labor movement and anybody who has that flag has within his hands the power to do it honor or to besmirch it, to do it good or to do it evil, to bring it credit or to bring it discredit.

I don't think autonomy should be stretched to a point where simply by having a majority on the Executive Board it becomes your final authority on what to do with the symbol, the flag, of the American Federation of Labor-CIO.

Yes, Cross said today that the mere insistence by AFL-CIO leaders on a posture of cleanliness and honesty makes him the scapegoat. I heard a delegate here the other day during the discussion on the Teamsters appeal say that we are trying to sacrifice individuals or organizations to appease anti-labor elements in order to prevent anti-labor legislation. I deny this categorically. We acted on Friday out of our deep convictions, and we are going to act today out of our deep convictions. Before we begin to worry about anti-labor minded people on the outside we must first worry about anti-labor behavior within our own ranks. Only when we clean our ranks and only when we come with clean hands to the public can we have a case with the public.

No matter how much we regret parting with segments of the labor movement, we have no choice. We cannot compromise with evil because if we do we become evil ourselves. Thank God that the vast majority of the labor movement is clean, honorable and dedicated.

Yes, you can compromise with a viewpoint. You can even compromise with an opponent, but you cannot compromise with evil without becoming affected by it yourself.

Yes, I too am concerned about the threats that hang over the head of the labor movement with anti-labor legislation. But I am not afraid. Once we have a clean labor movement we know that in a democracy the legislators must reflect the opinion of the majority; and labor, together with our families and with our natural allies, are the majority in our country. And just as when you have to think here of our economic interests, we will know how to take care of our legislative interests.

Yes, we admit—we don't deny that we have racketeers in labor, but I say we have no labor racketeering, because there cannot be labor racketeering just as there cannot be church racketeering or charity racketeering. By its very nature labor is a moral movement opposed to evil and corruption. But because we were not vigilant and because we have been careless and we have permitted individuals to come into our ranks—and everybody knows that the underworld has penetrated our ranks just as they have penetrated business—and the great tragedy is that we have had an underworld a long time ago and God knows that we may have it for a long time to come, but we did not have an underworld with charters. This labor movement is determined that no one will be a racketeer and no one is going to be an underworld in action under the name of our American Federation of Labor and CIO.

I say that the anti-labor legislators and other enemies of organized labor would like to hang racketeering on our neck and the neck of the entire labor movement. And I say that by action of our Convention Friday—and I hope today—we will repudiate all the enemies of organized labor that are trying to discredit the entire labor movement.

One thing that emerges from all this discussion we have had until now and might have during this coming week, and that is that we are today re-examining our movement in its full depth, and what some people don't understand is that the labor movement cannot live by bread alone. The labor movement must have ideals of high moral conduct, a sense of responsibility to their own membership and to the entire public, because the labor movement was built by ideals. Those men and women who built the labor movement, those who have martyred themselves in order to build the labor movement, they didn't do it just to keep a number of people, such as James Cross, in comfort. The labor movement was created for the purpose of creating a new life, a higher standard of living and dignity and respect for the American worker.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to say a few words in this case, because I have been in it, God knows, whether I like it or not.

A great deal of stress has been placed on the terrible crime of allowing this matter to become public. If that is a crime, then I to some extent am responsible for that.

About the first day of last March Curtis Sims came to my office and he said to me, "I am going to prefer charges against the General President of our organization."

Curtis Sims was the Secretary-Treasurer of this union, not of a local union, not of a region—Secretary-Treasurer of the International Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union, who, like Jim Cross, was elected unanimously by a convention held in San Francisco a year ago last October. He had with him some documentary evidence that looked very conclusive regarding some of the things that later came out to public view.

Well, my reaction to this situation was the normal reaction, I think, of anyone in my position. I said, "Is this an inter-union rivalry of some kind," I said, "that I have been hearing reports about?"

He said, "Yes, I suppose you could call it that, but that has nothing to do with my charges." He said, "My main reason for coming to see you is because of a situation I find in our International Union where I am about to prefer charges against the President, and there is no procedure available in our International Union to hear such charges."

I asked him how that came about. He said, "Well, at our convention in October of 1956 the convention officially did away with the procedure for hearing charges that had been in the Constitution for some years, and they instructed the President or the Executive Board," —I am not certain which, but they instructed someone in authority, perhaps the attorney, to prepare a new procedure, and gave the Executive Board permission to adopt a procedure. In other words, the convention delegated its authority to the Executive Board to cor up with a new trial procedure of some kind.

He said, "That has not been done, so at the present moment we do not have a trial procedure, and," he said, "I am just concerned that that may be used to prevent these charges from being heard."

I said, "Well, that is a matter entirely for your International Union. I don't know what I can do about it, but I just cannot see an International Union failing to follow the instructions of a convention. I can understand perhaps some delay. If you are going to bring charges, then it is quite obvious that the International Union must have some procedure under which to try those charges." I said, "However, there is nothing the AFL-CIO can do about that. That's entirely up to your International Union."

He said, "Well, I'm going to file these charges and, of course, I hope that we can come up with a procedure." He said, "In addition, I am going to file charges with you requesting an investigation by the Ethical Practices Committee under the Constitution of the AFL-CIO. In addition to that," he said, "I am going to notify each and every local union in the Bakery Workers by mail at the same time as I file the charges against Cross."

At that point I said to him, "Well, after all, is that necessary? Is it necessary to get this matter out to your local unions at the same time that it is going to the Board? Can't you wait until the Board takes action and reports to the local unions?"

He said, "I could, but I have no intention to." I said, "Well, why are you doing this?"

He said, "I know I am going to get my head chopped off. I know where I stand," he said, "but at least I want the local unions to know from the very inception that I filed the charges, that I took the initiative, so that when my head is chopped off it can't be said that I did not let the local unions know and that I made charges against Cross after he had chopped my head off."

I said, "What do you mean by chopping your head off?"

He said, "Well, he controls the Board."

I said, "What about this evidence? Do you think that this evidence would have some effect on the Board?" Frankly, the evidence, as I say, looked very damaging.

He said, "Well, it may have," he said, "but he has got pretty good control."

I said, "You say this matter has been going on for some time. Why did you wait until now? Why did you not bring it up at the convention a year ago?"

He said, "Well, I was hopeful that I could bring about a change in the situation. I have been hoping for sometime I could do that, but I have been unable to do so."

So, on March 3rd, just two or three days later, he filed the charges. Perhaps I could have prevailed upon him not to make the charges public. Perhaps I could have prevailed upon him to go into some kind of a conference, but I couldn't possibly live with myself if I made that sort of a decision, or made that sort of a request of him, because it would amount to covering up something that I had nothing to do

with, something that was the business of the Bakers Union. In the face of the attitude of this organization on matters of corruption, I felt that I could not make that request, and did not make it, even though I thought of it at the time, and I knew, of course, that this was going to be a mess.

In giving the reasons for filing the charges, and also for not filing them sooner, he practically used the same line of reasoning in his letter to the members that he gave me.

This is the letter that went out on March 3rd:

"March 3, 1957

"TO ALL AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS:

"Dear Sirs and Brothers:

"Because of the profound and vital implications of the charges I have this day filed against International President James G. Cross and International Vice President Geo. Stuart on the welfare of our organization, I have felt obliged, at my own expense, to furnish a copy of those charges to every local union along with this explanatory letter.

"As is indicated by the charges and as will be more fully shown when the supporting evidence is brought forward, some of the transgressions with which these high officials are charged began some time ago. When I first discovered them I was faced with a difficult dilemma that would, I am sure, have confronted any person, who, like myself, has been a dedicated member for some twenty-four years and who has enjoyed the prestige and responsibility of International office for some twenty years.

"My first and overriding obligation was and has been to preserve the richly earned and splendid reputation of our union. The problem I had to resolve was whether immediate exposure of those transgressions, with its attendant publicity, would more seriously impair that reputation than the improper conduct of these two officials which had come to my attention.

"In the prayerful hope that the action of these officials were the temporary excesses of persons not yet use to great power and that their own good sense plus the cherished traditions of our union would ultimately prevail and put an end to their wrongdoing, I decided to remain silent.

"Most regretfully, however, I have been forced to the conclusion that a continuing silence would be far more injurious to the good name of our union. Instead of improving, the situation, became much worse. In my studied opinion, we reached a point where the persistent and accumulated evils being perpetrated by these officials will, unless checked by the orderly procedures of our Constitution, literally destroy our status and effectiveness as an honest American trade union.

"Having reached that conclusion, I, of course, was left with no choice other than to invoke our Constitutional procedures.

"I want every member to have my personal assurance that the sole and exclusive motive for bringing these charges is for the good and welfare of the membership of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America,

"Fraternally yours,

/s/ Curtis Sims

"Int'l. Secretary-Treasurer."

That letter, as the date shows, went out on March 3. Monday morning's New York Times contained a story of the charges and also a denial of the charges telephoned from his Palm Beach home by Jim Cross, and also an announcement that he was immediately calling the Board into action. I want to tell you, this fellow is an amazing fellow. He really did call them into action. They met on the 6th of March. He got right up to Washington from the South. On the 6th of March the Bakers Executive Board adopted a procedure for trials so that they were ready to go. On the 7th of March they met at 2:30 in the afternoon and the trial of Cross and Stuart on the Sims charges started. It lasted some time. There were a number of votes taken. All of this was given to us by the Bakers from the record of these hearings. There were a number of votes taken and on some of the votes Cross and Stuart were exonerated by a unanimous vote, which indicates that this so-called conspiracy of four vice presidents wasn't so well organized at that time, but on the other charges Cross and Stuart were cleared by a vote of 13 to 4, I believe. The sum total of it all was that both were completely and fully exonerated. I am informed from the record that this exoneration took place at 2 o'clock in the morning of March 8.

At 2:00 A.M. on March 8 the trial of Sims started on counter-charges which had been filed by Cross and which his lawyer admitted under oath he wrote the decision on before he got to the meeting. At 2:30 A.M. Sims was suspended, one-half hour later. He was suspended by action of the Board, by majority action of the Board, and was denied access to the office. He never got back in his office from that moment to this. His personal effects were sent to him a few days later.

This fellow Sims is the self-confessed disloyal trade unionist. I hold no brief for him. He has no way of appearing before this Convention. The organization is suspended and the privilege of answering the charges naturally goes to the President. I repeat again that he was an elected official. This was swift, really moving fast.

About a month or so later the McClellan Committee got into this thing. I see where the charge is made that Sims ran to the McClellan Committee. I don't know whether he ran there or not, but I know he got a subpoena. I don't know whether he went over and sought a subpoena or not. But he did go there. The McClellan Committee started to dig into this evidence.

The evidence that Sims brought to my office and which he presented when he made formal request for action by the Ethical Practices Committee a short time later included a number of matters and showed a photostatic copy, among other things, of a cash sheet of a local union in Chicago under trusteeship imposed by the International President. The Vice President in charge of this local, the trustee, was a man by the name of George Stuart. This man was exonerated on the face of this evidence.

This cash sheet under date of December 29, 1955, showed an expenditure of \$13,100.18 in the form of a check sent to Joint District Council of Teamsters No. 43 in Detroit, Michigan. It showed also, a few days later, that ownership licenses were issued for two Cadillac cars, each costing \$6,550.09. Of course the sum total of the two cars was the \$13,000 which was taken out of the treasury by the trustee for organizing expenses.

And these ownership license cards were made out, one to George Stuart and the other to James Cross. There was no evidence of an organizing campaign; there was no talk of a gift. There is no evidence today of a gift.

There is evidence, however, that Sims brought this matter to the attention of Cross in March of 1956 when this cash sheet was being processed through the General Office, and at that time Cross said that it was a gift or "go get some evidence" or something to that effect, and there was no action taken. This evidence was presented at the time of a meeting of the General Board of the Bakers.

Three weeks after this period in March of 1956 the day book of this same local union showed an expenditure of \$2,143.67, also sent to Detroit, and this entry was marked "Gift for James Cross."

Another local union, Local 300, also in Chicago, had a like amount on its day book at that time, likewise sent to Detroit, and the same amount—\$2,143.67—and the notation "Presentation to Cross." The total of these two sums, \$4,287.34, is the price of a third Cadillac and, strangely enough—I don't know why this happened, but it did get on the records of the two organizations, something about a gift. But the third Cadillac wound up in Washington, D. C. under the registration of George Stuart.

Before the Bakers Executive Board, according to the minutes sent to us, Cross stated he didn't know anything about it. Before the Senate Committee, under oath, he said that he did get a Cadillac and that he had returned it and made restitution this year after the charges had been filed by Sims.

There were other matters that were brought up. The question of improper connections with the employer, borrowing large sums of money—and there is no use boring you with all of that. The Ethical Practices Committee seemed to think that the improper connections with the employer were a more grievous offense against trade union morality than was the stealing of the members' money. I am kind of old-fashioned. I think the stealing of the members' money was the worst thing.

In this connection money was taken for personal purposes from a welfare fund in the amount of seven or eight hundred dollars. And when these charges were made that money was promptly returned to the Welfare Fund by President Cross.

However, there is another matter that bothers me about this thing, and it again pertains to the members and their interest in their funds. From time to time letters are sent out to the entire membership at a cost, I understand, of over \$6,000 per letter. These letters tell all about the case, all about the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, all about Sims. But in none of these letters do I find any discussion or any answers to the charges or any reference to the charges. Now, I think that is a waste of the members' money.

Two weeks ago this coming Wednesday, I believe, the 27th, after the Bakers Executive Board had made a request for me to sit with a committee—they wanted a committee to appear before the pre-convention meeting of the Council, and I told them I didn't think we would have the time. But they said they wanted a committee to come and see me, and I said I would meet the committee provided that Cross

was not with them. He's too clever for me; I didn't want any part of him.

So they sent a committee of four vice presidents on the 27th of November. And dated November 27th is a fact sheet entitled "These are the facts—This is a second in a series of 'fact sheets' which is being sent to the entire membership in order to keep you up-to-date on what's going on."

It tells of the visit of the committee, and this fact sheet evidently was gotten out this very same afternoon that the committee was visiting me, and perhaps it was set up and typed before they left—I don't know.

It says: "Your Committee asked: Why didn't the AFL-CIO send its own investigators over to our International Headquarters to examine our books and all financial transactions as it was invited to do by President Cross?"

"Mr. Meany answered: We do not conduct any investigations of our own. We did nothing more than use the charges brought by Sims and those aired at the McClellan Committee."

Well, of course I surely maligned the Ethical Practices Committee if I made such an answer but, naturally, I did not make any such answer nor was the question asked in that way. The question was asked why we didn't send our investigators into the office. There was nothing said about an invitation, and if there was an invitation at any time I was completely unaware of it. And, of course, I said we do not have investigators, we depend upon the hearings before the Ethical Practices Committee. And I can say to you that those hearings have been long and extended.

Now, the second question: "Why has the AFL-CIO promised a charter to the rebel 'integrity' group when such action will result in a dual union in our jurisdiction with all its resulting evils?"

That question was not asked. The question was whether the AFL-CIO promised a charter, and my answer was promptly no, that I have never had a conference with that group, have had no request for a charter. But, however, here is the answer that appeared in this fact sheet No. 2: "Mr. Meany replied: I have not made any commitment to anyone about the granting of a rival charter to the so-called 'integrity' committee. Brother Schnitzler may have but neither I nor the Executive Council has made any such comment."

Well, I didn't say anything about Brother Schnitzler, whether he had or not, because I knew as far as I was concerned nobody had.

Then this comment goes to the members: "Apparently Brother Schnitzler and Brothers Conway, Miller, DeConcini, Goodman and Sims have moved a little too fast and promised a little too much or perhaps they are just indulging in some wishful thinking to put themselves in a position of power and prestige."

Then this third question—and that is all there is in this fact sheet—"Why is the AFL-CIO not willing to wait and see what our convention does on March 3 through 5? Why does the AFL-CIO apparently fear the democratic process and a membership decision in convention? Why does the AFL-CIO feel it must dictate to our membership what its action must be?"

"Mr. Meany replied: Nothing but full and complete compliance with the Executive Council's directives would be acceptable and that the AFL-CIO had the power to issue such directives because when a union is in the AFL-CIO it gives up a part of its autonomy and independence."

That answer to a great degree is correct. I did not show them the Constitution to show the Executive Council's power to issue directives in a case like this, and I also made the comment that when the organizations took part in the founding of this organization and became part of it and adopted the Constitution, to the extent that they subscribed to the Constitution on matters of this kind which had a bearing on their own constitution, to that extent they did give up some of their autonomy when they voted for the Constitution. Of course, that is an argument some people would perhaps disagree with. However, I don't know of any other interpretation that can be placed on it, in view of the facts.

However, the thing that annoys me about this is that this cost over \$6,000 and it isn't worth 10 cents, and the members pay for that.

Now, this stuff about the Honest Ballot Association—I happened to see a letter somebody sent in to me for my information. The other group that was mentioned, the Governmental Affairs Institute, refused to take this assignment with the Bakers because it did not give them any right to look into how the delegates were selected at the local level. They could only look in as to what the delegates did after they go to the Convention to see if there was an honest count.

Now, what is this present situation? I find myself, after listening to Brother Cross, in the position of wondering whether or not the Appeals Committee should have taken more summary action. I know why the Appeals Committee thinks in terms of a Convention. We would like to keep this Union together. They are thinking in terms of the Convention in the hope that in some way the Bakers can be prevailed upon to comply with the directive and thereby keep the Union united in the AFL-CIO.

However, in view of the statement made by Brother Cross today that his Board is 100 per cent behind him, that he is going to run and he is going to accept the position if elected, there is every evidence right at this minute that there is no intention to comply.

Now, the idea of the convention was very simple, and the idea of the Executive Council saying that Sims should be reinstated is very simple. It is quite obvious that Sims was discharged for insubordination or for making charges against the President. I asked Brother Cross in the Executive Council meeting on October 24th why did he discharge Sims. He said, "Well, we found out that he didn't keep proper supervision over George Stuart, and George Stuart was grabbing some bucks so we discharged him."

At that point I presented Brother Cross with a copy of the charges signed by his own name in which he cited the various articles of the Constitution, and these articles had to do with bringing the union into disrepute. Of course, the point was that Sims brought the union into disrepute by allowing the charges against Cross to become public property.

Now, as far as Sims is concerned the Executive Council and the Ethical Practices Committee felt this way about him: He certainly had a guilty knowledge of what was going on about all of these things. He had to have it. He was in a position where he could see it going on to some extent. He admitted he had guilty knowledge. But he said that he held back as long as he could in the hope that the condition would be rectified.

I don't know how you can challenge that sort of admission. He admitted that he had guilty knowledge of this. So the Council felt that the decision of whether or not he should retain his office should be made by the members; that they should weigh his culpability for knowing of these things and not making them public sooner, or his actions in trying to rectify those mistakes by taking the action when he did.

However, I want to say this about Sims—I have no personal interest in him. I don't know him very well. I have met him a few times. In fact, I used to meet all the Bakers. They were one happy family a few years ago. They taught me some crazy poker game and I didn't have a very happy experience. But they were all there together and seemed to be having a lot of fun. I don't know him too well outside of those few instances.

But I want to point out that Cross got possession of that office at 2:30 in the morning of March 9 or 8th, and Sims has never been in there since. The McClellan Committee has been through this thing from top to bottom, and I have yet to see one accusation of dishonesty against Sims. Now, maybe there is something there I don't know about, but there has been no accusation of dishonesty against him.

So, if he was guilty of the knowledge of these things going on, the Ethical Practices Committee and the Council felt that the Convention should have a chance to decide whether or not he should hold office, and that he should not be punished merely because he opposed the International President. It is quite evident that is what he was punished for.

Now, as the report showed, on the 15th of November, when the Bakers notified us that they were not complying with the decision and an announcement was made that, in accordance with the decision of the Executive Council, the International was under suspension and there was going to be a recommendation made here to revoke the charter, immediately following that this group of four vice presidents, who called themselves the Integrity Committee—and they have nothing to do with us; they worked on their own—sent out telegrams and some letters, I suppose, for support. They sent out a resolution. I am not going to read it. They sent out a resolution condemning Cross, of course, and pointing out the fact that he stood in the way of their organization maintaining its affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

They resolved that, "All members and locals of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America immediately call upon the General Executive Board to immediately reverse and repudiate their former actions and to effectuate compliance with the AFL-CIO; and

"Be it further resolved that if the General Executive Board fails to accept this mandate of the membership that all proper action

be authorized and taken by the rank and file and the local unions to continue the affiliation of the rank and file and the local unions in the AFL-CIO."

Now, according to a report submitted to me—and, I don't know, I have got to decide whether it's authentic or not, but these people are here—as a result of that, 95 local unions, representing 51,740 members in this Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union sent a total of 275 delegates to Atlantic City, after passing this resolution. This happened in the period of about 12 or 13 days. These delegates are here. I didn't ask them to come here.

From all reports, I assume they came here with the thought that if the charter of their International was revoked they could get a new charter. There has been no discussion of a new charter. We are trying to keep this Union together.

These delegates are here and they are sitting up there in the corner of the room. They list every single local union that voted and the membership and the name of the delegates and the exact voting strength in a convention if one were to be held. They tell of 14 more local unions that passed the same resolution embracing 5,950 members. They list those locals and list the membership. Those locals are not here for various reasons. In some, the people couldn't get here. Others voted this way and then they found that the financial officer of the union refused to supply them with the funds and they are not here. However, this group is here and as far as I know they represent over 50,000 members of this Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union.

It says here they have adopted another resolution along the same lines, that they want to stay in the AFL-CIO and so on and so forth.

That leaves us with a problem. There is no question of a division in this Union, but I submit to you that the division didn't bring about the corruption. The division was there any way and we have to consider the corruption as having been something that developed for some other reason than division. Perhaps division was the reason that was brought to light, but that is not the point.

The proposal is to give this Union some time to try to straighten things out. Of course, listening to President Cross here today you would feel that all he wanted was a fair chance, just a fair chance, democratic processes. Well, he has the office, he has the treasury. He can send these six thousand dollar items around to the members. He sent out what was termed a vindication letter, that the McClellan Committee had vindicated him. That cost \$6,700, I think. However, he gives the picture of one who wants a fair deal and he wants the thing determined by democratic process. Well, let's see what is going on.

In recent days nine of the organizers have been fired in the International Union. Four more have been threatened. Local unions have been subjected to retaliatory action by Cross because they voted to support the Integrity Committee. Of course, this may be democratic, this may make for a nice open convention, but I can't see it. I imagine if we let this fellow go until the 15th of March he will be elected unanimously by the Convention.

You can challenge this information. These people are here. This is the memorandum they sent and I feel obligated to bring it to your

attention. Four men who had attended area meetings and local meetings and frequently and openly expressed themselves as favoring complete clean-up and full compliance with the directives of the AFL-CIO Executive Council were discharged on November 2, 1957. The newest of these employees has worked for the International approximately five years and the oldest had been employed for better than ten years. These men were:

International Representative Herman Neilund, Long Beach, California.

Organizer George Standley, Memphis, Tennessee.

International Representative Peter Pointak, Baltimore, Maryland.

International Representative Stanley Sincavage, Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania.

On November 5, 1957, Area Representative Maurice Liesen of Quincy, Illinois and President of the Illinois State Council of the Union, who had openly announced his position in opposition to Cross was discharged. On November 16, four officials who had applied for leave of absence if the General Executive Board decided against compliance were fired. One of these men has 20 years of service. The four men are:

International Representative John Klansek, Quincy, Illinois.

International Representative and Regional Director Merle Smith, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Organizer Charles Aumiller, Syracuse, New York.

Organizer Martin Bacon, Little Falls, New Jersey.

The four Vice Presidents, of course, who have not been fired for some reason but who are charged are the four who make up this so-called Integrity Committee.

In September, Locals 50 and 51 of New York, outspoken opponents of Cross, were ordered to turn over approximately one-third of the membership to Local No. 3, Cross's and Kralstein's Local. A committee of three Vice-Presidents was ordered to carry out this move.

The following action was taken on November 15:

Local 218 of Kansas City—Winter's own local—the Local in which he has held membership for many years and which voted practically unanimously to support the Integrity Committee and to condemn Cross—was given two weeks to merge with their auxiliary, Local 218-A which is made up of helpers and miscellaneous workers with no journeymen. This organization has had the custom for many years of segregating journeymen from helpers and apprentices, and I understand that this auxiliary organization has been in existence many, many years. I understand also that the International Union has declared against the maintenance of these auxiliary unions and that they have been authorized to try to blend them in with the regular organization of journeymen.

However, at this particular time the order was given despite the fact that for many, many years—I don't know, they say 40 or 50 years—these two organizations have existed. They were given two weeks to merge with the organization.

In Cincinnati, Local 213, an auxiliary supporting Cross, was chartered in the same jurisdiction as Local 213, and the Local order to integrate with the auxiliary.

A dissident group in one shop of Local 316, Decatur, Illinois, was newly chartered, although this shop had been under contract in the local for years. The head of this local was a strong supporter of the so-called Integrity Committee.

In the early fall certain steps were taken to punish a local in San Francisco which had strongly opposed the President of the International Union. An International Union representative was sent out to San Jose, where he worked with a disgruntled group to muster the support for an independent company union in an NLRB election in which the regular local union of the Bakers was defeated.

On November 22, 1957, the President of this Union sent a letter to local officers implying a threat to local treasuries, pension funds, health and welfare benefits, and the status of local affiliates who would cooperate with anyone in an attempt to bring about compliance with the AFL-CIO directive.

On December 7, which was just last Friday, an International representative filed charges against the President and the Vice President of a local in Shreveport, Louisiana, in retaliation for their attending the meeting. The International representative of the area attempted to break up a meeting which had been called to take action on this whole question.

These are the things that are going on, and it is quite obvious that one of two things is going to happen. Either these people are going to be beaten into submission by the power of this International office, by using all the methods that this man's mind can devise, or we are going to have a split organization.

I have watched this thing and I wish it hadn't happened. I wish we didn't have it before us. The statement that the Union is going to be handed a slate of officers acceptable to us—meaning the AFL-CIO, I suppose, has been made. Well, Jimmie says there are 150,000 members in the Union now. George Stuart, I understand, has lost his membership. He lost it very recently. He was still a member just a month or so ago. No trial had been held on him despite the fact that not only this transaction that was brought to our attention but many other transactions involving thousands upon thousands of dollars of the funds of trustees' locals have been traced to Stuart and he has refused to answer any questions. Up until a month ago he was still a member. He has never been tried. So there was a little change of pace there about getting him to trial. They sure did a job on Sims and did it quick, but Stuart has gone along a little while.

When Stuart resigned Cross issued a statement in which he accused Sims of having brought this matter up at the very time that Stuart was going to resign, that Sims had known for many months that Stuart was going to resign and go into private business. Cross defended Stuart after his exoneration by the Board. Of course, a month or so later he brought to the Ethical Practices Committee a little slip of paper which was Stuart's resignation, and on which was written, "Dear Brother Cross at your insistence I am submitting my resignation."

Now, there are 150,000 members in this Union. I understand that does not count Stuart. As to this story of the Union being handed a slate of officers, I will say right here and now that there are 149,999 of those members eligible for President of this Union.

56 We are requested to let our members make their decisions without the club of expulsion hanging over their heads. What about the club of reprisal? What about the club of discharge of people who have worked for the Union for many years? What about the clubs over the heads of the members who are going to be merged into other organizations, their unions broken up? What about the club over their heads indicating the possible loss of their benefit rights under welfare and pension plans?

Yes, you heard a remarkable talk this afternoon, and this is a remarkable guy. But I have seen both sides of him, and I can tell you quite frankly that this Union is in a bad way if he continues to run its affairs, whether he runs them from one of his two homes in Palm Beach or whether he runs them from his other mansion, or whether he runs them in conjunction with the Employers' Association or with George Stuart or with others of that ilk.

We have a job to do and it is a disagreeable job. I don't like it, but we wrote a Constitution. I thought it was a good Constitution and I still think it is, but I did not write it alone. I only had a part in it. We determined to try to keep this organization what it is intended to be, an instrumentality to serve workers, not an instrumentality to build up the personal affluence of an individual to make him a big shot in the community or make him an expert on finance, as one of our former members of the Executive Council turned out to be.

This is a workers' organization, and I don't know anything else but this business. Let's keep it that way.

I say to you quite frankly that if you expel this organization on or before March 15th and give the Executive Council the power to make it an earlier date, then I want to find out quite quickly whether they are going to comply, whether they are going to give this group a break, 50,000 of them who have taken it upon their own, yes, and who were not invited here but came here in good faith hoping to save their Union. If it is indicated that this group is not going to comply, then the Executive Council, for my part, isn't going to take 90 days to act—they are going to act in about 90 minutes.

I recognize the delegate at Mike No. 3.

DELEGATE BUSSIE, President of Louisiana State Labor Council: I rise to speak for the people of Louisiana and primarily for a number of these people sitting in the gallery who came here requesting relief from the people who represent their International Union.

I have always believed in the autonomy of every International Union, but I believe that in accepting that autonomy the International Union also has an obligation to the members and an obligation to this parent organization.

The other day I voted in good faith to expel the Teamsters from this organization, even though the Teamsters had requested additional time to clean up. I believe that the same thing should be done to the Bakers International Union here today.

Some of the people sitting in the gallery have already been threatened by the International Union from Shreveport. I know what has taken place there. I know some of the things that Mr. Roberts, the International representative, has threatened to do to these people provided they are not thrown out of the AFL-CIO today. I know what they intend to do.

I regret the opinion of this Council. If I cannot get a better motion than the request to go along this report, I shall vote to do it, but I humbly beg that the Council put forth a better motion so that we can vote to expel Mr. Cross and his hoodlums, so that we can give these people an opportunity to be members of a good, clean trade union. We beg you, Mr. Chairman and members of the Council, to consider your action and to give us an opportunity to help these people who need help at this time. Thank you, sir.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Brother McCurdy.

DELEGATE McCURDY, President, United Garment Workers: Mr. President, I rise to explain the position of our International Union, which I think is very clear.

After hearing the arguments today as they were presented, and basing our thinking upon the history of the trade union movement of this country, it is difficult to understand the road down which we are traveling.

Our General Executive Board had a meeting in the early part of December and it discussed the policy of throwing out international unions, expelling them. It made the unanimous decision that we should go on record, and our delegates are instructed to come to this Convention and go on record against expelling any International Union.

Now, that position is very clear. That means simply that whether it was a former AFL union or whether it was a former CIO union, the United Garment Workers of America is against expelling any of these unions under the circumstances under which they are being suspended.

We do believe that the autonomous rights of the International Unions should be preserved, even though the present Constitution does not provide for it. Most of us didn't read the present Constitution until we read it in the New York Times.

Now, we stick to the history of this movement. Twenty years ago the Chairman of the Appeals Committee, which brought in such a fabulous report here today, was a part of a secession movement which assisted in creating the first secession movement in the American Federation of Labor. In addition, the Ethical Practices Committee is composed of members of an organization that led the secession movement 20 years ago in the American Federation of Labor Convention here in Atlantic City.

Where are we going from here?

Now, we may want to clean up the International Unions, and no one objects to that. But when we are going to reach into the International Unions and tell them in no uncertain terms who they are going to elect for office and how they are going to elect them, then we are treading on dangerous ground.

I have never had five minutes talk with the present President of the Bakers Union since I have been coming to these conventions. I know absolutely nothing about his character, except what is being given in these discussions. Now, I am sure he is known in every town, nook and hamlet in the United States.

One more word: We may think that the settling of these questions at this historic Convention in Atlantic City in the manner in which we settle them is the end, but don't forget that these records will be in the public libraries; that the attorneys for the National Association of Manufacturers, and that all groups, whether they are politicians, business men, chambers of commerce, or other enemies of organized labor will use the things that we are doing today against the decent unions that now exist in these United States of America and Canada.

We regret that we are making history today, we think, along the wrong lines. If all of us, or if most of us ever had a case in court and it was tried in the manner in which these International Unions are now being tried, God knows what would happen.

Well, we have no brief for the present leadership of the American movement today, but we think it is going up a blind alley, and we are going to vote against the report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Brother Randolph of the International Typographical Union.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, International Typographical Union: Mr. President, again I have to regret that a matter of principle, determining the future course of the AFL-CIO, must be bound up so tightly with a question of moral turpitude. As far as both sides of Mr. Cross are concerned, I have absolutely no interest.

President Meany spent 45 minutes' time proving to you that the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee were correct. I am not quarreling with their findings. I am quarreling with the manner in which sin must be dealt with in the AFL-CIO.

Obviously we are all against sin.

There are some kinds of sin that are dealt with by civil law. There are some kinds that are dealt with by International Unions. There are some kinds that are properly dealt with by this body.

I regret that all three kinds have been jumbled up into this one case. It is too bad that both of these cases had to be presented to this convention before the convention considered the matter dispassionately as to procedure, as to which kind of sin we are going to take care of from now on.

I suppose that was a bit of strategy so that those who are trying to establish complete control over International Unions by the AFL-CIO will put everybody that differs from that course on the spot.

I'm not very happy that most newspapers indicated that there were a lot of unions that were against the Teamsters and there were a few unions for the Teamsters, and named the International Typographical Union without further explanation or without any statement as to why. I say I regretted it then, and I regret it now.

The question is, what kind of sin is the AFL-CIO going to pay attention to from now on?

The blueprint as already drawn is clear, and they are going to take care of all kinds of sin by the will of twenty-nine men on the Executive Council.

Now, we have a great big report of several hundred pages of the Council's report and another two hundred pages of the supplemental report. I want to submit to you that out of 15 million members in the American Federation of Labor, 14,995,000 never read a page out of either of them. They don't know what is in those books. They only know it when the impact of the application of all of those thousands of words comes to their notice by way of some kind of action that interferes with their Union.

The words are there. I want to say that out of all that you have heard as a basis for the action of the Executive Council in resolving to take care of all kinds of sin, there are three little words that they claim are the foundation of all their attempts to take over all of the affairs of International Unions, and those three little words are found in Article VIII, and in Section 7. The sentence in which it is found is this:

"Upon the completion of such an investigation"—that has to do with communism and criminality—"including a hearing if requested, the Executive Council shall have authority to make recommendations or give directions to the affiliate involved, and shall have the further authority, upon a two-thirds vote, to suspend any affiliate found guilty of a violation of this section."

Three little words "or give directions."

All right, let's assume that everything Mr. Meany said is true, that the man is guilty of criminal activity and that his activity as President runs so far down into the organization that you can legally and conscientiously dub that organization influenced by these corrupt officers. Granting that, what, then, was the power of this Federation? The power was to suspend that organization forthwith. It had that power . . . It didn't have to say to you "You come in and do all of the things that we think you ought to do and then we won't suspend you." It did not have that much authority to reach out and say, "We will determine all of the things that need to be done in that union to straighten out our conception of all the kinds of sin that that organization is subject to at this time."

It didn't have that much authority unless you want to take those three words as giving those thirty men the power to judge every act that is performed by any officer in any union, to judge any section of the Constitution and laws of such union, to judge the civil law and to judge the conception of moral turpitude that might be in the minds of those thirty men.

I say that that is not the way to keep this organization together. I was here 22 years ago in Atlantic City. I have been attending these conventions for a long time. I was against rending this organization asunder, but at that time a million members were tossed out, weren't even able to come into a convention and defend themselves. They went ahead and formed a dual organization, the natural thing to do.

I have fought dissension all of my life, and since this is the last Convention I will attend as President of the International Typographical Union you can imagine I don't have very many axes to grind. You would think that I would like to have this last convention one in which there would be no controversy that I had to take part in. But I have to take part in it, and I have to call to your attention the fact that the Executive Council, through the Ethical Practices Committee, has undertaken to direct them to prepare a number of codes that cover the whole avenue of union and official activity; and that if any union goes contrary to those codes charges can be preferred against them, and the Ethical Practices Committee will take them to the Executive Council and they can throw them out.

Now, that is done in this case at the request of a Secretary of an International Union, I don't care if it is done by any one particular journeyman or even an apprentice. I am not quarreling with the fact that the Executive Council has the authority and will take it and should take it to throw some union out for being no good. I do quarrel with the extent to which the Executive Council has gone both in the Teamsters case and in this case in judging sin and being the executioner of the sinner.

Now, let's go back to the conception of the majority of the Bakers' Union, and you will find the issue drawn exactly and very clearly on Page 10 of the Committee's report. Item No. 4 is the action of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO and No. 5 is the manner in which the Bakers Union accepted that decision or what it did about it.

I call your attention to the fact that if the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO had directed that Union to correct the abuses set forth in the report of the Ethical Practices Committee, as they said in paragraph No. 1—and if they didn't do it they should toss them out—very well, I won't quarrel with that. But when they go into detail of what that International Union must do, they inevitably will run into the decision of an international union, as such, as was made in here where they said—and I quote—"The General Executive Board declared that adoption or rejection of the Executive Council's directives is the responsibility of a convention of the Bakery Workers' Union. Accordingly, the Board agreed to call a special convention of the International Union within 90 days if practicable, but not later than June, 1958, "to resolve all questions affecting the welfare of the International Union, its constituent local unions and the membership at large and to conduct a new election of all officers.'"

The issue is drawn specifically and definitely on the two positions, and that is the choice that you have to make here today. I rather anticipate that in future conventions of the AFL-CIO you will be entertained with more of the same, provided the Executive Council goes through the same jumps to judge all sin in all places and make you here the judges of moral turpitude in every section of every constitution of every international union in the AFL-CIO.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there any further discussion?

Are you ready to vote?

... The delegates signified their readiness to vote on the question.

PRESIDENT MEANY: All right, we will proceed to vote. There will be a roll-call vote according to the Constitution. You are voting

on the recommendation of the Committee on Appeals. I will call the roll, and those in favor of the report will say "Yes" and those opposed "No."

... At this time President Meany called the roll.

ROLL CALL
ON RECOMMENDATION OF APPEALS COMMITTEE
(EXPULSION OF BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY
WORKERS OF AMERICA

VOTING YES

International Unions

Actors—Duncan, Shanks, Lewis, Faine, Somerset.
Agricultural Workers—Mitchell, Jackson.
Air Line Pilots—Sayen, Tuxbury, Rohan, Leroux.
Aluminum Workers—Stahl, Cowley, Moffett, Horn.
Asbestos Workers—Sickles, Mulligan.
Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers —
Reuther, Mazey, Gosser, Matthews, Woodcock, Greathouse, Merrelli,
Morris, Burt, Cote, McAulay, Michael, Robinson, O'Malley, Ross, Ballard,
Berndt, Johnston, Letner, Bioletti, Gerber, Kerrigan.
Barbers—Birthright, Crane, Husk, Robinson, Sanders, Weibel.
Boilermakers—Calvin, MacGowan, Buckley, Eberhardy, Kearney,
Boggs, Nacey, Nolan.
Bookbinders—Haskin, Connolly, Williams, Denny.
Boot and Shoe Workers—Mara, McGonigal, Lawson, Hutchison,
Frieda.
Brewery Workers—Feller, Gildea, Rusch, Brady, Helm.
Bricklayers—Bates, Murphy (J.J.), Conners, Murphy (T.F.),
O'Donnell, McHugh, Murray.
Brick and Clay Workers—Flegal, Tracy, Gatehouse, Santo.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Lyons, Downes, Bauers,
Boyen, McCarthy, Lyons, Hansen, McDonald.
Broadcast Workers—Smith.
Building Service Employes—McFetridge, Fairchild, Sullivan, Col-
lins, Hardy, Burke, Shortman, Hearn, Levey.
Carmen, Railway—Bernhardt, O'Brien, Winters, Doll, Duffin, Zloty.
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers—Jones, Gallo, Roe, Thomas,
Schoenberg.
Chemical Workers—Mitchell, Shafer, Boyle, Inge.
Cigarmakers—Azpeitia, Haines, Jones.
Clerks, Post Office—House, Hallbeck, Burleson, Klein, Latragna,
Mitchell, Wall.
Clerks, Railway—Harrison, Gibbons, Goble, Kinley, Morgan, Mc-
Govern, Shaw, Sylvester, Leslie, Loehr.
Clerks, Retail—Suffridge, Housewright, Sackett, Shea, Meyers, Am-
mond, Crossler, Hansen, Plopper, McDavid.
Clothing Workers—Potofsky, Blumberg, Rosenblum, Bellanca,
Block, Chatmam, Hollander, Monas, Salerno, Weinstein.
Communications Workers—Beirne, Crull, Hanscom, Massey, Hack-
ney, Smallwood, Schaar, Gordon, McCowen, Walsh.
Coopers—Doyle.
Doll and Toy Workers—Damino, Gordon, Russo, Failla.

Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—Carey, Hartnett, Block, Riley, Suarez, Weibrauch, Hutchens, Snoots, Click, Palmer.

Electrical Workers—Freeman, Keenan, Riley, Dove, Duffy, Liggett, Loftis, Zicarelli, Farquhar, Pearson, Marciante.

Elevator Constructors—Smith, Barton, Magee.

Engineers, Operating—Maloney, Delaney, Converse, Stuhr, Paluska, Carman, Wharton, Bronson, Reardon, Sr.

Engineers, Technical—Stephens.

Engravers, Photo—Connell, Nyegaard, Seitz, Burke.

Fire Fighters—Redmond, Buck, Barry, McGuire.

Firemen and Oilers—Matz, Tormey, Kennedy, Fredenberger, Casselman.

Flight Engineers—Petty, Jr.

Furniture Workers—Pizer, Fulford, Decicco, Stefan, McCormick.

Garment Workers, Ladies—Dubinsky, Antonini, Nagler, Zimmerman, Stulberg, Hochman, Rubin, Greenberg, Appleton, Cohen, Matheson. Glass and Ceramic Workers—Reiser, McCracken, Beard, Rust, Martin.

Glass Bottle Blowers—Minton, Dalton, Black, Reed, Zimmerman, Alameida.

Glass Cutters, Window—McCabe.

Glass Workers, Flint—Scheff, Cook, Oliver, Ostendorf.

Glove Workers—Durian, Thomas.

Government Employees—Campbell, Johnson, Kelly.

Hatters—Rose, Lewis, Deckler, Goldberg, Mendelowitz.

Horse Shoers—Miller.

Hosiery Workers—Janaskie, Banachowicz, Leader.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees—Miller, Weinberger, Callahan, Kaczmarek, Koenig, Moe, Riley, Rogan, Sarricks, Siegal.

Industrial Workers, Allied—Griepentrog, Jewell, Backinger, La Page, Evans, Smigel.

Insurance Agents—Russ, Heisel, Shine.

Insurance Workers—Gillen, Higginson, McDermott.

Jewelry Workers—Morris, Powell, Gonzalez, Gammerino.

Lathers—Mashburn, McSorley, Haggerty, Matthews.

Leather Workers Union—Freeman, Duffy.

Letter Carriers—Doherty, Cahill, Esposito, Farrell, Griebing, Healy, Wimbish.

Lithographers—Canary, Liberatore, Slater, Stone, Swayduck.

Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen—Gilbert, Phillips, Scott, Lampley, Tudor.

Longshoremens—Long, Connors, Trainor.

Machinists—Hayes, Burrows, Carey, Snider, Peterson, Walker, Coonley, Melton, Brown, McGlon, Schollie, Siemiller, White, Gibson, McDonald, De More.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers—McCarthy, Conway, Hughes.

Marine and Shipbuilding Workers—Grogan, Blood, Derwin, Pettis, Williams, Jr.

Marine Engineers Beneficial Association—Daggett, Altman, Calhoun.

Maritime Union—Curran, Hoyt, Ramos, Nayer, Martin.

Masters, Mates and Pilots—Atkins, Bishop, Weinstein.

Meat Cutters—Lloyd, Gorman, Belsky, Kelly, Hook, Poole, Wentz, Twedell, Scheurich, Schachter.

Millers, Grain—Ming, Schneider.

Molders—Sample, Rath, Lazzerini, Voit, Reynolds, Smith.

Musicians—Petrillo, Charette, Sidell, Ringius, Field, Plummer, Davis.
 Newspaper Guild—Farson, Perlik, Jr., Collis, Thompson.
 Office Employes—Coughlin, Hicks, Juliano, Springman.
 Oil and Chemical Workers—Knight, McCormick, Swisher, Schafer, Davidson, Phelps, Hanscom, Emrick.
 Packinghouse Workers—Helstein, Hathaway, Stephens, Lasley, Dowling, Hayes, Bull.
 Painters—Raftery, Rohrberg, Meehan, Owens, Skoglund, Baker, Yablonsky.
 Paper Makers and Paper Workers—Phillips, Sayre, Grasso, Addy, Noren, Scott, Daggett.
 Plasterers—Rooney, Leonard, Hauck, Tantillo, McDevitt, Boyle.
 Plumbers—Meany, Schoemann, McCartin, O'Neill, McLaughlin, De Nike, Humphrey, Mazzola, Poag.
 Porters, Sleeping Car—Randolph, Webster, Dellums.
 Post Office and Postal Transportation Service, Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers—McAvoy.
 Postal Transport Association—Nagle, Legge.
 Potters—Wheatley, Dales, Bohannon, Null.
 Printers, Plate—Connor.
 Printing Pressmen—Dunwody, Gooze, Maxted, De Andrade, Turner, Torrence, Rohan.
 Pulp and Sulphite Workers—Burke, Tonelli, Barnes, Segal, Mainz, Stewart, Jackman, Wray.
 Radio and Television Directors Guild—Novik.
 Railway Employes, Street—Spradling, McNamara, McConnell, Bierwagen, Gormley, Dyer, Mischo, Elliott.
 Railway Supervisors—Tahney.
 Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union—Greenberg, Heaps, Paley, Bail, Osman, Kovenetsky, Lowenthal.
 Roofers—Aquadro, Spinelli, Hurley, Buberbier.
 Rubber, Cork, Linoleum, Plastic Workers—Buckmaster, Childs, Walker, Maile, Skiffington, Musselman, Gash, Brown.
 Seafarers—Hall, Weisberger, Gomez, Banks, Bennett, Turner.
 Shoe Workers, United—Pence, Wilson, De Novellis, McCarthy, Biegler, Terry.
 Signalmen—Clark, Fields, Park, Wilson.
 Special Delivery Messengers—Warfel.
 Stage Employes—Walsh, Holmden, Green, McNabb, Finegan, Mungovan.
 State, County and Municipal Employes—Zander, Chapman, Murray, McEntee, Morgan, Bailey, McCormick, Wurf.
 Steelworkers—McDonald, Abel, Hague, Germano, Medrick, Robb, Whitehouse, Sefton, Johns, Shane, Rusen, Crajciar, Smith, Maurice, Carcella, Newell, Kojetinsky, Ohler, Burns, Farr.
 Stone and Allied Workers—Scott, Lawson, Blaylock, Weyandt.
 Stove Mounters—Roberts, Kaiser, Keller.
 Switchmen—Fleete, Collins, McDaniels.
 Teachers—Megel, Borchardt, Fewkes, McGinnis, Jr., Roth.
 Telegraphers, Commercial—Allen, Freeman, Hageman, Hemby.
 Textile Workers Union—Pollock, Chupka, Rieve, Belanger, Payton, Stetin, Daoust, Gordon, Canzano.
 Tobacco Workers—O'Hare, Petree, Blane.
 Trainmen, Railroad—Kennedy, Weil, See, Henslee.
 Transport Service Employes—Frazier.

Transport Workers Union—Quill, Guinan, Kaelin, Horst, Faber, Attreed, Sheehan.

Utility Workers—Fisher, Pachler, Straub, Munger, McGrath, Shedlock.

Woodworkers—Hartung, Botkin, Morris, Christie, Roley, Hanna.

Departments

Industrial Union Department—Reuther.

Maritime Trades Department—O'Reilly.

Metal Trades Department—Brownlow.

Railroad Employees Dept.—Fox.

Union Label and Service Trades Department—Lewis.

State Federations of Labor

Arizona—Brown.

Arkansas—Williams.

Colorado—Anderson.

Connecticut—Rourke.

Delaware—Lemon.

Georgia—Cetti.

Kansas—Holly.

Louisiana—Bussie.

Maine—Dorsky.

Minnesota—Sherburne.

Missouri—Rolliggs.

Montana—Umber.

Nevada—Paley.

New Mexico—Robles.

North Carolina—Barbee.

Oregon—Marr.

Puerto Rico—Sanchez.

South Carolina—Young.

South Dakota—Shrader.

Tennessee—Smith.

Texas—Schmidt.

Utah—Gulbransen.

Vermont—Cross.

Virginia—Boyd.

Washington—Weston.

West Virginia—Stanley.

Wyoming—Shafto.

Central Labor Unions

Akron, Ohio—Dugan.

Alameda County, Calif.—Ash.

Albany, N. Y.—Cerutti.

Albert Lea, Minn.—Cooley.

Ashland County, Ohio—Hackett.

Baton Rouge, La.—Bedell.

Binghamton, N. Y.—Miller.

Boulder, Colo. (County)—Cooper.

Bristol, Conn.—Sviridoff.

Bucks County, Pa.—Flatch.

Canton, (Greater), Ohio—Wycoff.

Cattaraugus and Allegheny Counties, N. Y.—Easley.

Chattanooga, Tenn.—Williams.
 Chester County, Pa.—Henderson.
 Clinton, Indiana—Coakley.
 Columbia, S. C.—Kirkland.
 Defiance, Ohio—Schmidt.
 Delaware County, Pa.—Mullen.
 Denver, Area, Colorado—Youngs.
 Fayette County, Pa.—Cook, Jr.
 Fitchburg, Mass.—Lavoie.
 Fond du Lac, Wis.—Richter.
 Fresno, Calif.—O'Rear.
 Green Bay, Wis.—O'Malley.
 Harrisburg Region, Pa.—Eby.
 Huntingdon County, Pa.—Caldwell.
 Johnson City, Tenn.—Houk.
 King County, Wash.—Carr.
 Knoxville, Tenn.—Comer.
 Lafayette, Ind.—Koning.
 Lake Charles, La.—Flory.
 Lake County, Pa.—Kovach.
 Lebanon County, Pa.—McDaniels.
 Lancaster, Pa.—Medrick.
 Lynchburg, Va.—Switzer.
 Memphis, Tenn.—Crawford.
 Muskegon, Mich.—Tyler.
 Nashua, N. H.—Pitary.
 New Britain, Conn.—O'Brien.
 Newport, R. I.—Fournier.
 Niagara County, N. Y.—Jordan.
 Northampton County, Pa., & Warren County, N. J.—McLaughlin.
 Oak Ridge, Tenn.—Ray.
 Oklahoma City, Okla.—Ward.
 Panama, C. Z.—Price.
 Peru, Ind.—Cover.
 Polk County, Iowa—Turk.
 Rochester, Minn.—Smith.
 Sacramento, Calif.—Finks.
 St. Helens, Oregon—Hill.
 Saint Louis, Mo.—Webb.
 Saint Paul, Minn.—Radman.
 Salisbury, Md., Del-Mar-Va Peninsula—Reynolds.
 Sheboygan County, Wis.—Schuette.
 Springfield, Ill.—Bonansinga.
 Springfield, Mo.—Moore.
 Sturgis & St. Joseph County, Mich.—Scholle.
 Stillwater, Minn.—Hess.
 Willimantic, Conn.—La Porte.
 Wichita, Kans.—Kitchen.
 Winchester-Front Royal, Va.—Lillard.
 York County, Pa.—Clinch.

Local Unions

83, Highland Park, Mich.—O'Keefe.
 520, Philadelphia, Pa.—McCaffrey.
 1746, Washington, D. C.—Rubin.
 16303, New York, N. Y.—Varrone.

18007, Chicago, Ill.—McGuigan.
 18032, New York, N. Y.—Weintraub.
 18205, New York, N. Y.—Ribando.
 18267, Cleveland, Ohio—Kozak.
 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.—LeClair.
 20467, Chicago, Ill.—Currie.
 20572, Toledo, Ohio—Ten Eyck.
 20665, Baltimore, Md.—Albert.
 21432, Boston, Mass.—Sullivan.
 21690, Chicago, Ill.—Soderstrom.
 22177, Detroit, Mich.—Shipp.
 22636, East Chicago, Ind.—Chiebowski.
 23091, Shreveport, La.—Flory.
 23132, Passaic, N. J.—Truatt.
 23433, Gowanda, N. Y.—Badurek.
 23478, Canandaigua, N. Y.—Manganaro.
 23823, Newark, Ohio—Johnson.
 23843, Duluth, Minn.—Schaller.
 23983, Syracuse, N. Y.—Catalano.
 24410, Climax, Colorado—Gray.
 24426, Upton, N. Y.—Stibel.

VOTING NO

International Unions

Carpenters—Hutcheson, Stevenson, Blaier, Livingston, Chapman, Johnson, Jr., Rajoppi, Schwarzer, Chandler, Roberts, Cambiano, Cooper, Kenney, Meinert, Hartley, Sidel.

Garment Workers, United—McCurdy, King, Jordan, Bailey, Pohlsen.

Hod Carriers—Moreschi, Fosco, Morreale, Waldron, Smith, Sullivan, Sheets, Lalor, Taylor, Garvey, Odum, Madden.

Maintenance of Way Employes—Carroll, Noakes, Wilson, Freccia, Padgett, Plondke, Lambert, Crotty.

Mechanics Educational Society—Baumgartner, Nakliski, Severo, Marks, Lahey.

Metal Workers, Sheet—Byron, Carlough, Cronin, Bonadio, Macioce, Bruns.

Telegraphers, Railroad—Leighty, Manion.

Typographical Union—Randolph, Hillyer, McGlothlin, Reilly, Pat-ten, Herrmann, Duffy.

Upholsterers—Hoffmann, Rota, Remshardt, Albarino, Bucher, Stoney.

State Federations of Labor

Maryland—Cohen.

Central Labor Unions

Appleton, Wis.—Succa.

El Dorado, Ark.—McCullar.

New Orleans, La.—Winters.

Phoenix, Ariz.—Sebastyen.

Texas City, Texas—Le Unes.

Local Unions

1821, Seattle, Wash.—Johansen.

NOT VOTING

International Unions

Bill Posters and Billers—Gilmour.

Granite Cutters—Pagnano.

Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers—Zukowsky, Auterino

Wieselberg, Feinstein, Friss.

Pattern Makers—Lynch.

Polishers, Metal—Muehlhoffer, Scheuermann, Oates, Wilburn.

Radio Association, American—Steinberg.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers—Sampson, Feeney.

Stone Cutters—Henson.

Train Dispatchers—Springer.

Weavers, Wire—Powers.

Yardmasters—Schoch.

Departments

Building and Construction Trades Department—Gray.

State Federations of Labor

Alabama—Weeks.

Alaska—McFarland.

Iowa—Mills.

Mississippi—Bryant.

Nebraska—Preble.

New Hampshire—Moriarty.

Central Labor Unions

Aiken, S. C.—Cameron.

Alexandria, La.—Soule.

Anchorage, Alaska—Hartlieb.

Asheville, N. C.—Jervis.

Austin, Texas—Edwards.

Barre, Vermont—Dykeman.

Bastrop, La.—Kreger.

Bluefield, W. V. (Mercer County)—Edwards.

Bogalusa, La.—Luttrell.

Brockton, Mass.—Lavigne.

Centre County, Pa.—Willar.

Charlotte, N. C.—James.

Clark, Skamania & West Klickitat Counties, Wash.—Smith

Clearfield, Pa.—Le Blanc.

Columbus, Ind.—Howard.

Council Bluffs, Iowa—Davis.

Dade County, Florida—Owens.

Decatur, Ala.—Williams.

Duluth, Minn.—Olson.

Elk, Cameron & Jefferson Counties, Pa.—McCluskey.

Eugene, Oregon—Willis.

Gibson County, Ind.—Soucie.
 Grand Island, Nebr.—Noble.
 Grand Junction, Colo.—Williams.
 Honolulu, Hawaii—Reile.
 Hot Springs, Ark.—Dicus.
 Hot Spring-Clark Counties, Ark.—Smith.
 Humbolt County, Calif.—Gruhn.
 Jonesboro, Ark.—Wilkerson.
 Jonesboro-Hodge, La.—Bourg, Sr.
 Kalamazoo, Mich.—Bailey.
 Kenton & Campbell Counties, Ky.—Koester.
 Kingsport, Tenn.—Petty.
 LaGrande, Ore.—Ahrens.
 Lawrence, Kans.—Yount.
 Lubbock, Texas—Edwards.
 Madison, Wis.—Huffman.
 Marshall, Texas—Graham.
 Marshall County, W. Va.—Hess.
 Mid Columbia, Ore.—Harrison.
 Omaha, Nebr.—Silbasek.
 Philip, Lee and Monroe Counties, Ark.—Smith.
 Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—Sorenson, Sr.
 Riverside, Calif.—Rees.
 Reading & Burke County, Pa.—Seyfert.
 Rome, Ga.—O'Shea.
 San Bernardino, Calif.—Wilson.
 Saratoga County, N. Y.—Diliberto.
 Savannah, Ga.—Robinson.
 Shreveport, La.—Oliver.
 Southwestern, Oregon, Ore.—Haughey.
 Spokane, Wash.—McCormick.
 Steele County, Minn.—Woodfill.
 Sullivan County, N. H.—Walsh.
 Topeka, Kans.—Robinson.
 Tri-County, W. Va.—Brown.
 Tucson, Ariz.—Brown.
 Vincennes, Ind.—Miller.
 Washington County, Ore.—Dusten.
 Washington, D. C. (Greater)—Preller.
 Western Maryland, Md.—Stutzman.
 Winnebago County, Wis.—Jeske.
 Yuma County, Ariz.—Gray.

Local Unions

1805, Indianapolis, Ind.—Thornton.
 14712, Philadelphia, Pa.—Bowman.
 18419, Massillon, Ohio—Gradian.
 18527, Chicago, Ill.—Disselhorst.
 18671, Cleveland, Ohio—McCourt.
 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—Dever.
 19469, Chicopee Falls, Mass.—Ricardi.
 19620, Rochester, N. Y.—Zeller.
 20538, Auburn, N. Y.—Walter.
 20610, Woodland, Calif.—Angelo.
 20711, St. Louis, Mo.—Rubin.
 21538, Blackwell, Okla.—Campbell.
 21664, Syracuse, N. Y.—Galuski.

21877, Chicago, Ill.—Klass.
 21914, Watertown, Mass.—Percoco.
 22254, Philadelphia, Pa.—Murphy.
 22543, Springfield, Ohio—Overholser.
 22623, Philadelphia, Pa.—Golden.
 22631, Milwaukee, Wis.—Cudahy.
 23010, Ludington, Mich.—Adams.
 23068, Erie, Pa.—Baumgartner.
 18456 & 19322, Kenosha, Wis.—Whiteside.
 23773, Dayton, Ohio—Ballard.
 24058, Lawrence, Mass.—Callahan.
 24111, Milwaukee, Wis.—Taylor.
 24314, Terre Haute, Ind.—Autterson.
 24369, Waterbury, Conn.—Lynch.
 24628, Exeter, N. H.—Walkinshaw.
 24760, Bridgeport, Conn.—Burns.

PRESIDENT MEANY: That completes the roll call. The final count of this vote is 11,003,835 yes; 1,608,695 votes no. Not voting, 114,244. I declare the recommendation of the Appeals Committee the action of this Convention by more than a two-thirds vote.

Meeting of Executive Council

I would like to again announce a meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning in Room 3 in the rear of this hall. I would like to invite to that meeting the President and officers of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International, including their entire Executive Board.

The Convention stands adjourned until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

. . . At 6:45 o'clock P.M., the Convention was recessed, to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock A.M., Tuesday, December 10, 1957.

PROCEEDINGS
Second Constitutional Convention of the
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

FOURTH DAY — MORNING SESSION
TUESDAY, DEC. 10, 1957

. . . President Meany called the Convention to order at 10:05 o'clock a.m.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The invocation this morning will be delivered by the Reverend Edward McDaid, of Our Lady Star-of-the-Sea Church here in Atlantic City.

INVOCATION

(Reverend Edward McDaid, Our Lady Star-of-the-Sea Church)

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

Almighty and Eternal God, our Creator and Sovereign Lord, we beseech Thee, look down with favor upon the members of the Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO present here this morning. Guide them and protect them with the light, the power, and the sweetness of Thy grace, so that every day they may be strengthened and encouraged to do Thy holy will in all things and faithfully to discharge their duties to Thee and to their fellowmen, and grant that your fellowmen may be inspired with the realization of the importance of the work that you are doing in their behalf. May the blessing of Almighty God descend upon you and remain with you always.

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

PRESIDENT MEANY: We would like to welcome here this morning the social study group of the Atlantic City High School, a number of young people who are studying the history of American democracy. They are here as visitors and guests this morning under the tutelage of Mr. Arthur Newman, teacher of the social study group. We are very happy to have them visit us here this morning.

President Meany's Statement Re: Bakery and Confectionery Workers

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to announce to the Convention that following yesterday's session we invited the entire Executive Board of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union to meet with our Executive Council this morning regarding the question of compliance. Of course, we particularly wanted to talk to them about the policy of reprisals, about the harassment of the local unions and threats made against their standing, threats that they would be merged

or split up, and the discharge of International representatives. In short, we had hoped that we would get the officers of this Union to make some concession that would at least bring about a united feeling for the time being. However, we have been told very definitely and firmly they didn't want to meet with us on that subject; that the position that was taken and presented by their President yesterday afternoon was their position now and would be their position in the future, and that they did not recognize the authority of this Convention to impose directives upon them, that their own Convention was the exclusive authority.

Under these circumstances, the Executive Council has authorized me to state to this Convention that we intend to still try to get the Bakery and Confectionery Workers to agree to some form of compliance, and that if they fail to do so before the end of this Convention, the Executive Council intends to exercise the power granted to it by the Convention and expel this Union. Of course, in doing that we will have to try to save what we can for the trade union movement and, of course, we will have to charter whatever groups wish to stay in the AFL-CIO at that time.

At this time the Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions for a report.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARRISON: The Secretary of the Committee, David McDonald, will present a further partial report.

. . . Committee Secretary McDonald continued the report of the Committee as follows:

HIGHWAY PROGRAM

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, We can have full access to the scenic and historical effects of this great land of ours and at the same time full access to the artistry of brush and lettering, properly arrayed by locality according to the choice through local determination, and

WHEREAS, Through devious devices, exaggerated claims have been made and continue to be made against such displays, and

WHEREAS, This action is depriving now, or will deprive in the future, thousands of members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America; the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; and the Sheet Metal Workers International Association of their livelihood, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this second biennial convention of the AFL-CIO express its full endorsement of all efforts thus far exerted by the Legislative Department and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO in their endeavors to preserve these employment opportunities and in support of the Interstate Highway Program; and further, that the action of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO in support of the advertising features in connection with this Highway Program be reaffirmed by this convention.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: No action is required on this resolution because the subject matter is covered by resolution No. 28. (*See proceedings for Monday afternoon.*)

HEALTH AND SAFETY

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates Walter L. Mitchell, Marshall Shafer, Thomas E. Doyle, Arvil L. Inge, International Chemical Workers Union.

WHEREAS, Thousands upon thousands of injuries, diseases and fatalities occur annually in industry and the various trades, and

WHEREAS, The economic and productivity loss can be estimated, the human suffering which is associated with these injuries, diseases and fatalities is immeasurable, and

WHEREAS, The statistics of these injuries, diseases and fatalities have reached and continued at such staggering regularity that the President of the United States annually assembles the leaders of labor, management, government and members of the industrial health and safety movement in a united effort to eliminate this unnecessary wastage of human value and human suffering, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, have a vital stake and moral obligation in the industrial health and safety movement, and

WHEREAS, The combined resources and sincere effort of labor, management and government are essential and necessary to achieve the elimination of injuries, diseases and fatalities in industry and the various trades, and

WHEREAS, The prestige and resources of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have in the past, as well as the present time, tremendously improved the standard of living for those who toil, it can and must assume the initiative in the promotion of health and safety activities and standards in industry and the various trades, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, for the benefit of its membership and the general public as well, can greatly assist in the fight to eliminate from our way of life the many accidental tragedies which occur on the nation's streets and highways, in the home, at recreational resorts, etc., as well as in the promotion of precautionary measures in the battle against cancer, heart disease, polio, etc.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, in Convention assembled, establish a Department of Health and Safety within the framework of this great union, which shall actively collaborate, participate and cooperate with the International Unions, state and central affiliates, as well as management, Governmental agencies and health and safety organizations, in the elimination of injuries, disease and fatalities in industry and the various trades, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this department shall initiate and promote a program of safety in the home, on the streets and highways, at recreational resorts, etc., as well as the promotion of precautionary measures in the battle against cancer, polio, heart diseases, etc.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This resolution proposes the establishment of a Department of Health and Safety within the AFL-CIO to develop and promote a health and safety program. Your Committee notes that there is now in existence an AFL-CIO Committee on Health and Safety which has a constitutional responsibility for programs in this field. Steps are now under active consideration by the AFL-CIO to provide it with adequate staff. Your Committee therefore recommends that this resolution be referred to the AFL-CIO Committee on Occupational Health and Safety.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

CONSUMER COUNSELLING

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates J. A. Beirne, John L. Crull, Mary Hanscom, J. M. Massey, Ray Hackney, W. A. Smallwood, Walter Schaar, D. K. Gordon, D. L. McCowen, Wm. J. Walsh, Communications Workers of America.

WHEREAS, In these days of constantly soaring living costs, the American worker is hard pressed to make his income meet the demands of his family for the necessities of life and some of the luxuries to which he is entitled, and

WHEREAS, This problem is made the more acute by those unprincipled people in the business and financial world who mislead Americans with false advertising; who misrepresent goods and services, and who charge interest rates often bordering on usury in financing of many purchases made on a time basis, and

WHEREAS, These practices are contrary to the best interests of all consumers, including labor; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in Convention assembled go on record in favor of further expanding the scope of its union counselling for the trade union member, and be it further

RESOLVED, That such a program include advice and counsel in the area of budgeting so that the union member and his family will be able to obtain the greatest amount of goods and services of the highest quality for the dollar, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this program of consumer counselling provide advice and counsel against false advertising, gross misrepresentation, exorbitant interest rates and other such abuses which seriously hamper the legitimate purchasing power of the trade union member.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This resolution has been withdrawn by the sponsors for referral to the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee and the AFL-CIO Union Label Department for their consideration.

INSURANCE POLICIES

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates George L. Russ, Charles G. Heisel, Max Shine, Insurance Agents International Union, and Delegates Wm. A. Gillen, Arthur H. Higginson, Wm. S. McDermott, Insurance Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Insurance Workers who are members of Insurance Workers Unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO deserve the full support of affiliates of the AFL-CIO, and

WHEREAS, In any strike or labor controversy the public could be placed in a position of crossing picket lines of the Insurance Workers Unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO in order to pay their premiums; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in Convention assembled, December 5, 1957, include as part of its 1958 Legislative Program a bill which would make it law in all states of the United States that, no insurance policy shall be lapsed by reason of non-payment of premiums during any strike or labor controversy between any insurance company and its employees.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This resolution proposes the enactment of federal legislation to provide that no insurance policy shall lapse because of non-payment of premiums during any strike or labor dispute between any insurance company and its employees.

Your Committee is conscious of the serious nature of the problem upon which this proposal is based and of the desirability of finding a workable solution. The proposal set forth in this resolution, however, raises many legal, actuarial and other problems. Your Committee, therefore, recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for further study.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

PENSIONS FOR WORLD WAR I VETERANS

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Since mass production, automation methods and higher wages have placed heavy demands on labor for increased efficiency and output, it has become increasingly difficult for men past 60 years of age to obtain and hold regular employment, and

WHEREAS, Many working men 60 years of age or older, are veterans of World War I, who, were they granted a reasonable pension, would be withdrawn from competition for jobs with non-veteran workers of this age of whom, due to conditions during their younger working years, are without company pensions, adequate social security and dependent on jobs or public welfare relief—a condition which applies also to the veteran of World War I, and

WHEREAS, The veterans of World War I made great sacrifices during their military service, under deplorable conditions in camp and field, to protect and maintain the flag of our great country, preserve the many freedoms equally enjoyed by all citizens—freedom to worship God as we choose—speak our native tongue—freely vote for how and who shall conduct our government—be secure in our person and homes from unreasonable search and seizure—seek and obtain employment wherever we can qualify—in short, freedoms no other country can so completely offer its citizens, and

WHEREAS, At the present time only service-connected disabled or totally and permanently disabled veterans of World War I are eligible for disability compensation (or a most meager pension), and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of veterans of World War I have since their wartime service developed physical impairment that has increased their difficulty in obtaining and holding employment—poor eyesight—weaker hearing—nervousness—high blood pressure—premature old age—and many other physical conditions have become apparent since their discharge from the armed services almost 40 years ago, many such disabilities being the result of over-exposure, extended periods of exhaustion, battle fatigue and other conditions inherent in war, but which are now impossible of proof of service connection; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations does hereby go on record urging the Congress of the United States to provide a pension of \$100 per month for overage veterans of World War I to provide a pension plan for past-employment-age veterans of World War I on substantially the same basis as the pension plan provided for Spanish War veterans and the veterans of other of the nation's wars prior to World War I, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That notification of the action here taken be given the press and that copies of this resolution be sent all members of Congress of the United States.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the AFL-CIO Committee on Veterans Affairs.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

VETERANS VOCATIONAL, EDUCATION AND REHABILITATION

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, Educational grants to veterans under Public Law 550, provide that any person who was not a part of the Armed Services prior to January 31, 1955 shall not be eligible for educational assistance, and

WHEREAS, There is no logical reason for this cut-off date in making educational grants to veterans, as the draft laws and compulsory military service requirements still prevail, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the second biennial convention of the AFL-CIO go on record as favoring an extension of legislation to provide educational monies for all veterans during the period that the selective service compulsory military requirements are in effect.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Resolution No. 83: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

In the course of its first two years, the AFL-CIO has carried forward with diligence and vigor its policy of equal rights and of equal opportunities for all, regardless of race, color, creed or national

origin. Our Federation has taken firm steps to give practical application to its non-discrimination policy and to win for it widest acceptance both within the ranks of labor and in the community at large.

Dedicated to bring about the full and equal rights for all Americans in every field of life, the AFL-CIO has provided leadership in the American community in taking timely actions to affirm and to secure these rights.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, assisted by the Committee on Civil Rights, initiated a number of practical programs to implement the principle of non-discrimination proclaimed in the AFL-CIO Constitution.

In this work, prior consideration was given to the removal of discrimination within the ranks of the AFL-CIO itself. For the enduring goal of our Federation is to assure to all workers without regard to race, creed, color or national origin their share in the full benefits of union organization.

To this end, machinery has been established to effect compliance with the AFL-CIO civil rights policy throughout the ranks of the labor movement. Complaints, charging existence of discrimination by an affiliate, after staff investigation, are handled by a specially constituted Compliance Subcommittee of the Civil Rights Committee. If, after diligent efforts to enlist the cooperation of the affiliate concerned and, after due notice and hearing, it is found that discrimination complained of still exists, the Committee on Civil Rights may certify the case to the Executive Council for appropriate action to effect full compliance with the AFL-CIO civil rights policy.

Gratifying and responsive cooperation has been extended by our affiliates in the effectuation of this vital program. A growing number of our affiliates, including national and international unions, as well as state and city central bodies, have established machinery of their own to administer and further their civil rights programs.

An important contribution to labor's progress in the civil rights field was the calling of the First National Trade Union Civil Rights Conference by the AFL-CIO in Washington last May. To exchange experiences, share the know-how and to hold common counsel on the best ways and means to win broad acceptance and support of labor's non-discrimination policy is to lay groundwork for future progress, whether at the local union or the national level.

Of foremost concern to us also has been the assurance of equal employment opportunity to all workers. The use of non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining contracts has been extended and now effectively bars discrimination in hire, tenure, and conditions of employment as well as in advancement to a better job, in a major portion of unionized establishments. Progress has also been made, on union initiative, to assure equal opportunity in vocational training and apprenticeship training programs.

We have participated in the work of the President's Committee on Government Contracts which coordinates and assists Federal agencies in the enforcement of non-discrimination clauses in government contracts and have pressed for effective administration of this important program.

We have continued to back the enactment of enforceable state and local fair employment laws and the vigorous application of such laws.

On the national scene, the last two years have seen both progress and reverses in civil rights. The courts of the land have continued to insist that discrimination and segregation in schools, in public transportation and in other public facilities are repugnant to basic constitutional guarantees of equality. Hundreds of communities have successfully implemented these decisions. But there has also been willful defiance of the law of the land, culminating in the disgraceful incident at the Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Labor's reaction to Little Rock was made unmistakably clear on September 24, 1957, when the AFL-CIO Executive Council unanimously declared "that the defiance of law and order in Little Rock by a mob of demonstrators against school integration is completely intolerable." The Council voiced its support of Federal troops to enforce compliance with court orders, for failure to have used full power of the Federal Government would have meant defiance of the law of the land, threatening national sovereignty and bringing lawlessness in its wake.

While supporting the action of President Eisenhower's action in the "Little Rock" situation, we nevertheless feel morally obligated to express our keen disappointment, shared by millions of other Americans, at the failure of President Eisenhower and his administration to provide vigorous and positive leadership and initiative essential for the implementation of the historic Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. This failure created the tragic political and moral vacuum which encouraged the attitudes manifested in the "Little Rock" incident.

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, won after bitter struggle, with strong support from the AFL-CIO, is a significant forward step in the ever-continuing struggle for human rights. The bill, as finally enacted, was weakened by the elimination of Title III. President Eisenhower's failure to give backing to the inclusion of Title III in the bill, led to this setback. Despite this and other weaknesses, the new law establishes new and far-reaching safeguards of civil rights proclaimed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The President has appointed the members of the Civil Rights Commission established by the Civil Rights Act of 1957. We look to the Commission and the Department of Justice to act vigorously to carry out the objectives of the law. It will be their responsibility to assure the enforcement of the right to vote guaranteed to every American citizen. It will be their joint responsibility to expose the areas where civil rights are still being violated and to study and interpret the effects of these violations. It will be the Commission's responsibility to bring forward meaningful and practical suggestions for further action to assure inviolate exercise of civil rights by every American.

The role of government, national, state and local, is vital to the maintenance of freedom and democracy in our land. In the final count, however, the triumph of human rights will be best assured by the understanding, dedication and action of the people themselves.

Labor with other liberal groups will carry on its historic struggle for human justice in the spirit of brotherhood. As unionist, we hold affirm and secure equal rights for all Americans in every field of life.

The AFL-CIO continue to assure to all workers without regard that intolerance of race, creed, or color in our ranks or in our communities is incompatible with the principles embodied in our constitution.

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO carry forward its historic drive to affirm and secure equal rights for all Americans in every field of life, and that the AFL-CIO continue to assure to all workers without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, the full benefits of union organization.

We recommend that our affiliates set up internal Civil Rights Committees and machinery for effective administration of a meaningful civil rights program within their ranks, working in close cooperation with the Civil Rights Committee and the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO.

We recommend that our affiliates insist on non-discrimination by employers in hire, tenure and conditions of employment, and in advancement of their employees. We urge our unions to include a non-discrimination clause in every collective bargaining agreement they negotiate and to provide for effective administration of such a clause.

We recommend that our affiliates take the initiative in assuring equal opportunity in all apprenticeship training and vocational training programs.

We recommend that the President's Committee on Government Contracts withdraw government contracts from those companies consistently guilty of violating the Federal Government's policy of non-discrimination. We pledge our continued cooperation with the President's Committee on Government Contracts and ask our affiliates to make sure that employers with whom they deal holding Federal contracts, adhere to the letter and spirit of the non-discrimination clause required in each government contract.

We renew our support for the passage of an enforceable Federal fair employment practices act. We also call for enactment of enforceable fair employment practice laws by all states and cities not having such laws and for strengthening of such existing laws where necessary to ensure their effectiveness.

We again urge that, in order to assure full and fair consideration by Congress of proper civil rights and fair employment practice legislation, Senate Rule 22 be changed to permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate.

We renew our support of the decisions of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools, in public transportation and in places of public accommodation. These decisions represent a heartwarming reaffirmation of the democratic American principles that are embodied in the Constitution of the United States. We call upon President Eisenhower to recommend and the Congress to enact legislation that will endorse and support, by implementing, constitutional guarantees of Civil Rights, including those affirmed by the Supreme Court decisions. We call upon the Executive Branch to make use of its full authority to effect implementation of these decisions.

We urge the National Labor Relations Board to adopt the policy that the use of race-hate propaganda during union organization campaigns is deemed to be interference with, and coercion of, employees

and constitutes an unfair labor practice; and, further, that the use of such propaganda will be sufficient ground for setting aside an election upon request of the union.

We call upon President Eisenhower and the Department of Justice to launch an immediate and full-scale investigation into the activities of the so-called citizens councils now operating in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida, or anywhere else they may be operating, to determine if their activities and methods violate any Federal statute or the Constitution.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, in behalf of the Committee, I move adoption of Resolution No. 83.

. . . The motion was seconded.

VICE PRESIDENT RANDOLPH: Brother Chairman and delegates to this Convention: I rise, of course, to support the resolution and to say that since Labor itself is not yet fully free, it is an act of enlightened self-interest that Labor should support the principle of civil rights.

Civil rights represents democracy and democracy represents civil rights. No individual in a state is a full citizen of that state unless he has the attributes of citizenship, and the attributes of citizenship are involved in civil rights and civil liberties.

The foundation of civil rights is the Judeo-Christian ethic—the Christian tradition that the personality of every human being is sacred, that the personality of every human being is entitled to recognition, respect and reverence. This principle was enunciated by Jesus Christ for the first time in human history upon his advent upon the earth. Mankind prior to that had no concept of the dignity of the personality of an individual. The individual had no worth as such. He had no value as such because prior to that the whole world was under the concept of slavery, and the concept of slavery recognized an individual as an inanimate thing, subject to use and exchange.

Therefore, the labor movement, representing great masses of workers, has the moral responsibility for its commitment to the principle of civil rights.

I am glad to say that the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations has set a high standard on this principle; not only have standards been set but machinery has been put into operation for the implementation of the principles.

In this connection I want to commend the Director of the Civil Rights Department, Boris Shishkin, for his ability and resourcefulness in carrying out the principles of this doctrine of civil rights.

I want to also commend the Civil Rights Committee, under the splendid leadership of Charles Zimmerman, who succeeded the distinguished leader of the International Electrical Union, Brother Carey, as the chairman.

I think this Committee is doing a splendid job. It has a small but competent staff. Therefore, it may be looked forward to that

progress will be made in the implementation of the program of the AFL-CIO on this question.

However, it is well to say that we have just begun. While we have only a few unions here that still have the color clause in their constitutions, there are still unions in the AFL-CIO that practice discrimination, and it shall be the obligation and the responsibility of the Civil Rights Committee, the Civil Rights Department, to work toward the complete elimination of all forms of discrimination.

It is to the great credit of our movement that its head, the President, Brother Meany, has been a consistent inspiration to the whole cause of civil rights. He has never retreated from the position set forth in the Constitution.

It is my hope that this Committee will give consideration to the whole field of apprenticeship training. Here we have a wide scope of discrimination based upon color and race. The Government is also partially responsible for discriminatory practices in this field.

May I say, fellow delegates, that there are other facets to this question. Ordinarily we think of civil rights in connection with individuals, but today organizations also have civil rights. The right of individuals to associate themselves together for the achievement of certain objectives, the right to achieve certain objectives by organization, is being denied to certain groups.

I have in mind the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It has been barred from Texas, Alabama and Louisiana, and there are a number of other States that are now beginning to develop a program to bar this organization, because it is committed to the principle of civil rights and is responsible for the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. Now, this is a tremendous crisis to this organization. If it does not have the right to exist in a State, then the people for whom it is struggling to abolish evil discriminatory practices will be the victims of discrimination. As a result of barring the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, it has lost tremendous resources and is now compelled to look for support from various groups in order that it might be able to carry on its program.

Not only is this true with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but it is also true with the National Urban League. Here is an organization committed to a welfare program. It is a part of the Community Chests of various cities. But it has been thrown out of the Community Chests in city after city in the southern area of our country.

May I say that it is to the splendid credit of the Community Services Committee, headed by the distinguished leader of the Communications Workers, Brother Beirne, that that committee is working in the interest of preventing the National Urban League from being thrown out of these Community Chests.

I wanted to raise these two questions before you, because when you return to your communities you may be able to do something about this matter. You may be able, through the central bodies, through your local unions, through your international organizations, through your churches, to mobilize public sentiment against the practices of the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan. These are the agencies back of the movement to bar the National Association for the Ad-

vancement of Colored People and the National Urban League from carrying on their work in various communities.

So, my friends, may I say that, while we have the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan in various areas throughout the South, they do not represent the total sentiment of the South. There are millions of people of the South who are opposed to the practices of the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan. Although they have worked tremendous damage on the moral standards of various areas, I predict that they will collapse. It is estimated that there were at one time 200,000 people in Alabama in the White Citizens Councils. I understand today that there are less than 50,000. So here you see that a counter force is beginning to work and the people are beginning to see that their good name is being besmirched and that the good name of our country throughout the world is being injured by the Little Rocks and the Faubuses, people who have ignored and disregarded and discounted the basic principles of democracy of our nation.

So, I am glad to add my voice to the support of this resolution and to commend the work of the Civil Rights Committee and the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion on Resolution No. 83?

May I just re-emphasize the importance of one of the points referred to by Vice President Randolph, that there is a definite indication in the South that more and more of the white people of the South are coming to the conclusion that it is not good business to discriminate against the Negro.

In that connection may I say, while the National Urban League is making a determined fight to maintain its membership in the various Community Chest campaigns throughout the country, in a number of places in the South where the Urban League was denied membership or removed from membership in the Community Chest that they did not suffer financially, that they got a response from the people after they were evicted, as it were, from the Community Chest, that more than made up, in a financial way at least, for what they might have lost by this eviction. However, this organization still is determined to try to maintain its place on these Community Chests and Councils so that it can make its contribution jointly with all other agencies in a community.

Are there any further remarks on the motion to adopt Resolution No. 83, which covers the broad field of civil rights?

... The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

BRITISH FRATERNAL DELEGATES

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I want to interrupt the report of the Resolutions Committee to introduce to you another of our fraternal visitors. This gentleman has been sitting here with us since the opening of the Convention, listening to the discussion on all of the problems that we have, listening very patiently. I think now the time has come for us to listen to him.

He is a former Chairman of the British Trades Union Congress. He is the present Chairman of the Committee on Education of the TUC. He has been the General Secretary of the United Pattern Makers Association of Great Britain since 1941, and a member of his Union for over 40 years.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I present to you our fraternal delegate from Great Britain, Brother Wilfred B. Beard.

MR. WILFRED B. BEARD

General Secretary, United Pattern Makers Association

Mr. President, Executive Council and fellow trade unionists:

I am pleased to have the opportunity to say a few words to you today. Speaking to representatives of what must be the largest free trade movement in the world is indeed a privilege. Your merger, which is now nearly two years old, was marked by the occupation of a new building, and like yourselves we of the British T.U.C. have a fine new headquarters. Now complete, it awaits the official opening in February by our colleague and chairman, Mr. Tom Yates. Our new building, which already has been acknowledged as a handsome contribution to the post-war architecture of London, sets out to do three things. (1) It honors the stalwarts of the past and those who gave their all in two world wars. (2) It provides for the busy and expanding activities of modern trade unionism in Britain. (3) It looks to and indeed provides for the future. In the educational wing, which forms so important a part of the whole design, we are busy training for tomorrow leaders at all levels. Those who use this college will find in it a mark of the traditional link between our two movements, for before your merger took place, the AFL provided us with a generous gift, which has been used to equip the common room where our students gather.

In all, during the year, we expect 800 trade unionists to pass through the college. On courses lasting one or two weeks they will study the basic principles of trade unionism, and also special subjects like industrial finance, social insurance, modern techniques of management and the complexities of collective bargaining. Every one of our affiliated unions has the right to send a proportionate number of students to these courses. The TUC provides the free scholarships which cover board and lodging, as well as the upkeep of the home of the student whilst he is away. All this is a complement to the extending work of trade union education in Britain. By that I mean what we are doing in the new college, will not be a substitute for our other extensive educational provision at week-end and day schools up and down the country,—summer schools in Oxford, and the scholarships we provide for full-time residential training at Ruskin College Oxford, The London School of Economics, and the other schools which have organized educational courses for their members. That they are doing so and meeting with success is a sign, that in this age of television and counter attractions trade unionism is still a force that attracts the voluntary effort of many of our workpeople.

Present Position of British Trade Unionism

What about our British trade union movement itself, you may ask.—You might be interested in this:—we have at the moment

8,304,709 members. But great as this figure is it covers less than half our working population.

It is, however, a great force in British life, and its representatives are consulted on most questions by the government of the day, and if we do not always find agreement at least we have the opportunity of putting forward our point of view and obtaining publicity for it.

European Free Trade Area

And in this field a subject which greatly occupies our attention just now concerns economic developments in Europe. As you well know, Britain has important associations with the countries of the Commonwealth and of course with the U.S.A. Those links will doubtless continue, whether the proposed European Free Trade Area comes into being or not. But there is little doubt that events in Europe are compelling Britain to re-assess its economic and social attitudes to Western Europe. Already six nations on the European Continent have agreed about a common market and a customs union, which will bring into being an industrial block of more than 160 million people. These countries of the Common Market, with a population three times as large as that of our own, have at present a share in world trade about twice as much as that of Britain's. And what is more, they deal in the same sort of products as we import and export.

The British Government and the British trade union movement do not wish to join the Common Market, as distinct from a Free Trade Area. Such a step would mean a surrender of economic sovereignty and would probably snap the ties that bind us to the Commonwealth in both the economic and the political fields. The European Free Trade Area proposals are designed to bring Britain and other countries of Western Europe into association with the Common Market without complete participation, and to provide a market of about 240 million people. We of the British trade union movement do not support these proposals out of any adherence to economic theory.—We give general support to them, because we believe that more would be lost by staying out of the Free Trade Area than by going in.—Yet we hope, too, that the creation of a Free Trade Area can be the means to a higher standard of living for all the people of Western Europe, and what is important, we can bury for good those enmities which were the cause of two world wars in my generation. Among these peoples there is the skill of many craftsmen;—there are the large capital resources for future industrial advance and there are powerful trade union movements, like our own, able to exert a considerable influence on social policy throughout the area.

Indeed, throughout all the consultations we have had with the British Government—and there have been many—we have hammered home our insistence that any treaty bringing into being a Free Trade Area must have solid safeguards about employment and social conditions. We have told the British Government that not only must every Government affirm its intention to attain and maintain jobs for all, but each one must also take powers to ensure that this aim is carried out. In Britain we have suggested that the Government must be ready to help those workers who have to change their jobs.

It must support them adequately in this period of re-training, and if they have to move their homes, it must help them to do so.

If a Free Trade Area does come into being, it is not likely that there will be free trade in every commodity. For instance, we are saying that agricultural and food products should be excluded. Furthermore, we want nothing in the proposals that will damage our links with the Commonwealth.

Whilst I am talking about trade there is just one word I would like to say about the commercial policy of the United States of America. In Britain we are always deeply concerned that a trade surplus in your country produces a world dollar shortage. A dollar shortage tends to impede trade between all countries which settle their transactions in part, in gold and dollars, and gives rise to further pressure on world gold reserves outside the United States, including those of the Sterling area, which after all is the basis for half the world's trade. Any steps which the United States of America might feel itself able to take in the direction of further reducing barriers against imports would, we think, be of great value in the present situation and lead to greater unity in the free world.

My colleague referred to inflation. This is a world problem, particularly where economies are expanding. Difficulties arise when there is little expansion, as in Britain. In Britain it has been the reason for industrial unrest, particularly in engineering and shipbuilding where order books are full and profits considerable.

I am in this industry and we have learned from bitter experience that wages and earnings are regulated by the profit margin.

In the inter-war years of world slump the wages of skilled engineers were ruthlessly reduced without any compassion or consideration. It is therefore reasonable to expect a fair share when profits are high.

Our demand for an increase last year was refused before we put in an application and you can imagine the feelings aroused. The reason given—obviously government inspired—was that an advance would be a further inflationary move. No mention was made of profits or the rise in real luxury spending, which clearly had a great bearing on the situation. As you have been told, the final result was conflict, strike action, return to work and a government inquiry. An increase was obtained and other industries perhaps not so concerned with exports followed suit. Prices of course again increased, and those with static incomes, like pensions, suffered badly. The government has decided a policy of higher bank rate (7%) and cuts in government spending, following pressure on the pound sterling. Those engaged in government service and nationalized industries will clearly have difficulty in establishing wage claims unless geared in some way to greater productivity. The year 1957 will rank as one in which more days were lost through strikes than any since the war, and considerable sums have been spent by unions in dispute pay—millions of pounds, in fact.

In 1956, 2,065,000 working days were lost in the United Kingdom as the result of industrial disputes. This figure clearly will be greatly exceeded in 1957.

Now a word about international trade union solidarity. Between our two movements, there are no differences about the need for free trade unionism to extend its frontiers throughout the world. You are

helping in that struggle and so are we, as indicated by your President yesterday. Let me tell you of our latest efforts. You all know that the I.C.F.T.U. has an International Solidarity Fund. Our last Congress decided to raise something like 1½ million dollars for that fund. Every union has been given its proportionate target. How it raises that sum is up to the union, but we are confident that within the three years we have given ourselves we shall have found the money we are seeking. I remember the words of Charles Geddes in his swan song to our Congress. No man was more enthusiastic about international trade union action than Geddes. In an inspired appeal at Blackpool in September he asked British trade unionists to give from their hearts. Peace itself, he said, depended on the success of this new and greatest effort at building true international trade union solidarity. We all believe that the success of the I.C.F.T.U.'s fund can make a lasting contribution to happiness, to the well-being and freedom of workers in many lands throughout the world. This sentiment, let me also say, found an echo in Congress and was the subject of much applause.

I will now make some reference to:

British Trade Union Attitude Towards the Colonies

Let me be frank on this. We have heard murmurs of colonization wherever British colonies have been under discussion. I have no objection to this, but I suggest we have to create a sense of proportion on these matters.

As a trade union movement we in Britain sometimes feel that there is confusion in the minds of other people about our attitude towards British dependent territories. Let me emphasize, as strongly as I can, that the British trade union movement has always been opposed to Imperialism or Colonialism, as it is known these days. We oppose the economic exploitation of colonial people anywhere and we oppose any attempt to hold them in a state of permanent political subjection. Our work in helping the trade union movements in British territories overseas, has been and is, a contribution towards the ending of what is known as imperialism. No country can be free, so long as its workers are depressed and unorganized. Democracy can only flourish where there is a powerful trade union movement, which as a free institution, is itself a training ground for democracy. Through our own efforts and through the work of the I.C.F.T.U. we are doing all we can to bring into being and to sustain trade union movements which give efficient service to their members. Our aim is not to make movements in our own image, but to inspire them to reach for those virtues of unity, solidarity and efficient organization, without which no free movement can live.

In the post-war period, a Labor Government with the full support of the trade unions opened a new era in Asia. It negotiated the independence of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. Those acts sounded the death-knell of the old imperialism, and because of them other peoples have now emerged to independence. This year Ghana and Malaya have taken their places as independent members of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Soon they will be followed by the West Indian Federation and by other states. This is a process which must go on. Where we see a sign of possible reversion to the bad habits of the heyday of imperialism we protest. We have protested about Cyprus.

It is a matter of genuine pleasure to us that many movements in the Commonwealth are ready to come to us and ask our advice. As I have said, we give this in the spirit of trade union fellowship and hope that it will be accepted as such. The days of the Boston Tea Party are far away, both in time and spirit. In a free world that is grappling with the ever-present danger of communism, the conscious superiority of one people over another is out of place. It is by our example and our action that we shall keep with us the 500 million people of Asia and Africa whom we have welcomed into the British Commonwealth, as independent colleagues since the war.

Let me conclude, if I may, on a rather different note. I cannot say how much we have appreciated the visits of your delegates to our Congress from time to time. And if I may say so, this year we were particularly pleased to see Joe Keenan and Walter Reuther. They made an excellent impression.

We were also pleased to have some conversation with them in our new building, after we had left the highlights of Congress, about relationships—I mean relationships between your organization and ours.

Let me say at once that the speeches of your delegates to our recent Congress indicated that we had so much in common that we must of necessity get close together. We accept that sentiment entirely, for there is a great deal we can do together, and there are so many things on which we agree and which require doing.

Can I draw your attention to what I think is one of the major problems facing the free trade union movement throughout the world.

I have already stated that since the war—Britain has given freedom and nationhood to at least 500 million people in Asia and Africa with democratic governments.

Compare this with the fact that during the same period Communist Russia has absorbed 100 million people in Europe alone into its block.

That, I suggest, is serious;—that, I suggest, is something we should all be concerned about. Make no mistake—it will require all the unity in the free trade union movement—particularly between our two movements to deal with this kind of thing. It is a man-sized job.

Communists were never a vital force in Britain and their influence is less now than ever it was. They are, however, still a force in France and Italy and to a lesser degree in Europe, and there is danger in the newer democracies if trade unionism is not developed far more strongly than it is today. Disease, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy anywhere in the free world are questions which concern us all. It is upon these things that communism thrives. Freedom as we know it depends upon the action we can take to preserve it. That is as I see it. The international solidarity fund can help enormously, but that will be of little avail without unity—basic unity of purpose—for the tasks before us are enormous.

I will conclude on that note and thank you for the opportunity of this talk., and say what a pleasure it is to bring to you in this

great convention fraternal greetings from the British trade union movement.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure we all appreciate the fine address given to us this morning by Brother Beard. These fraternal visits are always appreciated, and we appreciate the sentiment which was expressed here by Brother Beard this morning. In your behalf I express to him our thanks and wish to let him know that he is welcome here and that we want him to stay with us right through the end of the Convention.

Thank you very much, Brother Beard.

The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions to proceed with the report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Continued)

. . . Committee Secretary McDonald continued the report of the Resolutions Committee as follows:

UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Resolution No. 152: Submitted by the Committee on Resolutions.

Nine years ago today, Dec. 10th, the United Nations proclaimed to the world that its solemn purpose is not only to maintain international peace and security, but also to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

On this anniversary of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights we pledge ourselves to drive for the fullest realization of human rights, freedom and justice for all.

The initiative and the drive for the adoption of the Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations were first provided by organized labor of the United States. We are proud of our historic contribution toward the universal acceptance of freedom and of equal rights and opportunities for everyone.

While advances have been made, much remains to be done. We stand dedicated to the ceaseless effort to enlist the minds and the hearts of people everywhere in our fight for freedom and for human rights for everyone.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the resolution.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on this special resolution, on the Charter of Human Rights, the Declaration of the United Nations, of which today is the anniversary.

Is there discussion of this resolution?

I would like to state very briefly that this resolution points up a side of the work of the United Nations that does not receive as much attention in the public press as it should. We only read in the press

the headlines of the political situation in the United Nations, the continued stalemate that exists between the Soviet Union and the so-called Western powers, but there is another side to the work of the United Nations that goes on day in and day out. That is the humanitarian and social side of their work, work conducted through the World Health Organization, through the Emergency Fund for Children, the High Commissioner's Office on Refugees, and many other specialized agencies.

I can say to you quite frankly that it is my opinion that in this field the United Nations has made a tremendous contribution to advancing the welfare of people in many parts of the world. In this field alone, the field of specialized agencies, the humanitarian, social and cultural field, the work done by the United Nations justifies its continued existence despite the fact that it has been unable to bring about a solution of the political differences that exist throughout the world.

In reaffirming our stand on human rights we are giving endorsement to the human side of the work of the United Nations.

Is there any further discussion on this resolution? Is there objection to the resolution? Hearing none, the resolution is carried without objection.

HOUSING

Resolution No. 84: Submitted by the Committee on Resolutions.

Housing is out of step with the progress of America. In the face of mounting housing needs, construction of new houses has fallen to the lowest level since 1949. The current level of housing construction is meeting barely one half of the nation's current housing needs. The lag in housing construction has been a drag on the nation's economic growth.

Millions of American families are still forced to live in dilapidated, overcrowded slum tenements and hovels because they cannot obtain decent homes within their means. Housing conditions of minority families are particularly bad.

Our national housing administration has failed to measure up to the challenge of the nation's housing problem. Only a bold, imaginative program, geared to the country's total housing requirements, will stem the tide of spreading blight which threatens to engulf our metropolitan areas.

The opportunity to obtain decent, livable homes within their means will continue to be denied to millions of families until the volume of housing construction is raised to at least two million units a year.

The low-rent public housing program still provides the only time-tested formula for making good housing available to low-income families at costs they can afford. A large-scale program designed to rehouse low-income families in livable homes and to clear the slums is the most urgent housing task of our time.

Equally pressing is the plight of the moderate-income families, including those of many wage-earners, whose incomes are above the range of eligibility for publicly-aided housing, but too low to

afford the homes available in the present-day market. This is the plight of the average American family which finds good housing beyond its financial reach.

The AFL-CIO is fully convinced that our nation can command the human, physical, and financial resources to tear down the millions of tenements and hovels in which Americans are still forced to live and replace them with livable homes in well-planned, modern communities. The opportunity to obtain a good home in wholesome surroundings is a right which no American family should be denied. The achievement of this goal of good housing for all families would also make an important contribution toward assuring a prosperous and expanding economy. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the immediate goal of national housing policies and programs is the construction of at least two million new houses a year.

To meet the most insistent housing need, housing programs and policies must redirect the housing supply so as to assure that a major portion of the houses built are within the financial reach of low and middle income families who cannot afford the high rents and monthly payments charged in today's housing market.

In order to carry out sound and balanced programs for replanning and rebuilding of our cities for future growth, decent houses should be made available for the thousands of low-income families displaced by slum clearance, urban renewal, highway construction and other public projects. We therefore call upon Congress to authorize construction of at least 200,000 units a year in an improved and expanded low-rent public housing program.

In order to assure the moderate-income families priced out of the housing market the opportunity to obtain good homes that they can afford, we call for enactment of moderate income housing legislation which would make available low-interest, long-term loans for construction of cooperative, non-profit rental, and sales housing for moderate income families. To this end, a National Mortgage Corporation should be authorized to make long-term loans at an interest rate no higher than the cost of money to the Corporation plus a fixed amount necessary to cover overhead and administrative expenses. This program should be geared to the construction of at least 500,000 units a year. Housing built under this program should be required to meet adequate standards of construction, space, and availability of community facilities and services.

Cooperative housing, backed by sound and effective moderate-income housing programs, is a particularly effective means of bringing good homes within the financial reach of moderate income families. The pioneering efforts of a growing number of our affiliates in cooperative housing should be greatly expanded in communities throughout the nation. Special consideration should be given to the investment of union-negotiated pension funds, properly safeguarded and guaranteed in well-planned modern cooperative housing projects. Even in advance of enactment of effective moderate-income housing legislation, AFL-CIO affiliates should take the lead in initiating and sponsoring cooperative housing projects and in furthering in every way a program of cooperative housing designed to provide good homes for families of moderate income.

In order to expand the supply of rental housing needed to provide good living accommodations for families and single individuals who cannot finance the purchase of a home or do not find home-purchase suitable to their needs, we urge that liberal financial assistance be made available to builders and operators for construction of good rental housing. It should be required that such rental houses and apartments be offered within the means of moderate-income families and single individuals to assure that the needs of tenants will be met and that the builder or operator will not be permitted to reap excessive profits.

Recognizing that some of the worst living conditions in our country are to be found in rural areas, we call for enactment of appropriate legislation to permit rural families to obtain good homes within their means. We especially urge that adequate safeguards be established to assure decent living accommodations for migrant farm workers and their families.

Reduced incomes and special requirements have confronted elderly couples and individuals with especially serious housing problems. To meet the housing needs of our senior citizens, special housing facilities should be provided for aged persons in housing developments—both public and private—under financial terms which will encourage development of housing for the elderly. Insofar as practicable, such housing should be located in normal neighborhoods with adequate community facilities and opportunities for community life and with special features required to meet the particular needs of the elderly. We urge our affiliates to help to sponsor and finance housing projects which will include good living accommodations especially suited for the elderly.

Millions of American families in all sections of the nation are denied the opportunity because of race, creed, color or national origin to obtain decent homes in good neighborhoods. Discrimination and segregation in housing are contrary to the democratic way of life and should be eliminated as quickly as possible. We therefore especially commend the efforts which have been made in a number of states and cities to enact legislation to encourage the policy and practice of equal opportunity in housing, and we urge that other states and local communities adopt similar legislation.

However, such efforts should by no means be confined to the state and local level. It is the positive responsibility of the Federal Government to assure an opportunity to obtain decent housing to all families without regard to race, creed color or national origin. All housing built with the aid of Federal funds or credit or any other form of financial assistance or guarantee should be made available to Negroes and other minority families on an equal basis with all other families.

Having witnessed the effect of the recent tight money policy of the federal government in shrinking the volume of needed residential construction, we call for a national fiscal policy which would assure adequate credit to maintain a balanced flow of investment funds into residential construction commensurate with the nation's housing needs.

To protect home owners against foreclosure in the event of illness, temporary unemployment, or other emergencies, legislation should be enacted to permit lapses of mortgage payments for specified periods, assuring repayment, under existing mortgage insurance and guarantee

programs. To enable families of moderate-income to purchase homes on a sound basis, legislation should be enacted to protect purchasers on sales contracts and to protect home owners on home-repair contracts.

To safeguard hard-won standards of building trades workers, a requirement should be maintained to assure the payment of not less than the prevailing wage to all employees engaged in construction of housing under any program involving Federal financial assistance.

The alarming deterioration of our metropolitan areas must be arrested and effective action taken to permit the redevelopment of our urban communities in order to meet both the housing need and economic requirements of their citizens. We therefore vigorously oppose any attempt to weaken or slow down the slum clearance and urban redevelopment program. On the contrary, we urge expansion of the urban redevelopment program with primary emphasis upon slum clearance and genuine city rebuilding. Lesser measures such as "rehabilitation" and "neighborhood conservation" should be undertaken only where they are economically feasible and will assure decent homes in a good neighborhood environment. The primary aim of urban redevelopment must be to provide good homes in replanned, rebuilt communities at costs which are within the means of the families with the most urgent need for better housing.

In order to arrest the deterioration of the core of the central city and prevent ill-planned and haphazard growth of city suburbs, we urge study and development of sound programs of cooperative metropolitan area planning for balanced development and growth of metropolitan areas. Housing redevelopment must be coordinated with programs for industrial rehabilitation in America's older industrial centers. Adequate federal funds for this must be especially appropriated for this purpose.

In recognition of the outstanding efforts of the National Housing Conference in the fight for good homes for all families, we urge continued support of the National Housing Conference by the AFL-CIO and its affiliates.

In order to enhance the effectiveness of labor's housing program and to mobilize broadest support of this vital program by trade unionists throughout the country, we call on our affiliated unions and central bodies to establish and maintain active housing committees to work in close cooperation with the Housing Committee of the AFL-CIO toward the realization of the AFL-CIO housing program.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the Housing resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

OLD-AGE, SURVIVORS, AND DISABILITY INSURANCE

Resolution No. 85: Submitted by the Committee on Resolutions.

Labor's legislative accomplishments are reflected in the monthly benefits being received under old-age, survivors and disability insurance by eleven million people. The program continues to be soundly

financed and economically administered, paying benefits related to earnings as a matter of right from trust funds built up through specified contributions.

Increases in monthly benefit amounts are badly needed to offset higher living costs and permit more adequate levels of living. A new program is required to meet the costs of medical services which weigh very heavily on the aged and on widows with young children, groups who are least able to obtain protection against these hazards through private insurance.

After the AFL-CIO Executive Council had urged that legislation to meet these most urgent needs be given priority by Congress, a bill for this purpose, H. R. 9467, was introduced by Congressman Aime J. Forand of Rhode Island.

The Forand bill would, among other things—

1. Increase all primary monthly benefits by 10% on the average, giving present beneficiaries \$5 to \$10 more.
2. Liberalize ceilings on total family benefits.
3. Raise the maximum amount of annual earnings counted for contribution and benefit purposes from \$4200 to \$6000, thus permitting higher benefits and increased collections to help finance other improvements.
4. In calculating "average monthly earnings" let each person drop one additional year of low (or no) earnings for every seven years he has worked in covered employment.
5. Pay for 60 days of hospital service for all persons eligible for old-age and survivors insurance benefits.
6. Pay also for their surgical services and for skilled nursing home care after hospitalization.
7. Increase contribution rates of employers and employees by $\frac{1}{2}\%$ each and of the self-employed by $\frac{3}{4}\%$ to cover the estimated additions to costs.

Many other bills are also awaiting action by Congress, some of which are in accord with established labor policy for liberalizing old-age and survivors insurance. Others would abolish the retirement test, thus running counter to the accepted principle that old-age, survivors, and disability benefits are intended to replace lost income. Such action would cost as much as the improvements in the Forand bill but would mean far less to the majority of beneficiaries who are unable to earn more than the present limit of \$1200 a year.

Enactment of long-term disability benefits, in spite of opposition by the Eisenhower Administration, was one of our major legislative accomplishments in 1956. The program, which was adopted in the senate by a two-vote margin, represents a compromise but has already resulted in the award of cash monthly benefits to more than one hundred thousand persons aged 50 or over who are unable to engage in any substantial gainful employment. Persons under 50 are not included, though we sought to protect them, nor are dependents' benefits available.

Many disabled persons have been found ineligible either for disability benefits or for the disability freeze, which avoids reduction of retirement benefits. Denials arise from the stiff employment requirements, from the Act's definition of disability, and from its over-strict interpretation by the Administration and by state agencies which actually make the determinations.

Denials of benefits under the government program are in some cases affecting interpretations under private plans achieved through collective bargaining, even though definitions differ.

Since the disability trust fund already has assets of half a billion dollars, more liberal policies can be financed without a higher contribution rate. Many bills have been introduced in Congress directed at broader disability provisions. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That in line with labor's historical position, we support continued development of the old-age, survivors and disability insurance system to provide more adequate benefits, to cover more people, especially those not under any form of social insurance, and to give protection against short-term as well as long-term disability.

We urge prompt consideration and enactment by Congress of the Forand bill, H. R. 9467, to raise monthly benefits by 10%, increase the earnings ceiling to \$6000, and add benefits to pay the cost of hospital, skilled nursing home, and surgical services for the aged and for widows with young children. We support the bill's proposal to increase contributions to pay for the new benefits, since a soundly-financed social insurance system is a good investment for our members and the nation as a whole.

We support other amendments previously favored by organized labor, such as permitting women to receive regular benefits at age 60, increasing the primary benefit for each year of continued employment past 65, and providing higher amounts for aged widows.

We believe that men under age 65 who cannot work or cannot find steady employment should be protected through more liberal provisions in regard to disability insurance and through extended unemployment benefits. Such measures are sounder than the reduction of the retirement age for all men to 60, which would be a great expense to the Trust Fund.

We urge persons who are supporting repeal of the retirement test instead to join us in seeking amendments that will raise benefits for the great majority of the aged who are unable to earn more than the \$1200 a year now permitted.

We reaffirm labor's position that the program of long-term disability should provide for workers at any age who are unable to engage in any substantial gainful employment. We support the addition of dependents' benefits for those entitled to disability payments. We believe that the employment requirements should be relaxed, especially those resulting in the exclusion of workers whose disability prevents their employment in the years before its permanent nature can be established. If the stringent administrative rulings, which we do not feel are necessitated by the definition of disability, are not corrected by the federal and state agencies, it will be necessary to ask Congress to amend the definition. The federal agency should be given full authority to make determinations as it does for other types of benefits paid from federal funds.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of Resolution No. 85.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee and the motion to adopt Resolution No. 85 on the subject of old age, survivors' and disability insurance. This also encompasses the subject matter of Resolutions 48 and 49.

Is there discussion?

DELEGATE LEONARD WOODCOCK, United Automobile Workers: This resolution, among other things, endorses the Forand bill, introduced in the last session of Congress, and which we hope will be a major item of consideration in the new session of the Congress.

I would like to draw attention to points 5 and 6 of the resolution appearing on page 11, which speak about the Act, including in its terms pay for 60 days of hospital service for all persons eligible for old age and survivors' insurance benefits, and also pay for their surgical services and for skilled nursing home care after hospitalization.

We are all too well aware that in this period of inflation the fastest rising component of the cost of living index has been the cost of medical care. This which bears greatly on all people bears with a tremendous burden upon those who have retired. Even if they are fortunate enough to be able to buy insurance at group rates, the cost is a prohibitive part of their privately bargained pension schemes. If they are without that insurance protection—and millions of them are—then the cost of illness, which grows greater with old age, becomes a crushing burden to the point of despair.

Last week the newly elected President of the American Medical Association took pains again to blast this provision of the Forand bill as socialized medicine, and to call upon the medical fraternity, and the insurance industry to fight it in the next session of the Congress.

In addition, with great pressure they are lining up the hospital administrators in all of the States of the Union.

I would hope that the press, which has so well covered this Convention in some other aspects, would also pay some attention and give equal space to our position on this vital matter to millions of our people as it gave to the blast of the President of the American Medical Association, who, unfortunately and in typical fashion, stands always on the negative side with absolutely no proposition as to how to take care of this great social problem. I certainly hope the press will pay some attention to this aspect of this point.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion on the motion to adopt Resolution No. 85?

... The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I would like to now call the attention of the delegates to Resolutions Nos. 48 and 49. 48 is entitled "Social Security Benefits Increased." No. 49 is entitled "Social Security at Age 60."

The Committee calls your attention to the fact that Resolution 85 has just been adopted and, therefore, no action is needed on Resolutions 48 and 49.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The record will so state.

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS INCREASED

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Many retired workers are receiving as low as \$50 per month, and

WHEREAS, These said workers have paid into social security longer than the qualifying period of today, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has steadily increased, making it almost impossible for these members to live; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in convention at Atlantic City, N. J., December 5 to 13, 1957, go on record supporting a raise in social security benefits for all retired members not receiving the maximum amount.

SOCIAL SECURITY AT AGE SIXTY

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Workers today have great difficulty obtaining work after they have reached the age of 35, and

WHEREAS, Most Workers have already worked for 40 or more years at the age of 60; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in convention at Atlantic City, N. J., December 5-13, 1957, go on record supporting lowering the age limit from 65 to 60.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Resolution No. 86: Submitted by the Committee on Resolutions.

Federal grants have greatly improved state public assistance programs for four categories of needy people: the aged, the blind, the permanently and totally disabled, and dependent children. But even after the amendments we helped obtain in 1956, payments to recipients are often too small and hedged around with harsh requirements in regard to residence and property.

No federal grants are provided for general assistance, and too many states and localities do not aid employable workers who cannot find jobs and are not receiving unemployment insurance benefits.

The U. S. Chamber of Commerce has been trying to abolish existing federal grants for public assistance, centering its recent attacks especially on old-age assistance. In 1957 a determined effort was made in the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives to

put a dollar limit on federal grants for public assistance administration, even though the Social Security Act states that the federal government will pay 50% of necessary costs of administration.

The AFL-CIO opposed such unwise action and supported proposals for grants for research into the causes of poverty and for training social workers, hoping that such programs will help low income people to become self-supporting.

Rising unemployment will throw still greater burdens on private and public relief agencies, accentuating the need for an improved federal program of public assistance. A comprehensive proposal for such an improved federal program is embodied in H. R. 7831, introduced by Congressman Aime J. Forand and supported in principle by the American Public Welfare Association. This bill would permit each state to choose a new system of federal grants for public assistance, including general assistance, prohibiting residence requirements, and offering more generous federal grants which would vary according to state per capita income. Broader provisions are proposed in regard to medical care, remedial care, and welfare services, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That in accordance with labor's traditional support of an adequate public assistance program to supplement social insurance, we favor far-reaching improvements in the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act. We believe the Forand Bill, H. R. 7831, presents a sound approach, through providing more liberal federal matching grants related to state per capita income, extending them to general assistance, and eliminating residence requirements.

We continue to oppose efforts to eliminate or reduce federal matching grants for any of the public assistance categories, and we particularly deplore efforts through riders on appropriations to place dollar limitations on federal grants for administration.

We also urge Congress to enact the moderate Administration proposal for grants for training and research purposes which would help to overcome poverty and dependency.

We favor corresponding action at state and local levels to improve public aid programs.

... **COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD** moved adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

HEALTH LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 87: Submitted by the Committee on Resolutions.

In recent years the cost of medical care, particularly hospital services, has increased at a greater rate than all other components of the cost of living. This growing burden of cost is imposed upon the consumer through higher medical and surgical fees and charges for hospital care, through increased premiums and subscription charges demanded by prepayment plans, and through the solicitation of contributions to hospital fund drives.

Among the factors contributing to this medical cost inflation are shortages of facilities and personnel, the high cost of medical edu-

cation, and the increasing—and sometimes excessive utilization of expensive in-patient hospital facilities and services. The increase in costly hospital utilization has been aggravated by the structure of prepayment plans which place undue emphasis upon hospitalization but fail to provide for timely out-patient diagnostic and treatment services and home care, or to maintain adequate controls upon the quality and appropriate character of the services performed. Plans which undertake to provide such services and to correct those deficiencies have found it extremely difficult to secure the capital funds needed for the construction of the necessary clinical facilities on reasonable terms that do not add an excessive burden of interest payments to their costs.

In the absence of constructive action to meet these problems, the rise in the cost of medical care can be expected to continue at an accelerated pace in the years ahead, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms the principles and objectives set forth in the 1955 Convention resolution on health programs and urges, as the steps most needed in the immediate future:

The enactment of a program of federal assistance to professional institutions engaged in the training of doctors, dentists, nurses, medical technicians, and related personnel in the form of grants for the construction, expansion, equipment and maintenance of physical facilities. The program should also provide scholarships to aid qualified students to meet the high cost of medical education.

The enactment of a program of direct long-term, low-interest loans by the federal government to encourage the development and expansion of prepayment plans which provide comprehensive direct medical services through their own physical facilities.

A ten-year extension of the Hill-Burton Hospital Survey and Construction Act and an increase in the amounts authorized and appropriated to reflect the increase in the costs of construction since the original ceiling was imposed. Increased funds should be provided for the special categories of medical care facilities which were added to the program by recent legislation as well as for the construction of general hospitals.

The continued support of all existing federal research and aid programs in the field of health, at levels equivalent to the needs and opportunities for progress, that exist in the areas affected by those programs.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Resolution No. 89: Submitted by the Committee on Resolutions.

Since the last AFL-CIO Convention unemployment insurance has generally been neglected at both the state and federal levels. In addition to providing inadequate benefits for too short a period, many states and territories have clauses discriminating against intra- and

inter-state claimants for purely arbitrary reasons. These shortcomings in unemployment insurance defeat its intended purposes and, during the present downturn in business activity, seriously threaten the security of millions of workers now laid-off and about to be laid-off in the next few months. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this convention again supports a comprehensive overhauling and improvement of the unemployment insurance system, under a single federal program. Pending such a reorganization, we support federal legislation providing uniform minimum standards with regard to benefits, duration, eligibility, disqualifications, and genuine tripartite representation on the appropriate bodies such as advisory committees, commissions, and appeal boards. Federal legislation should also provide re-insurance as a source of grants-in-aid to states, and permit states to make flat-rate reduction in taxes.

We favor federal funds to extend the duration of benefits for claimants in defined depressed areas and for workers in the labor market unable to find employment because of age.

We favor an amendment that will prohibit the garnishment or attachment of unemployment benefits for any purpose by any person or government agency including the Internal Revenue Service.

We support a coordinated national approach by the employment service and the continuation and improvement of its services.

We urge affiliated unions to continue their efforts to improve the state unemployment insurance laws so that they will replace a higher proportion of the individual's lost wages; so that the maximums are realistic in terms of average wages and will automatically adjust to rising wage levels; so that duration of benefits are more suitable to the re-employment problems facing the unemployed; so that harsh, restrictive and arbitrary provisions in regard to eligibility and disqualifications are removed; and so that there are no restrictions against the concurrent payment of supplemental unemployment benefits.

We favor extension of coverage to all wage earners and to newly-discharged service men whose military service shall satisfy requirements of attachment to the labor force.

We favor the establishment of a system of unemployment insurance in Puerto Rico.

We oppose any change in federal law which would remove the requirement for the quarterly wage reporting for OASI and unemployment insurance purposes.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I now desire to call the attention of the Convention to Resolution No. 2. This resolution describes the shortcomings of a section of the employment security law of Alaska and proposes the abolition of that section of the law. Your Committee believes that the purpose of this resolution is more satisfactorily covered in the language of Resolution No. 89, which your Committee has recommended for approval. Therefore, no further action is needed on Resolution No. 2.

EMPLOYMENT SECURITY LAW OF ALASKA

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates A. F. Hartung, William Botkin, Joe Morris, Burk Christie, Ronald F. Roley, J. B. Hanna, International Woodworkers of America.

WHEREAS, The Employment Security Law of Alaska, Section 712 reads as follows:

"AMOUNT OF BENEFITS

"(a) *Qualifying wages.* To qualify for benefits an individual shall have earned wages in his base period totalling not less than one and one-fourth times the aggregate amount of wages earned by him in that calendar quarter of his base period in which he earned the highest amount of wages, and all his wages for such base period must equal not less than the minimum amount required for benefits under subsection (b), below.

"(b) *Weekly benefit amount.* Except as provided in subsection (a), above, an individual's weekly benefit amount shall be the amount shown in the table below, in the applicable column opposite the amount of his total base period wages as shown in column A; provided, that for any week with respect to which an individual while outside the Territory files a claim for benefits the weekly benefit amount shall not exceed \$25.00, and an individual who files such claims shall not be paid for more than twenty-six weeks of total unemployment. For the duration of the benefit year no dependent who has been claimed by a claimant and allowed as such shall be included as a dependent with regard to any other claimant.

"(c) *Maximum potential benefits.* Subject to the restriction contained in Section 712 (b), the maximum potential benefits of any individual in a benefit year shall be the amount in column H of the above table on the line on which in column B, there appears his basic weekly benefit amount; provided, however, dependents' allowances shall be in addition to the maximum potential benefits in column H of the above table.

"(d) *Definition of dependent.* 'Dependent' means an individual's unmarried child (including stepchild and legally adopted child) under 18 years of age, and who is principally supported by such individual; except that an individual's unmarried child (including stepchild and legally adopted child) who because of infirmity is prevented from engaging in a gainful occupation and who is principally dependent upon such individual for support, shall be deemed to be a dependent for the purpose of this provision regardless of age.

"No individual shall be entitled to an augmented weekly benefit amount on account of any dependent if either such individual or such dependent are without the Territory.

"(e) The provisions of this Section shall be effective on and after July 3, 1955."

Thus causing hardship on Union members and workers whose work is of a seasonal nature, allowing them to draw only \$25.00 per week less than the state pays where the claimant is drawing unemployment benefits; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations go on record as

asking the Employment Security Commission of Alaska to abolish the section of the law allowing unemployed workers to only draw \$25.00 per week stateside when unemployed. And that interstate qualified claimants drawing on the Alaska fund be allowed to draw at least the maximum benefit amount of the state in which they resided; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention ask all affiliated Unions to give them support in getting Section 712 stricken from the Employment Security Law of Alaska.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Without objection, the record will show the subject matter of Resolution No. 2 has been disposed of by your action on Resolution 89.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Also, in connection with Resolution 89 is Resolution No. 38, entitled "Amendment to States' Unemployment Compensation Laws."

AMENDMENT TO STATES' UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION LAWS

Resolution No. 38—By Delegates George L. Russ, Charles G. Heisel, Max Shine, Insurance Agents International Union, and Delegates Wm. A. Gillen, Arthur H. Higginson, Wm. S. McDermott, Insurance Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Under the Unemployment Compensation Law in the many states of the United States, workers on strike are ineligible to receive Unemployment Compensation, and

WHEREAS, The members of the smaller and weaker unions, whose treasuries are incapable of paying strike benefits, find themselves at great disadvantage not only when they are forced to strike, but also at the bargaining table, for the employer—knowing that the union in question is unable to pay strike benefits, and mindful that in the event of a strike his employees will not receive Unemployment Compensation—is tempted to utilize his advantageous position, and is not likely to make a fair offer at the bargaining table; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Delegates assembled at this Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO in Atlantic City, this fifth day of December, 1957, that this Convention, the Executive Officers and the Legislative Department immediately inaugurate the necessary legislation and take the required steps to rally the support of all segments of organized labor within the United States to effect an amendment to the states' Unemployment Compensation Laws thereby providing for the payment of Unemployment Compensation to workers engaged in legally constituted strikes.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This matter is dealt with in Resolution No. 89. Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the AFL-CIO Committee on Social Security, with the request to develop guides to the various state organizations to meet the particular situation existing in each State.

... **COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD** moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Resolution No. 90: Submitted by the Committee on Resolutions.

The year ahead, 1958, will mark the fiftieth year of Workmen's Compensation in the United States. On January 31, 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt in a special message to Congress said:

"Our proposition is not to confer a right of action upon the the government employee, but to secure him suitable provision against injuries received in the course of his employment.

"The same broad principle which should apply to the government should ultimately be made to apply to all private employers. Where the nation has the power it should enact laws to this effect. **Where the states alone have this power, they should enact the laws.**"

On the President's recommendation, the Congress that year passed the first workmen's compensation program in the United States.

"Suitable provision against injuries received in the course of his employment" has not been provided, and it is against the same basic injustice that 50 years later AFL-CIO members of every trade and industry echo Roosevelt's words: "This is an outrage."

While, during the half century since the President's message, the Federal Government has provided sanctuaries for migratory birds, it has left the injured workman and his family to endure "humiliation" at the hands of the states. The high incidence of on-the-job injuries is shocking, but the lack of concern for the injured worker's welfare by State Legislatures is unconscionable. The truly heroic efforts of state labor federations and councils have to a large degree been nullified by the readiness of the legislatures to accede to the demands of employer organizations.

By successfully opposing coverage for all workers, full medical care, adequate indemnity payments, hospitalization and when needed, rehabilitation, industry has been able to shift proper insurance costs to the public.

The tests of administrative procedures in workmen's compensation are equity and promptness. Promptness is impossible with understaffed administrative agencies and equity is denied where promptness is not present. Lower court appeals, attended frequently by prohibitive legal costs to the claimant, jury trials and proceedings de novo have destroyed effective administration in many states. Crowded court dockets have made equity and promptness in contested claims impossible and delays of a year or more are not uncommon.

Today, approximately 40 cents of every premium dollar goes into the expense loading of the private insurance carriers. This cost exceeds \$430 million annually. Assuming all states had exclusive state funds operated on plans similar to Oregon or the Province of Ontario—five states and Puerto Rico have exclusive state funds—benefits could be raised approximately 40 percent without additional costs to industry. An important barrier to adequate benefits rises out of this outmoded and injurious system of insurance for compulsory compensation of workers injured on the job.

On August 29, 1908, President Roosevelt in a personal letter to a friend wrote: "The opposition of the National Association of Manufacturers to every rational and moderate measure for benefiting working men . . . causes me real and grave concern." Referring specifically to the opposition by the N.A.M. to legislation to benefit the lot of workers injured on the job, Roosevelt continued, "I felt that it was ominous of evil for the whole country to have men who **should** stand high in wisdom and in guiding force take a course and use language which directly incited to revolution . . ."

Today, the state counterparts of the N.A.M. bait State Legislatures with the hope of new industry or strike fear with the threat of losing industry if legislation to provide adequate compensation for injured workers is adopted. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this Convention recognizes that our country's first social insurance program, now completing its fiftieth year, must be overhauled drastically if it is to meet the needs for which it was originally designed and that we adopt the following objectives:

Compulsory workmen's compensation must be extended to all workers. Provision must be made for free choice of a qualified doctor, full medical care, hospitalization and, when needed, rehabilitation. Weekly indemnity benefits must be established in amounts equal to at least two-thirds of average weekly wages during disability. And adequate provision must be made for dependents during dependency.

State administrative procedures in many states need extensive overhauling if equity and promptness are to be achieved for the worker injured on the job. Appeals to lower state courts, jury trials and proceedings de novo destroy the effectiveness of administrative procedures and place the injured worker at the mercy of lawyers and insurance companies. The establishment of a workmen's compensation department with right to appeal to an appeals board which has no administrative responsibilities and from which appeal on matters of law only can be made to the highest court in a state will provide a workable procedure to achieve equity and promptness in granting awards to workers injured on the job.

As a compulsory social insurance, workmen's compensation should be insured through an exclusive state fund in order that benefits can be made adequate at the least cost to society and that safety and rehabilitation programs can be coordinated with administrative efficiency with workmen's compensation.

We support the enactment of a Federal Workmen's Compensation Act. Short of this the Congress of the United States should enact legislation fixing minimum standards of workmen's compensation. Any action short of a federal program makes injured workers pawns to be used by state manufacturers' associations in pitting state legislature against state legislature.

As a step toward the achievement of these objectives, this Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations authorizes and urges its President to arrange an appropriate observance in 1958 of the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of workmens' compensation, and the Convention urges all affiliated organizations to lend this effort the fullest cooperation.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time, delegates to the Convention, I want to present to you a representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. This is the world organization of labor in which the AFL-CIO holds membership that represents practically every trade union in the free world. We have here with us this morning the two top officers of that organization. I am now going to present to you the President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for an address—Brother Arne Geijer, of Sweden, President of the ICFTU.

MR. ARNE GEIJER
President, ICFTU

President Meany, members of the Executive Council, Delegates and Friends. May I first of all express my deep appreciation for your kind invitation to me to attend this Convention. I am well aware of the great influence which your organization exercises within the American community, especially in the area of economic policies. For this reason, I am especially grateful for the opportunity to be present on this occasion as a fraternal delegate from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

I need not remind you that the trade unionists of Europe and other areas of the world, have a keen interest in trade union developments within the United States, and more specifically in the achievements of your organization. With the merger of the AFL and the CIO just two years ago, your trade union center has become the strongest and most influential that has ever existed within your country and I might add that has ever existed anywhere else in the free democratic world. It is therefore quite obvious that such a significant development is of great importance not only to your own members and to events in America but to the world as a whole. Because of this unification, your influence within your whole nation for social improvements will be far greater and more significant than what you were able to accomplish as a divided movement. Even though the full significance and benefits of your merger may not become evident for some time, I, nevertheless, have no hesitation in saying that the trend of economic and social events in the United States already is being profoundly affected as the result of your merger, and this will reveal itself in higher living standards and improved benefits for working people and consumers in general in America.

The influence of the free trade union movement continues to grow in all countries. The role of the trade unions in the highly industrialized countries is a dominant one. This is a matter of practical necessity. Without it the workers could not possibly share in the benefits resulting from higher productivity but the trade unions are indispensable for a modern industrial political democracy. Industrial democracy is inconceivable without strong democratic trade unions. In modern industrialized society without trade union organization, the individual worker is defenseless and has no means of protecting his interests.

I will also emphasize the importance of the trade union movement to keep a high employment. Unemployment is one of our hardest enemies and we can never accept mass unemployment.

Just as our trade unions are vital to the individual worker and to protecting the worker's interests within each of our countries, so the free trade union movements of our many countries urgently need an international world-wide trade union movement. For this reason, we have all together created the ICFTU. This democratic world trade union movement has, over the past 8 years, developed into a world-wide organization representing 133 different national trade union centers from 94 different countries, embracing a world-wide membership in excess of 55 million members.

The tasks before our ICFTU are many and difficult. As in your country, there are many unorganized still to be brought within our Union family. In many highly industrialized countries, the figure of trade union membership is still low. Further strengthening the union organization in these countries would add significant strength and needed membership to the ICFTU. But even more serious are the problems in the under-developed countries of the world where trade unionism, as we understand it, is still in its infancy. The aid and assistance of the ICFTU can not only help shape the structure of trade unionism in these areas but also can greatly strengthen the democratic character of the economy of these countries. The struggle in these areas is made more urgent because of the appalling poverty and low living standards beyond the imagination of people who have spent their full lives in industrialized countries.

Because of these conditions of extreme poverty, the population falls easy victim to totalitarian propaganda. It is this poverty which the communist world seeks to mobilize as a weapon against us. The free trade union movements of the world dare not stand aside as onlookers in this decisive struggle. We must quickly mobilize our resources to help free trade unionism establish a foothold and through them help lay the foundation for economic and political democracy around the world. If democracy can win the fight against poverty and against the very low living standards in these areas, it will have delivered a powerful blow against the sources of communist influence.

The problems of the under-developed countries are complicated and of tremendous magnitude. We must not allow these problems to become more serious by having the difference between the standard of living in the "have not" nations and the "have" nations grow ever wider apart. Such a condition is bound to create new tensions within the United Nations and greater difficulty for the ICFTU.

From what I have said and from your own experience as a member of the ICFTU, you will understand that the tasks confronting our world trade union organization are enormous. To overcome them will require even greater efforts and greater financial resources. The extent of the ICFTU's current activities around the world is far from sufficient to meet this challenge.

As practical trade unionists, you will understand when I say frankly that our efforts are handicapped by a lack of adequate financial resources. I know that none of us as responsible trade unionists would want to have it on our conscience that we have failed to do our part to raise the necessary resources, man-power and financial, to meet this challenge. Because of our duty and responsibility to raise the necessary resources for this work, the ICFTU has established an International Solidarity Fund. This fund will make possible the extension of trade union activity in urgently

needed areas of the world, especially in the under-developed regions and activity directed in helping to strengthen newly established trade union organizations.

The International Solidarity Fund will only be as strong as the ICFTU affiliates make it. Already some organizations have committed sizeable resources to this fund. Unless these are matched by comparable resources from all other centers, we shall not meet our goal. If our affiliated organizations in the highly unionized countries will accept their proportionate share of this obligation, we will have the necessary resources and our efforts to build a world of greater freedom and happiness will enable us to meet the future with increased confidence.

At this moment I will express my pleasure to the AFL-CIO. I am thankful for your decision to support the Solidarity Fund with the splendid sum of \$1 million.

Since the very foundation of the ICFTU eight (8) years ago, the role of the American trade union movement in the field of international labor affairs has been of utmost importance. I believe I can say that the crucial role of American trade unions in the field of international labor affairs is even greater than most of you yourselves realize.

In recognizing the prominent role which American labor must assume, I do not mean to underestimate the achievements of the trade union movement in other countries—least of all in the countries of Europe. Today, as in the past, democratic trade unionism in Europe has a great task to fulfill and an important contribution to make to our international movement.

In judging the achievements and in setting new goals for the international trade union activity, I would like to repeat what I have often emphasized in my own country, namely, that we must not set our expectations too high. International trade union work is far too complicated and involved to offer immediate and conspicuous results. This is a matter of long-term endeavors. It is a question of assiduous and determined efforts to reach the goals set by our organization. Perhaps when measured by the trade union standards in our own highly developed countries, these efforts may sometimes seem fruitless. The results, however, have already shown that the ICFTU is an effective tool in the hands of free labor around the world and has already made significant contributions towards raising our living standards and strengthening the democratic basis in our respective countries.

In this respect, the American trade unions are building on a solid democratic foundation. You have grown up in an atmosphere of political democracy and democratic traditions. Though your struggles have been hard and difficult, you have been free to help shape your own future destiny.

We must not forget, however, that in some countries millions who once enjoyed these freedoms now live under dictatorship. Other countless millions have never in their lives enjoyed these freedoms. We have a long ways to go and great difficulties to overcome before freedom and democracy is universal.

We struggle to raise the living standards of millions of men, women, and children who long for greater security and greater opportunities. We struggle for freedom for the people of all coun-

tries, especially those who live under dictatorship and oppression. We seek a world which can live in peace, one with another. This is the goal of the ICFTU, and all together we shall achieve it.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, Brother Geijer. I am sure we all realize the tremendous importance to the free world of maintaining relations among the workers of the free world through the instrumentality of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. We appreciate very much Brother Arne Geijer's visit with us and his very fine and instructive address here this morning.

Thank you, Brother Geijer.

The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Resolutions Committee to continue his report.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE **(Resumed)**

. . . Committee Secretary McDonald continued the report of the Committee as follows:

THE ATTACK ON FEDERAL AID TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Resolution No. 121: Submitted by the Committee on Resolutions.

An Administration campaign is under way to destroy the federal grant-in-aid programs which have done so much to raise public service standards in all states and localities but particularly in the poorer ones.

This campaign, spearheaded by the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce, seeks to whittle away the \$3½ billion in federal funds now distributed annually to help finance a variety of state and local services essential to the national welfare. These federal grants—which the states and localities match with funds of their own—help build hospitals and airports; provide aid for the needy aged, orphans and the blind; support vocational education and the rehabilitation of the handicapped; accelerate slum clearance and the construction of public housing; provide school lunches for millions of children and encourage a score of other vital services which many states and localities could not or would not provide without the stimulus of federal aid.

The state and local governments, as a whole, have not been shirking their own responsibility to try to raise more revenue to meet the explosive postwar rise in public service demands. Between 1948 and 1956 they increased their own yearly expenditure from money they raised themselves from less than \$13 billions to over \$33 billions, a rise of 111 per cent. To pay for this tremendous expenditure growth state and local tax collections were pushed up 96 per cent in the course of the last 8 years while state and local debt has skyrocketed 162 per cent. What is more, both state and local taxes and indebtedness continue to go up.

Although the cost of all of the federal grants-in-aid represent less than 50 per cent of the federal budget, their continuance and expansion are vitally important if our most hard-pressed states and localities are to continue to perform essential public services. The so-called "economy" lobby, nonetheless, wants to end the federal grant programs entirely.

At the President's instigation, a special Federal-State Action Committee made up of governors and federal officials is already meeting behind closed doors, and deciding which of the grants should be ended first. After three brief sessions and no public hearings, it is reported that the Committee majority is ready to recommend the reduction or complete elimination of federal aid for school lunches, vocational education, water pollution abatement, national disaster relief and assistance for the needy aged. And this is only the beginning.

It is also reported that the Committee will recommend that several federal excise taxes be relinquished to the states in order to provide them with new revenue to make up for the abandoned federal aid. This proposal, however, will by no means assure the continuance of the public services now supported by federal aid.

In the first place, the lower income states that now receive the largest proportionate share of federal aid cannot possibly make up their revenue loss by imposing the taxes that Washington would abandon. Only the wealthiest states—that need aid least—would benefit from this cynical states rights scheme.

Secondly, there is absolutely no assurance that the reactionaries who control most state legislatures would continue to appropriate funds for these essential public service programs, particularly after the stimulus of federal matching funds has been withdrawn. Even in the wealthier states, vitally important civilian service programs would be emasculated or ended entirely.

The states righters' attack on the federal grants-in-aid—like their attack on the regulatory bodies of the federal government—has not been launched to strengthen the ability of state and local governments to more effectively fulfill their growing responsibilities. It has been conceived solely to serve the special interests of wealthy corporations and individuals who view all federal expenditure cuts as potential tax saving opportunities for themselves, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, recognizing that:

In our industrialized society, millions of families now migrate across state and local boundaries every year and the volume and quality of public services everywhere affects the welfare of us all; and that

Higher minimum educational, health and welfare standards for all Americans are desirable not only because we are a humane and generous people and the richest nation in the world, but also are essential because the security of the nation is deeply involved; and that

Experience has amply demonstrated that many states and localities do not have sufficient financial resources to provide minimum public service standards for their citizens through no fault of their own; and that

Only the federal government is sufficiently powerful to insure an adequate and just tax contribution from corporate profits and the incomes of the wealthy to help support minimum public service needs throughout the nation.

It is the reasoned view of the AFL-CIO that if state and local governments are to be strengthened in the performance of their essential functions, federal grant programs must be improved and extended, not destroyed. The effort to undermine the federal grant system, when necessity dictates that, in fact, it should be enlarged, is false economy this nation can ill-afford.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution 121.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

GOVERNMENT STATISTICAL PROGRAMS

Resolution No. 124: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The statistical services of the federal government have become increasingly important to trade unions as a source of accurate information needed in the formulation of collective bargaining policies and for appraisal of developments in the economy at large. These data include statistics on wages, hours, employment and unemployment, production, prices, profits, construction and housing, national accounts and a considerable number of other important economic trends.

Such information is highly useful, not only to labor but to management, government officials, and other groups in our society concerned with developments in our economy. It is therefore most regrettable that inadequate appropriations have drastically limited federal statistical programs so that they have been unable at times to furnish unions and other interested groups with necessary statistical information. Lack of sufficient funds has particularly hampered the statistical activities of the U. S. Department of Labor upon which unions especially depend for economic and statistical information.

During the past year, the AFL-CIO and a number of affiliated unions have joined with farm, business and professional organizations in establishing the Federal Statistics Users' Conference to coordinate and enhance the efforts of nongovernmental groups to strengthen federal statistical programs, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO urges the Congress to appropriate additional funds for federal statistical programs, especially those of the U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of the Census, Social Security Administration, Federal Trade Commission, and the Securities and Exchange Commission, to assure that they will adequately meet the needs of unions and other groups for essential statistical information. We particularly recommend that substantially increased appropriations be made available to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics to provide more complete information on wage and collective bargaining developments, employment and unemployment, consumer prices and budgets, productivity and technological developments, including the effects of automation, housing and construction, foreign labor conditions and industrial accidents.

We welcome the organization of the Federal Statistics Users' Conference to strengthen and improve the statistical programs of the Federal Government, and urge that our affiliates give it every possible support.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution No. 124.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND INTERNAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 126: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The American labor movement has a great heritage as a foremost champion of the preservation and extension of individual civil liberties in our land. We rededicate ourselves to the task of keeping inviolate the fundamental freedoms guaranteed to every American by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The AFL-CIO stands not only as a bastion of freedom but also as a bulwark against the threat of International Communism to our way of life and to the entire free world. In the face of this ever-present danger there is a need to maintain an effective security system against espionage and subversive activities by our totalitarian foes. This danger requires the maintenance of effective counter-intelligence for vigorous enforcement of criminal laws and for an effective security system administered with full safeguards of the individual liberties guaranteed by our laws.

In the past two years, under the pressure from anti-union employers, local ordinances have been adopted by several communities restricting freedom of association and requiring exorbitant registration and licensing fees from anyone conducting union organization activities in the locality. Constitutionality of these vicious enactments has been successfully challenged by several of our affiliates. We are determined to maintain a vigilant defense against such invasion of human rights basic to our democracy, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO welcomes the recent decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court dealing with loyalty and security. These decisions served to strengthen the individual liberties of all Americans.

Properly, the application of the necessary security measures should be limited to persons having access to secret or highly classified information affecting national security. To go beyond this limit and to subject to security screening thousands of individuals employed in defense facilities and in the government establishments but having no access to security information is not only unnecessary but objectionable. We, therefore, are opposed to legislative proposals which would apply security screening wholesale to employees in such plants, establishments or facilities without regard to the access of such employees to top-secret and secret security information.

We reaffirm our determination to preserve and defend American democracy from any and all enemies, within or without.

We call on Congress and the public to be alert in opposition to any infringements of civil liberties in the administration of the security programs and in the conduct of congressional investigations.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution No. 126.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

Resolution No. 127: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The AFL-CIO reaffirms the position taken at its merger convention that the McCarran-Walter Act should be "revised and liberalized to reflect the democratic and humanitarian traditions of our country and to provide an immigration policy attuned to the present requirements of our Nation and of the entire free world." In the period since the convention, the AFL-CIO Executive Council implemented this basic policy by endorsing the principal objectives of the then pending Lehman bill, and by supporting the best possible interim immigration legislation.

In 1957, the Congress passed a "hardship" bill which brought relief in a number of areas, but which did not strike at the basic faults of the Hungarian people against Communist terror were met with in-good as far as it went. Now it is necessary to work at revising the basic law itself.

The need to humanize and liberalize American immigration policy was dramatized by the events in Hungary in 1956. The heroic struggles of the Hungarian people against Communist terror were met with immediate determination by freedom-loving peoples everywhere to provide a haven for those who were forced to flee from Hungary. The American government, reflecting the desires of Americans in every walk of life, moved as quickly and as generously as the law allowed. But the sad fact remains that we were not able to do enough.

The 30,000 Hungarian refugees who did come to our shores during this past year have already demonstrated that they possess intellectual and industrial skills which will add further strength to America, just as other millions of immigrants throughout the years have enriched our country. It is most unfortunate that the 1957 Act failed to regularize the status of these Hungarian parolees. This matter should be given top priority by the Congress.

There are pending before the Congress today a number of proposals for revision of the present immigration law. The major proposals of the old Lehman bill are now incorporated in a bill introduced by Congressman Emanuel Celler and 30 other members of the House. The Administration has submitted a proposal that does not go quite as far, but would make for significant liberalization of the law, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that in appraising these and other legislative proposals, the AFL-CIO will be guided by the following general principles:

America is in a strong enough economic position to absorb a reasonable number of immigrants without undermining employment opportunities of American workers. That number should be at least 250,000 annually, in addition to those now eligible as "non-quota" immigrants.

The national origins quota system, the heart of the present law, results in discriminatory selection of immigrants and has led to understandable resentment in many parts of the free world. In order to assure justice and equity in the distribution of available visas, quotas should be based on meaningful and relevant factors such as, family re-union, technical and professional needs of America, refugee relief, national interest and resettlement.

While all reasonable precautions should be taken to keep subversive elements out of the United States, fair and democratic administrative procedures should be instituted both for aliens and naturalized citizens.

Importation of temporary workers from other nations should be permitted only when our own economic needs clearly require such action, and only after all possible steps have been taken to provide jobs and decent working conditions for our own American workers. When such importations are necessary, they should be authorized only under fully enforced international agreements such as that which governs the Mexican contract labor program, but with greatly improved procedures for the protection of both foreign and American workers.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution No. 127.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

MILITARY PREPAREDNESS AND MOBILIZATION

Resolution No. 133: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

America faces a crisis in defense of its freedom and the freedom of liberty-loving peoples throughout the world. A vague awareness that the Soviet Union had been making progress in scientific and military endeavors has now been replaced by very specific evidence of accomplishments in launching and orbiting two earth satellites.

The reaction to the Soviet sputniks has been immediate and direct. The American people are and properly should be concerned. Yet this is not a time for panic, but for sober reevaluation of America's defense effort. There is no reason to feel that America's defense program has gone for naught. There is every reason to believe that in several basic aspects of military preparedness, this nation has been lagging behind the Soviets.

Nor can we find consolation in the fact that America's total industrial might is far above the Soviet capabilities. While American skill in this operation may produce more steel, oil, coal and other basic materials, it must be remembered that the Soviets have consciously decided to concentrate their energy, talent, facilities and raw materials in military and directly related programs. By choice they have directed their entire resources to developing an effective war machine, not to providing their citizens with the many different types of goods and services and individual rights that are available to the American people. While the Soviet system obviously provides an inferior standard of living, we cannot be so certain that it provides an inferior standard of military power.

There is serious reason to doubt that the Administration's current proposals for meeting this crisis will be effective. Too often in the past, Administration thinking has been dominated by a penny-pinching philosophy. Time and time again, the Administration has refused to take the Soviet threat seriously. We cannot laugh off the Soviet ability to launch and to orbit successfully an earth satellite as simply a "space basketball," as some Administration spokesmen in the White House have been prone to do.

The failure of the nation's first attempt to launch the Vanguard satellite is disturbing. It is clear that America must take forceful action to accelerate its military preparedness program. We can no longer tolerate equating of management of big business with the management of our defense efforts.

American labor is vitally concerned in these developments. No one group has a greater stake in the survival of the American free institutions than the American workers and their trade unions.

While we have worked tirelessly to develop the conditions to make possible a peaceful world, we have also recognized that adequate military preparedness is essential to protect the free world against possible aggression.

Since the end of World War II, American labor has not only emphasized the need for a strong military defense program, but has also stressed a more effective civil defense program, and a coordinated mobilization planning effort that would prepare the country for any possible national emergency, including an attack on the continental United States.

However, we must be frank to report that results have been disappointing in the fields of civil defense and mobilization planning. The civil defense program, severely handicapped by lack of funds, is also limited by being required to operate through a cumbersome federal-state machinery. The basic civil defense statute unfortunately places primary responsibility for developing civil defense programs on the various states, not the federal government. While legislative action has been initiated to correct this condition, the fact remains that the present system, with its emphasis on state action, has not produced an effective coordinated national plan which is so badly needed.

The nation's efforts to develop mobilization plans covering such fields as production, manpower, transportation, and economic stabilization, have been centered in the Office of Defense Mobilization. In some areas mobilization planning has made considerable progress. Each year, through the "Operation Alert" exercise, opportunity is afforded to test these various plans. However, these efforts have been hindered by an over-emphasis on security classification and too great a concentration of effort in Washington, D. C., at the expense of the rest of the country. The Executive Reserve program, under which individuals from private life agree to accept government assignment in the event of mobilization, has made a good start, but unfortunately the emphasis to date has been largely on recruiting from American business.

In addition, those in charge of mobilization planning seem to feel that difficult problems can be easily solved by turning them over to the military forces. Various types of martial law have been studied as providing the answer to complex manpower and production issues.

This appears to us the completely wrong approach to the problem. Even in the event of a national emergency, the reins of government must remain in civilian hands. With proper leadership, the American people will respond and perform voluntarily the tasks which will be required.

Labor's representatives have repeatedly called attention to these shortcomings in our preparedness programs. In mobilization

planning, labor representatives on the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee, which advises the ODM, were active in developing the first comprehensive program for manpower planning in the event of war. A special Labor Advisory Committee works with the Federal Civil Defense Administration. Other advisory committees function with respect to the mobilization planning work undertaken by the Department of Labor.

More recently, American labor has been particularly concerned about the necessity for developing and utilizing additional scientific and engineering manpower. President Meany has been serving as a member of the President's Committee on Scientists and Engineers.

It is clear that at the present time a full reassessment of America's defense program is in order. Although we cannot pretend to be military experts, the work that American labor has been doing in the mobilization field qualifies us to present the following program. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO favors a vigorous program of preparedness consistent with the values of our democratic heritage, including the following recommendations:

An all-out effort must be made to regain any military advantage that has been lost to the Soviet Union. While the whole nation prays and works for peaceful solution to international differences, we must face the grim fact that the failure to be militarily prepared can only provide the Soviets with the opportunity to win quick military victory.

This feeling of urgency must be reflected in the forthcoming Presidential budget. The country will support and can well afford to pay the sums needed to improve the nation's military posture. We are not in a position to judge whether the increased expenditures should be \$1 billion, \$4 billion or \$10 billion; we can only say the country will support whatever is necessary to do the job.

Special efforts are required to develop additional talent in the fields of science and engineering. The recently released report of the President's Committee on Scientists and Engineers emphasizes two particular problems: (1) A review and expansion of American education at all levels equal to the dimensions of the challenge must be developed to stimulate more interest in scientific pursuits while at the same time strengthening the social sciences, professions and the humanities, and (2) the need for more effective utilization of scientific talent now available.

The government's planning for emergency mobilization must proceed more effectively. Programs in all major areas of mobilizations, including manpower, production, transportation, and economic stabilization must have full participation of labor and management groups in order to win the support of all segments in American life. Plans must emphasize that control of the nation's economy even under emergency conditions must remain in the hands of civilians, not delegated to the military by martial law. There must be a greater degree of decentralization in this planning work, which up to now has been too highly concentrated in Washington, D. C. The present confusion in administrative responsibility between the Office of Defense Mobilization and the Federal Civil Defense Administration

must be eliminated. The Executive Reserve program should be strengthened by including more representatives of American labor.

In manpower planning, the emphasis must be placed on enlisting the full, voluntary cooperation of labor and management. Any degree of compulsion must be introduced only with the consent of those groups so directly concerned. We reaffirm our support for the unanimous finding of the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee that "the self-imposed discipline of free men and women facing a situation of ultimate danger can give the nation the stability and flexibility it must have to survive."

The civil defense program must be reinvigorated. A new emphasis must be established in law giving the federal government greater authority to develop an effective civil defense program. The present system of placing primary responsibility on the state governments has proved a failure. In developing the new program, labor must be considered as a full working partner.

The military manpower program for the armed forces should be critically examined. However, there is little present indication that any large increase in the armed forces will be needed. The Selective Service System should be continued as the most democratic method for choosing young men for military service. The continuing loss of skilled manpower from the armed forces because of inadequate pay and fringe benefits must be reversed by making military service more attractive. The armed forces reserve program should be made sufficiently attractive so that compulsory measures will not be needed to require attendance in the program. There is absolutely no need for enacting any system of universal military service and the historic objections of organized labor to UMT remain valid today.

American labor must examine its own planning for mobilization. Arrangements must be made in advance for maintaining vital records, for assigning mobilization tasks and for developing a state of preparedness. In any national emergency, American workers, through their unions, constitute a vital national source of manpower to perform emergency tasks. Unless American labor plans in advance for this possibility, it will not be prepared for such an emergency.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution 133.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I desire to call to the attention of the delegates Resolution No. 10, entitled "Civil Defense." This subject matter has been completely covered in Resolution No. 133, and consequently the Committee believes that no action is necessary.

CIVIL DEFENSE

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates J. A. Beirne, John L. Crull, Mary Hanscom, J. M. Massey, Ray Hackney, W. A. Smallwood, Walter Schaar, D. K. Gordon, D. L. McCowen, Wm. J. Walsh, Communications Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO reaffirms its position that the civil defense of this country and of the free world is a responsibility of govern-

ment in exactly the same way that the military defense of the country and of the free world is a responsibility of government, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO further reaffirms that the responsibility for civil defense rests with civil government and not with the military establishment, and

WHEREAS, In support of civil defense, the AFL-CIO has made available Labor Advisory Committees to the Federal Civil Defense Administration, the Department of Labor and the Office of Defense Mobilization. Further, the AFL-CIO placed the responsibility for coordinating all AFL-CIO activity in civil defense in the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee and its operating arm, AFL-CIO Community Services Activities. The mandate for these committees to continue their activities to further meaningful civil defense is hereby continued, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Legislative Department has consistently supported legislation for the betterment of civil defense and is instructed to continue to examine legislation designed to help the free world to survive in this age of thermonuclear weapons and Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles and to support such legislation as can stand scrutiny, and

WHEREAS, This Convention supports the new direction of civil defense as expressed by the Federal Civil Defense Administration, direction that places the operation and control of civil defense functions in existing services of government that operate on a day-to-day basis and are manned by professionally skilled and dedicated persons, and

WHEREAS, This Convention recognizes that our always-ready emergency services such as fire fighting, policing and public works could not cope with a major enemy-caused disaster with present resources of manpower and equipment. The need to reinforce these and other services needed in disaster situations whether caused by nature or an enemy, is self-evident, and

WHEREAS, Millions of our members work at occupations or trades requiring skills similar to the skills of professionals in governmental line services. Organized labor has put forward programs aimed at organizing these individuals into a reserve force to supplement regular services when the need arises. We call on civil defense at all levels to amend or adjust their civil defense programs and planning to involve these skilled, willing workers, and with the fate of free men everywhere threatened; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO calls upon Congress and the legislative bodies of the various States to develop or amend civil defense codes to provide for:

1. Federal Direction of civil defense with strong State, county and municipal backing.
2. Adequate payment for all workers engaged in civil defense work.
3. Provision under law for workmen's compensation for injury for all civil workers, reemployment rights and continuing seniority at the worker's normal job.
4. Financial safeguards for the family of a worker killed while on civil defense duty.
5. Protection for civil defense workers against lawsuits that might be lodged against them as a result of their legal civil defense activity.
6. Protection against lawsuits to a community furnishing civil defense personnel and equipment to another governmental subdivisions.

PRESIDENT MEANY: If there is no objection, the subject matter of Resolution No. 10 will be considered as having been covered by Resolution No. 133.

SAFETY AND INDUSTRIAL HEALTH

Resolution No. 138—Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The AFL-CIO, dedicated to improving the welfare of its members and to their protection, is particularly concerned with the safety and health of all workers in their places of employment. We are also vitally interested in the safety of its members on and off the jobs, their families and of all citizens of the community and of the nation.

Without denying appreciable progress since the turn of the century in the elimination of some of the unnecessarily hazardous conditions of employment in industry, unsafe working conditions continue to breed a needless toll of death, pain and mutilation among industrial workers. Too little has been done to compel industry to undertake the preventive programs necessary to wipe out such largely avoidable conditions as silicosis among foundry workers, the maimings occurring in press and machine shops, deafness among workers in forge shops, lead poisoning, industrially-induced cancer and many of the hazards of exposure to radioactive substances.

Equally deplorable is the lack of effective direction and leadership in the field of safety unrelated to employment. The totals of deaths and serious accidents in the home and on the highway are appalling.

From all causes, last year there were in this country 95,000 accidental deaths and 9,450,000 injuries, including 350,000 which resulted in some degree of permanent impairment.

Comparable statistics for Canada are equally shocking. More than 10,000 Canadians died from accidental causes in 1955. Of this number, more than 3,000 resulted from traffic accidents and an additional 1,300 died from industrial injuries. In the same year, almost 500,000 persons suffered industrial injuries of varying severity. More than 90% of these accidents could have been prevented.

The AFL-CIO, knowing that most of this terrible toll is made up of workers and their families, has worked long and hard for the recognition of organized labor as a full and necessary partner in the organized safety movement of this country. With the cooperation of international unions, we have won recognition; a Labor Conference has been established in the National Safety Council. This action by the National Safety Council enables international unions, local unions and central bodies to affiliate with the National Safety Council. The Labor Conference has the approval of the AFL-CIO Convention and the AFL-CIO Committee on Safety and Occupational Health.

State by state attempts to get adequate safety and industrial health legislation and enforcement through employer dominated legislatures have proven fruitless. Although methods of controlling the hazards of injury and disease are well known they remain largely unadopted and unused by government agencies or by industry. Enforcement of these controls, where in effect, is lax and inadequate.

Insufficient funds make it impossible to provide necessary staff for adequate plant inspections and for research in safety and industrial

health. Inadequate budgets also result in low salaries for enforcement officers; consequently, many are technically unqualified. Too often, they are employer-oriented.

Refusal by state legislators to provide adequate budgets for the agencies produces an unwholesome interstate competition in blood causing short-run profits to be considered above the welfare of the workers.

The Provincial Legislatures in Canada have been equally remiss in the duty of protecting workers against unsafe working conditions. Health and Safety statutes provide unscrupulous employers with too many opportunities to circumvent the law; enforcement of safety standards is weak; and the accident prevention activities set up by the laws are employer dominated and without proper labor representation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO program for needed legislation and our other activities must be intensified in all fields of safety and industrial health. The Executive Council is authorized and directed to:

Press for enactment of legislation in both the United States and Canada to create a Federal Accident Prevention Bureau to establish, through tri-partite boards, national safety standards. Such standards must be enforced by requiring State or Provincial Labor Departments to meet adequate federal standards for the receipt of federal funds.

Call upon the states and provinces to assume their responsibility for safety and to pass legislation based on the principles of flexible codes that keep pace with technological changes and recognize realistically differences in hazards from plant to plant and industry to industry to promote, establish and maintain safe working places and safety programs in industry.

Cooperate in all efforts to control off-job hazards by working for needed legislation and by participating in national and community programs, especially in the field of traffic safety where the toll of deaths and injuries has become a national disgrace in both the United States and Canada.

Continue to insist that federal control be maintained over the unique hazards created by atomic energy to assure rigid enforcement of health and safety regulations necessary for the protection of workers and the general public.

Demand that adequate financing be provided by federal, state or provincial and local government for trained personnel, research, inspection and enforcement activities to protect our people adequately against the hazards of accident and disease, including expanded research and development of adequate laws in the field of occupational diseases.

Urge affiliated international and national unions to insist through collective bargaining that contracts contain clauses establishing the employers' responsibility to provide a safe work place and safe and healthful working conditions, that in every plant a union safety committee be established; and that future contracts contain basic safety clauses providing for the use of American Standards Association safety standards as minimum acceptable safety conditions.

That we recommend to our affiliates that they urge every local union to establish a safety committee and affiliate with the Labor Division of the National Safety Council, thereby assuming a proper position of responsibility and leadership for the protection of all people in the community.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution 138.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to present a veteran in the international labor field, the Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions who for a number of years was General Secretary of the International Transport Federation, which is about the most effective of the international Labor Secretariats in operation.

This gentleman has been the General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions since its establishment in 1949. He is known throughout the entire labor world. He speaks many languages, but I am quite sure he is going to talk to us this morning in English. It is a great pleasure to present to you the General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Brother J. H. Oldenbroek.

MR. J. H. OLDENBROEK,
General Secretary, ICFTU

President Meany, members of the Executive Council, fellow trade unionists: I have not really come on this occasion to Atlantic City to act as a delegate for the ICFTU. We had appointed our newly elected President, whom you just heard. But once you are on this platform, once you have seen during the few days of your presence so many friends who have asked you, "And when are you going to speak," you are, of course, hoping without requesting the floor that you are going to be given an opportunity of just saying a few words. All of us sitting out there would like to say a few words because we are listening to the speeches being made and we are saying to ourselves, "Now here is a point that really ought to have been made." What is my first point?

My first point is that you, this Convention, have rendered great service to the trade union movement of the whole world by the way in which you have acted in relation to the Teamsters and other unions.

I want to thank you for that. Do not think that the interest in these cases was limited to your country. The whole world has been writing and speaking about them and you have given an answer that is worthy of the AFL-CIO and an answer that is worthy of the whole international trade union movement. It shows that we are sincere when we say that we are going to fight these things and that we are going to fight them to the end. I have welcomed the demonstration of your faith in honest trade unionism. That is what we stand for.

The ICFTU is a growing concern. The ICFTU is not complacent, but it can say that it has made tremendous progress during the eight years of its existence. Not only that, but it can look forward to making further progress in the years to come. I am sure that two years from now when we shall celebrate our tenth anniversary we shall be able to

point to a development, to successes such as no other international organization and certainly no other international trade union organization has achieved.

If we have had the occasion during these days of bringing certain of our views together—because when there were differences of opinion they were limited to a few items—I would say that that result will make it easier for us to progress even further. That is very necessary if we are to defend the peace of the world and if we are to improve the conditions of the workers and if we are to introduce freedom and democracy where it does not exist today.

Actually, such weaknesses as democracy shows is no proof that it cannot when it is necessary marshal all its forces in order to succeed, in order to conquer. Do we doubt the democratic sentiment of the French people? No, we don't, but isn't it said that that war in Algeria has been going on for years because France isn't willing to recognize Algeria's right to independence? Isn't it regrettable that we do not doubt the democratic sentiment of the British people, yet so many victims have fallen in Cyprus because the British Government, I would imagine for reasons other than colonialism, wasn't prepared to recognize the population's right and entitlement to independence?

There are no differences of opinion in the International on these points, but unfortunately we are not always able to drive them home at the right time. We shall in time, but perhaps not always at the right time.

I don't think I have heard anybody talk about the Sputnik here, and I will refer to it, but not for the reason that I think that accomplishment has put the Soviet Union in the No. 1 position in the role of nations either in the field of science or in the field of militarism or anything else. What I want to make clear to you is that our Communist enemies will always try to spring some surprise on us. They did it undoubtedly in connection with the Sputnik, and I would say that it must have meant years of effort. It must have resulted in oppressing the Russian workers and keeping their conditions down, as has been the case during the whole period of Communist government in Soviet Russia.

But what we must contend with, I feel sure, is warfare on the economic and social front on the part of the Communist camp. I think it is good that we realize that that must be coming. If people like the Russians can be oppressed for so many years and can be made to believe or made to accept that all sacrifices are necessary in the interest of the state and of the party that runs the state, they will also accept sacrifices in order to make it possible for the Soviets to export their economic and their social gains by providing other countries with their industrial products, by sending them machinery, by sending them food, although they cannot do without it themselves. I think that will happen. We ought to be warned.

We think that we of the free world have got to do this, we who know that the under-developed countries want better conditions. We must assist them in order to get them. If we wait, if we don't do it in time, they may step in, not for the purpose of helping these populations, but for the purpose of making propaganda of their own.

Everybody who has studied the reports of the conference of the Communist World Federation will have realized that they are out to

extend the cold war to the economic and social front, not by way of making propaganda for their trade unionism, but in many other ways. We ought to meet them in that field.

Speaking about that Congress of the WFTU which was held in Leipzig, it took place in a zoo. I think you know what the zoo is. The meeting took place in the zoo. I think they chose a very good place for it. Everything was behind bars in that meeting place of theirs. Not only that, but all the delegates were locked into the hotels and nobody who was not a member of a particular delegation was allowed to go into that hotel to speak to any of the delegates that were to attend the conference.

It did nothing for its own members. It was only interested in propaganda in other countries. They had succeeded in bringing over delegates from other countries, who, of course, represented nothing, but who still spoke on behalf of their own countries. In many cases, incidentally, they don't give the names of these delegates. It would be too dangerous for them if they came home and wanted to join again with their fellow workers in the industries in which they are working. It was a Congress where the majority didn't belong to the organization.

Now compare that with our own Congress. I will close with this. We met this year in Tunisia North Africa, to demonstrate that the ICFTU is not a European organization and it is not a North American organization, but it is one that embraces the whole world. It is one that tries to help those people in the countries that have just been liberated, to help those people in countries that are now developing. The Congress was a wonderful demonstration of international brotherhood on the part of people belonging to all races, to all religions, to all colors.

It is a pity that not many more members can attend on occasions of that kind, but surely at this, our Fourth Congress, we were able to unite the whole of our International in a desire to continue the work of the International more vigorously than ever before, understanding what is at stake and knowing that with the help of affiliated organizations, and especially with the help of the AFL-CIO, whom I am addressing at this moment, we shall succeed in rallying behind us the workers of all countries and bring freedom and peace and prosperity to them all.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to express to Brother Oldenbroek our sincere appreciation for his visit, a visit which I might say was very useful, because of the fact we had a chance to talk with him and a good many other international representatives and iron out some of our difficulties. We are very glad to have him with us and hope he stays with us until the end of the Convention.

Message From France

At this time I would like to present, just to take a bow, another veteran of the European trade union movement, the President of the International Federation of Christian Unions and the honorary President of the Christian Federation of Workers of France, a real old veteran, our friend, Gaston Lessier.

I have a message from this group, the Confederal Bureau of the French Confederation of Christian Workers.

December 7, 1957

Paris
AFL-CIO Congress,
Atlantic City, N. J.

The Confederal Bureau of the French Confederation of Christian Workers sends its fraternal greetings and its best wishes to the Convention of the AFL-CIO for the prosperity of the workers for the freedom of all people and for peace.

Bouladoux, President.
Levard, General Secretary.

Introduction of Visitors from Malaya and Lebanon

PRESIDENT MEANY: We have here on the platform also a representative from Malaya. We have had fraternal exchanges with his organization. They just erected a new building. He reports that they have placed on the wall of this new building a plaque presented to them by the AFL-CIO expressing our fraternal solidarity with them. This representative is Brother Noel Emmanuel, Regional Secretary of the National Union of Plantation Workers of Malaya.

We have another group I want to introduce. We are getting visitors from all over the world. This is a group of fourteen leading trade unionists from Lebanon, representing the Lebanon Labor Federations. I will call their names and ask them to stand up:

Brothers Feratian, Adam, Accawi, Franjiyeh, Haddad, Hajer, Khoury, Kreidi, Mattar, Sacr, Sawaya, Shiha, Tabbet, Zayback.

We are very happy to have these gentlemen with us and hope that they gather some knowledge of the American movement by their visit to us.

The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: The Credentials Committee has examined the credentials of five additional delegates, and has also, as a result of official request, made three substitutions.

MEETING OF GENERAL BOARD

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I want to announce that this afternoon at 2 o'clock, while there will not be a session of the Convention, there will be a meeting of the General Board. This is in accordance with the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, which calls for a meeting of this Board once a year. The General Board, as you know, consists of the principal officer of each international and national union connected with the Federation, the principal officers of the departments, plus the members of the Executive Council. However, all other delegates will be welcome at this afternoon's meeting. There will be discussion of the subject allotted to the General Board, which is the question of labor legislation at the coming session of Congress. That will be the subject presented to the General Board this afternoon for further discussion, and its recommendations, of course, to the Convention.

... Following announcements concerning the time and location of various committee meetings, the Convention recessed at 12:20 o'clock P.M. until 9:30 o'clock A.M. on Wednesday, December 11, 1957.

PROCEEDINGS

Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

FIFTH DAY — MORNING SESSION
WEDNESDAY, DEC. 11, 1957

... President Meany called the Convention to order at 9:40 o'clock, a.m.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The invocation this morning will be delivered by the Reverend Cameron P. Hall, Executive Director, Department of Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches of Christ in America. Dr. Hall.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Cameron P. Hall, Executive Director, Department of Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches of Christ in America)

"God hath showed strength with his arm; He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts. He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich He hath sent empty away."—Luke 1:51-53.

So sang Thy people of old of You, O God, as one Who cares and is altogether just and Who is no respecter of persons. We thank You for this season of the year when our own hearts and those of our friends and neighbors and colleagues are moved by good will, both human and Divine.

We human beings are sending up into the heavens our man-made objects, but with the Psalmist we remember that "Thou hast set Thy glory above the heavens." We men have taken so long to discover yet so little of the marvelous laws and the vast powers in the universe of which You are its Creator and Ruler.

As we face into a future so uncertain as to its dangers and its hopes, will You help us be aware of our heritage as a people and a nation, and within this general heritage we give special thanks for the labor movement. As it grew out of the passion for justice and human dignity, so have its local and international unions, in generous measure, enlarged and strengthened these social virtues among us.

We are mindful and grateful for those in its early days who struggled with courage and hope against seeming hopeless odds. We remember with gratitude those who have led this movement in its later rising strength and influence with vision and ability and dedication.

And again, O God, Who speakest with a living voice to each generation, as we face into a future that is mysterious and awesome, will You inspire in each one here a keener sense of high responsibility to the daily tasks at hand. We at this Convention are custodians of money and power entrusted to us by others in confidence. Help us to be stewards of what they have put into our hands by being worthy of their trust in us.

By Your grace, O God, may this be a time of revered dedication to high moral purposes and practices throughout our labor movement and our nation. May we live with the call of Saint Paul within us. "Whatsoever things are true, are honest, are just, are pure, are lovely, are of good report . . . think on these things." So may we bring into our homes and communities and occupations integrity, humility, and moral courage to change what is into what ought to be as judged by Your moral law, and the teachings of Your prophets and Divine Son!

And finally, O God, at this time when men's imagination and zeal are upon man's conquest and habitation of outer space, we need to be inspired by You to greater concern and zeal for the welfare of men on earth. In Your Divine heart, our reaching the moon is far less important than our helping lift from the people of Asia and Africa the burden of hunger and disease and ignorance. In Your sight, our achieving man-made space platforms is less a need than gaining victory over segregation in our communities and in pushing back poverty from our fellow citizens with too low incomes and in generous minded treatment of refugees in today's torn world.

May this new born Space Age, into which Your wisdom has led us, be even more by Your grace, an age of compassion and justice and the sharing by the strong of their strength with the world.

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Dr. Hall.

Welcome To High School Visitors

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to say welcome to a group of 100 pupils of Atlantic City High School who are now studying labor-management relations. We are very happy to have you here with us this morning.

The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Resolutions Committee, Vice President McDonald.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Resumed) DISTRESSED AREAS AND INDUSTRIAL MIGRATION

Resolution No. 123: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

At its founding convention in 1955, the AFL-CIO called attention to the fact that scores of labor market areas throughout the United States, despite unprecedented nation-wide prosperity, were classified by the U. S. Department of Labor as suffering from substantial labor surplus, that is, 6 per cent or more of the total labor force unemployed. Furthermore, we called attention to the fact that both major political parties are pledged to the enactment of a federal program to aid distressed areas, and we urged immediate fulfillment of that commitment. Unfortunately, this promise has not been kept.

Although the Depressed Area Act, introduced by Senator Douglas of Illinois, was enacted by the Senate with a substantial majority in 1956, and favorably reported by the House Banking and Currency Committee, Administration leaders blocked a vote on this excellent measure by the House of Representatives. Reintroduced at the beginning of the 85th Congress as the Area Redevelopment Act (S.964) and broadened to include aid for rural areas suffering from underemployment, extensive hearings were conducted by the Subcommittee on Production and Stabilization of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. But no further action has been taken. Meanwhile, the cancer of area blight keeps spreading.

Of the 149 major labor market areas in the United States, 24 were officially listed in November 1957 as suffering from a substantial labor surplus, compared to 19 two years ago. In addition, 62 smaller areas are similarly listed, according to the most recent count. Even more serious, in many of these communities, unemployment exceeds 9% and has been of long duration. These are the "chronically distressed" areas. There are more than 50 of them.

The problem of chronic unemployment is not new, nor limited to any one region of the country. Years ago it was largely associated with the depletion of minerals and other natural resources on which a community depended for its livelihood. Now, however, technological change, shifting product demands and changing competitive factors—as well as raw material exhaustion—lead to shutdowns and drastically curtailed operations in many industries and communities in all parts of the country.

In some cases, a distressed area results when firms leave a locality because of special financial inducements elsewhere, such as free plants, or tax exemptions and concealed subsidies like a lower level of labor standards legislation, and assurance that unionism will be repressed by local authorities and thus wages will remain low.

Whatever the cause of chronic local area distress, the problem cannot be solved today by simply telling the affected populace to pack up and "move on." The distressed community of 1957 is an established center of homes, churches, schools, hospitals, commercial structures and all of the other facilities essential to urban living. The teacher, doctor, storekeeper, as well as the wage earner, have deep roots in these communities and a mass exodus is not the answer.

While many economically stranded communities have courageously sought to alleviate their plight, neither their own resources nor those provided by public agencies or private groups within their states have generally been sufficient to eradicate the cancer of community blight.

Surely the entire nation has a stake in helping hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens restore their distressed communities to a state of economic health. Federal aid is needed not for humanitarian reasons alone; the creation of suitable employment for displaced workers can add billions of dollars to our national output while eliminating the vast social costs of sustaining thousands in idleness.

When Congress passed the Employment Act of 1946, it committed the federal government to use all its resources to end the misfortune of chronic local unemployment quite as fully as the act committed

federal resources to fight unemployment when nation-wide in scope. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO again calls upon the Federal Government to utilize all of its resources and to work increasingly—in cooperation with labor, industry, the states, and the affected local governments, to alleviate chronic unemployment in the United States.

Federal assistance should include the establishment of a special agency charged with achieving coordinated efforts to assist distressed areas and with administering a comprehensive program of technical aid, public contract priorities, loans for new and expanding enterprises, public works loans and grants, vocational retraining, and supplementary compensation for displaced workers during the retraining period. This program should be geared exclusively to the needs of substantial labor surplus areas and its benefits specifically denied to any employer who closes or curtails his operations in one community in order to seek special advantages in another.

The Area Redevelopment Act (S.964) introduced by Senator Paul Douglas, (D., Ill.) meets the minimum requirements for an effective federal effort to alleviate local area distress and should be immediately enacted into law.

Furthermore, federal action is necessary to discourage plant piracy—a practice which leads to the creation of distressed communities. The most important first step to be taken is to remove the federal tax-exempt status that now applies to interest received from municipal bonds, the proceeds of which are used to build plants for runaway employers.

Additional federal and state legislation required to meet the problem of subsidized industrial migration includes an expanded Fair Labor Standards Act, a strengthened Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, and improved state labor legislation.

. . . COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of Resolution No. 123.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

MINIMUM WAGE AND WALSH-HEALEY ACTS

Resolution No. 125: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

It is now nearly 20 years since the Congress first enacted the Fair Labor Standards Act. The basic purpose of the law, as stated by the Congress, was to eliminate as rapidly as practicable "labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for the health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers."

Unfortunately, the fundamental goal of the Fair Labor Standards Act as set forth by the Congress two decades ago has not been achieved. It has not been achieved because the \$1 minimum wage now in effect is far from adequate to assure workers covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act even a minimum standard of living. Even worse, millions of low-paid workers—nearly one-half of the number who could be covered—are completely denied the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The unjustifiably narrow scope of the law is certainly its most glaring defect. More than 20 million of the 45 million workers who could have the protection of the law are exempt from coverage. The workers unjustly denied minimum wage protection are in retail and service, laundry and dry cleaning, hotels, large-scale agriculture, canning and farm processing, telephone, taxicab and a number of other industries. These workers are by and large among the lowest paid in our society and therefore in the greatest need of minimum wage protection.

Most of the workers in uncovered industries are unorganized and are therefore without the security and dignity that results from union organization and collective bargaining. State minimum wage legislation certainly cannot be depended upon to establish effective minimum wage protection. Many states have no minimum wage laws whatsoever and in most states they are hopelessly inadequate. Thus millions of low-paid workers can look only to broader coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act for adequate minimum wage protection.

During the past session of Congress, the AFL-CIO gave vigorous support to amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act, introduced by Senator Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), and the late Representative Augustine Kelley (D., Pa.), to extend coverage to nearly 9½ million workers now denied minimum wage protection. Retail and service workers employed by large and chain firms are the largest group who would be newly covered under the Morse-Kelley Amendments. These amendments would also extend minimum wage protection to large numbers of workers now exempt in wholesaling, construction, large-scale farming, agricultural processing, and a number of other industries.

To head off the Morse-Kelley proposal, the Eisenhower Administration has sponsored an alternative proposal which would extend coverage to only a restricted group of workers, most of them are now receiving \$1 an hour or more. The Administration's bill would deny even this limited number of employees the maximum hours protection which has been in the law ever since its enactment.

The Morse-Kelley amendments, which offer a practicable and effective way to extend the full protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to millions of low-paid workers, should be enacted without further delay.

In addition to the need for extended coverage, there are other ways in which the Fair Labor Standards Act requires improvement.

The \$1 minimum wage can certainly no longer be justified and should be raised to at least \$1.25 to fully reflect increases in living costs, productivity and general wage levels.

Consideration should be given to reduction in the maximum workweek in view of the rise in productivity made possible by automation, peaceful use of atomic energy and other technological advances.

Minimum wages applying to industries in Puerto Rico, although gradually rising, are still mostly below the statutory minimum of \$1. To assure a healthy development of the Puerto Rican economy and a decent standard of living to Puerto Rican workers and their families, the gap between Puerto Rican and mainland minimum wages should be narrowed as rapidly as possible.

The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act could play a major role in protection of minimum labor standards in a large sector of American industry. Its full effectiveness has been thwarted, however, by employer-initiated litigation made possible by the Fulbright Amendment to the Walsh-Healey Act, as well as by the narrow scope of the program and unnecessary delays in its administration.

To make the Walsh-Healey Act an effective instrument for protection of minimum labor standards, the Secretary of Labor should make minimum wage determinations for all industries significantly involved in work on government industries and such determinations should be reviewed no less often than every two years. In addition, the law should be amended to assure the right of the Secretary, already upheld in court decisions, to make nationwide minimum wage determinations and to make determinations applicable to all articles purchased by the government regardless of whether they are available in the open market; and to prohibit the issuance of injunctions suspending the effectiveness of wage orders pending litigation.

To assure the effectiveness of legislation for protection of minimum wage standards, adequate funds should be available to the Labor Department for administration and enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards and Walsh-Healey Acts, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO calls upon the Congress to give top priority to enactment at the earliest possible date of the Morse-Kelley amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act in order to extend the Act's coverage to nearly 9½ million low-paid workers now unjustly denied minimum wage protection.

The minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act should be raised to at least \$1.25. The same cents per hour increase in the federal minimum should be automatically applied to the existing minimums in Puerto Rico.

The maximum work-week under the Fair Labor Standards and Public Contracts Acts should be reduced as rapidly as feasible.

Minimum wage rates applying to Puerto Rican industries should be increased as quickly as practicable so that the mainland level can be reached with a minimum of further delay.

The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act should be amended and its administration broadened to assure full effectiveness of this important program for protection of minimum labor standards.

Congress should appropriate adequate funds to permit the Labor Department to effectively administer and vigorously enforce the Fair Labor Standards and Public Contracts Acts.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of Resolution No. 125.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

TAXATION

Resolution No. 139: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The present tax system in the United States is working a serious hardship on all low and moderate income families, particularly families whose main source of income is wages. America's tax structure has strayed far from the basic principle that taxes should be levied in accordance with ability to pay.

Ever since the end of World War II, changes in tax policy have tended to shift the burden of taxation away from higher income groups to low and moderate income families. At the federal level, there has been a steady erosion of the income tax base in favor of the higher income groups. At the state level, tax policy has been featured by the wholesale adoption of sales and other regressive tax measures whose burden falls heaviest on low and moderate income families.

The present Administration and the Congress must share major responsibility for this serious turn of events in federal tax policy. In particular, the 1954 tax law which had been strongly urged by the Administration, was loaded in favor of special benefits for the wealthy. It created a special tax credit for dividend income, perpetuated and expanded the excessive depletion allowances in oil, gas and other natural resource industries, created a more favorable method of calculating depreciation for business, and developed many new tax escape devices to fit the needs of wealthy families and individuals.

Other escape devices in today's tax laws include the adoption of income splitting (which benefits only families whose income is \$5000 or over, the low rate of taxation on capital gains income (as well as various special interpretations that have extended the concept of capital gains to many types of income not originally included), and the tax treatment granted to stock options and family trusts.

The net result of these tax escape devices is to drastically modify the progressive tax rate schedule applying to individual incomes. The fact is that the rates in the high income brackets are scarcely ever paid by any individuals. For example, the latest Treasury Department figures covering the 1954 income tax returns state that a total of 201 individuals filed income tax returns with adjusted gross income of \$1 million or more. Their tax liability amounted to only 55 percent of their total adjusted gross income, a far cry from the rate of approximately 80% which on paper applies to incomes of this amount.

Examining other high income categories, it develops that for all returns reporting adjusted gross income over \$100,000, the effective tax rate in 1954 was only 48 percent.

The effect of today's tax structure is particularly inequitable for those whose major income is derived from wages and salaries. Only on wage income, for example, does the withholding tax system apply. While this efficient tax collecting machinery makes certain that workers pay the full taxes on their income, failure to institute a withholding system for other types of income, particularly dividends and interest, is costing the federal government at least \$300 million annually in revenue.

The withholding system is responsible for the fact that only 5 percent of wage and salary income is not reported on the income tax returns. Yet, 13 percent of dividend income, 61 percent of interest income, and 30 percent of income paid self-employed persons, goes unreported each year. This means that a far larger proportion of taxes are wrung from each \$1.00 of wages than from any other type of income.

Workers and their families derive almost their entire income from wages. Recent figures by the Federal Reserve Board show that wage and salary income constitutes roughly 95 percent of all income of skilled workers, 96 percent for semi-skilled workers, 91 percent for

unskilled and service workers, and 92 percent for clerical and sales workers. The percentage of total income received from rents, dividends, interest, and royalties combined varies for the groups from 3.4 percent for clerical and sales workers to .4 percent for semi-skilled workers.

Relatively few workers and their families own any type of stock or receive dividend income. Federal Reserve Board studies show, for example, that in early 1957 the proportion of spending units owning stock in publicly-owned corporations is only 6.6 percent for skilled workers, 2.7 percent for semi-skilled and 2.9 percent for unskilled and service workers.

Thus, the average worker has not benefitted in the slightest from the Administration's and Congress's desire to lighten the tax burden on dividend income. Nor have workers gained much benefit from recent tax measures liberalizing certain types of deductions which the taxpayer can claim if he itemizes his deductions on his income tax form. However, most workers do not find it to their advantage to itemize their deductions but, instead, take the simple standard deduction.

The worker's main interest is in the tax rates he must pay and in the exemptions which are allowed him and his family. For these there has been relatively little change in the postwar period. The present inadequate exemption of \$600 became effective in May, 1948 and has not changed since. Meanwhile, the Department of Labor's Consumer Price Index has risen by over 18 percent, so that the \$600 figure would have to be raised to \$709 merely to equal the purchasing power of the \$600 exemption set almost 10 years ago.

Another special tax problem for workers is the fact that they pay income taxes on their contributions to various government retirement systems (Old Age and Survivors Insurance, Civil Service, and Railroad Retirement). This is felt acutely particularly by railroad workers who, under the railroad retirement program, contribute a larger proportion of their pay for this purpose than other groups of workers.

At the state level, it is certainly true that state governments find themselves hard-pressed for new sources of revenue to meet the costs of services they are called on to provide. In the postwar era, however, the states have increasingly succumbed to the seemingly attractive sales tax as a method of raising revenue. At the present time almost 60 percent of all state tax revenues come from general and selective sales taxes which levy the greatest burden on families least able to pay.

The other side of the coin is the failure of state governments to adequately tax individual or corporate income. Even today, seventeen states, including some of the most industrialized have no tax on the income of individuals. In fact, no new state income tax law has been enacted since 1937. A total of sixteen states ignore taxes on corporate profits while in thirteen states there is no levy on either individual or corporate income. Although 33 states now impose some form of levy on income, only 17 percent of total state tax revenue is derived from individual income and corporate profits taxes.

The failure of most states to adequately utilize progressive income taxes based upon ability to pay is a victory for the business lobbies which dominate most state legislatures. While deliberately kindling fear among the people that employers will migrate to other states

if the "tax climate" becomes unfavorable, they carefully conceal the fact that the deductibility provision of the Federal Tax Law allows the wealthier corporations and individuals to offset most of the nominal cost of a state income tax by a reduction in their federal income tax obligation. Furthermore, the established fact that employers make locational decisions after weighing many factors other than the nature of a particular state tax system, is also ignored by the anti-income tax lobbies. Indeed, the fact that several important and prosperous industrial states now secure between a third and more than half of their total tax yield from income taxes based upon ability to pay, demonstrates the falsity of the charge that use of progressive state levies results in business outmigration.

Nonetheless, the business effort to blackmail the people into acceptance of greater use of regressive sales and payroll taxes at the state and local level, continues in almost every state and municipality.

City and local taxes are even further divorced from the concept of taxation based upon ability to pay than the levies of the state. At the local level, the inadequate and inequitable property tax continues to be the major source of revenue. Furthermore, an increasing number of cities are now turning to the regressive tax on payrolls and local sales taxes as a means of supporting the growing need for expanded public services.

In formulating tax policy, American workers and American unions are deeply conscious of the need for sufficient revenue at all levels of government. History has shown that American workers are very willing indeed to pay their full share of the tax burden. This is particularly true at the present time when the need for revenue at all levels of government will be rising to meet the cost of new military programs, as well as the cost of additional needed governmental programs in such fields as education, health, housing, etc.

American workers, however, are seriously concerned with the manner in which tax revenues are to be obtained. They insist that a tax system adhere to the basic principle that taxes be imposed according to ability to pay. It is time for America's tax program to return to this basic principle, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO fight for a more equitable distribution of the tax burden through the following tax program:

Federal tax relief for low and moderate income families. There are several ways of accomplishing this purpose. Perhaps the simplest and more preferable route would be as a first step to raise personal individual exemptions from \$600 to \$700.

Recapture needed revenue by eliminating loopholes and tax escape clauses in the federal income tax. Priority should be given to the following: The approximate amount of revenue to be recaptured is shown in parenthesis after each item.

(a) Repeal the special tax relief granted to dividend income by the Revenue Act of 1954. (\$400 million).

(b) Require withholding taxes on the payment of dividends and interest. (\$300 million).

(c) Repeal excessive depletion allowances as well as remove from such tax privilege many of the metals and minerals now covered. (\$1,300 million).

(d) Tighten the capital gains tax structure by lengthening the holding period of long-range gains and increasing considerably the 25 percent tax rate. Remove from capital gains treatment the many types of income not originally included. (\$1,000 million).

(e) Repeal the new depreciation provision of the 1954 Revenue Act. (\$1,300 million).

(f) Eliminate the advantage given upper income married couples and heads of households by the income-splitting tax provision. (\$3,500 million).

(g) Eliminate the family partnership provisions which are designed to reduce individual income taxes. (\$100 million).

(h) Eliminate stock option privileges designed to circumvent the payment of taxes. (\$100 million).

(i) Repeal the tax exempt status of state and local bonds. (\$100 million).

(j) Increase appropriations to permit stricter enforcement of our tax laws.

(k) Eliminate the carry-back, carry-forward provisions of the corporate income tax which grant special tax windfalls to purchasers of corporations with heavy losses. (\$100 million).

Eliminate the requirement that workers pay income taxes on their contributions to government retirement funds. At the present time, workers pay income taxes on income which they never receive, their contributions enforced by law, to the various government retirement programs through the Old Age and Survivors Insurance, Civil Service Retirement, and Railroad Retirement programs. This inequity should be eliminated by excluding these contributions from income for income tax purposes and from "wages" for withholding purposes.

Lift the burden of regressive taxes on low and moderate income families. Repeal or reduce inequitable excise taxes at the federal level, sales taxes at the state and local level and payroll taxes at the local level. At the state level, substitute more equitable personal and corporate income taxes in order to obtain more revenue to meet the growing demands for governmental services.

The disproven argument of big business that progressive state taxes force the migration of industry out of the states must be fought with all the vigor at our command. Further development of federal-state fiscal relationships in the area of grants-in-aid combined with tax sharing, as well as tax deductibility, will diminish the effectiveness of this unscrupulous propaganda.

Make the estate and gift taxes a more effective source of revenue. This can be done by eliminating life estate provisions and reducing the total level of exemptions. (\$1,000 million).

Ease the tax burden on small business. This can be done by changing the two component rates of the corporate tax structure. Rather than a 30 percent normal rate and a 22 percent rate on all income above \$25,000, the normal rate could be lowered to 25 percent while at the same time correspondingly raising the surtax rate. The total rate would remain the same, but some measure of relief would be granted to small corporations.

Oppose any constitutional amendment or legislation which would place a top limit on the power of any government to tax individuals or corporations.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of Resolution 139.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Resolutions on Resolution No. 139 on taxation.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Herrmann.

DELEGATE HERRMANN, Typographical Union: Mr. President and delegates, of course we all approve the report of the Committee on this very important resolution on taxation. I rise at this time simply to call to the attention of the Committee and the Executive Council of this Federation that one phase of the tax problem which affects the people who can least afford to pay a certain tax under the income tax system is that of taxation of the pensioners of our International Union and other international unions who get a very modest pension, which the Government insists on taking a part of through the income tax law.

I think the Committee and the Executive Council should give some study and some consideration to these thousands of veteran labor men who served the labor movement and today have to subsist on a very modest pension in order to be able to take care of their families and make ends meet. I hope that some attention will be given to this very important phase for our very deserving American citizens.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now we have the motion to adopt Resolution 139. Is there further discussion? Is there objection? If not, the resolution is adopted and it is so ordered.

I would like at this time to ask Vice President MacGowan to take the chair for a few minutes.

... Vice President MacGowan assumed the chair.

TAX EXEMPTION

Resolution No. 1—By Delegates George M. Harrison, George M. Gibbons, Glen B. Goble, Earl R. Kinley, Robert Morgan, Wm. C. McGovern, Kenneth D. Shaw, J. H. Sylvester, Frank J. Leslie, S. V. W. Loehr, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; G. E. Leighty, Order of R.R. Telegraphers; W. A. Calvin, Int. Brotherhood Boilermakers; Jesse Clark, Brotherhood R.R. Signalmen; Milton Schoch, R.R. Yardmasters of America; Jos. Springer, American Train Dispatchers Assn.; James Tahney, Railroad Supervisors; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters; H. E. Gilbert, Bro. Locomotive Firemen; W. P. Kennedy, Bro. R.R. Trainmen; Robert Byron, Sheetmetal Workers; A. J. Hayes, Int. Assn. Machinists; Gordon Freeman, Int. Bro. Electrical Wkrs.; Anthony Matz, Int. Bro. Firemen & Oilers; T. C. Carroll, Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp.; A. J. Bernhardt, Bro. R.R. Carmen; Michael Fox, R.R. Employees Department AFL-CIO; Ed. Miller, Hotel Restaurant Employees; Wm. Fleete, Switchmen's Union of N. America; James Campbell, American Fed. of Govt. Emp.; Arnold Zander, State, County, Municipal Emp.; Russell Stephens, Technical Engineers & Draftsmen; John Lyons, Int. Assn. of Ironworkers; John Redmond, Firefighters;

Wm. E. Maloney, Operating Engineers; Wm. E. Doherty, Nat'l. Ann. Letter Carriers; J. Cline House, Nat'l. Fed. Post Office Clerks; Harold McAvoy, Postal Transport Assn.; Paul Nagle, Special Delivery Messengers; and Howard Coughlin, Office Employees Int. Union.

WHEREAS, The amounts deducted from the compensation of employees for the support of the Social Security, Railroad Retirement and Civil Service Retirement Systems do not constitute currently disposable income to the employees, and

WHEREAS, Such deductions are imposed by law, and

WHEREAS, The nature and extent of the benefits the employee or his survivors may eventually derive from such Systems is contingent upon currently unascertainable future conditions, and

WHEREAS, The incurrence of such deductions is a necessary expense of the employee's employment and private employer taxes for the support of such Systems are deducted from income as necessary business expenses for income tax purposes, and

WHEREAS, The inclusion from income for income tax purposes of the amounts so deducted is in essence an unfair tax upon a tax, and

WHEREAS, The exclusion from income for income tax purposes of the amounts so deducted would constitute general tax relief or the broadest possible basis primarily for the benefit of those least able to pay; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in convention assembled, that we endorse and urge upon the Congress of the United States the enactment of the bill, H.R. 5551, 85th Congress, 1st Session, providing for the exclusion from gross income for income tax purposes and from "wages" for withholding purposes the amounts deducted from the compensation of employees for the support of the Social Security, Railroad Retirement and Civil Service Retirement Systems.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This resolution recommends that the payroll deductions for support of the Social Security program, Railroad Retirement and Civil Service Retirement systems be excluded from gross income for income tax purposes. Your Committee recommends concurrence with this resolution, with the adoption of the following proviso to be attached to the end of the resolution:

Provided, however, that the amount so excluded from gross income for income tax purposes should not in any case exceed \$500 per year.

TAX EXEMPTION

Resolution No. 1 (Amended)—

WHEREAS, The amount deducted from the compensation of employees for the support of the Social Security, Railroad Retirement and Civil Service Retirement Systems do not constitute currently disposable income to the employees, and

WHEREAS, Such deductions are imposed by law, and

WHEREAS, The nature and extent of the benefits the employee or his survivors may eventually derive from such Systems is contingent upon currently unascertainable future conditions, and

WHEREAS, The incurrence of such deductions is a necessary expense of the employee's employment and private employer taxes for the support of such Systems are deducted from income as necessary business expenses for income tax purposes, and

WHEREAS, The inclusion from income for income tax purposes of the amounts so deducted is in essence an unfair tax upon a tax, and

WHEREAS, The exclusion from income for income tax purposes of the amounts so deducted would constitute general tax relief on the broadest possible basis primarily for the benefit of those least able to pay; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in convention assembled, that we endorse and urge upon the Congress of the United States the enactment of the bill, H.R. 5551, 85th Congress, 1st Session, providing for the exclusion from gross income for income tax purposes and from "wages" for withholding purposes the amounts deducted from the compensation of employees for the support of the Social Security, Railroad Retirement and Civil Service Retirement Systems; provided, however, that the amount so excluded from gross income for income tax purposes should not in any case exceed \$500 per year.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of Resolution No. 1, as amended by the Committee.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: You have heard the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARRISON: I simply wanted to tell the delegates that when the resolution was printed, inadvertently the names of all the sponsors were not included. This resolution is sponsored by all the railroad unions affiliated with our Federation, all of the federal employees' unions and the County, State and Municipal Employees' Unions. When the permanent proceedings are printed the names of all of the sponsors will be included in the record.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: You have heard the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Is there objection? Hearing none, the Committee's report is adopted.

INCOME TAX EXEMPTIONS

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates Thomas J. Lloyd, Patrick E. Gorman, Joseph Belsky, R. Emmett Kelly, Marvin W. Hook, Harry Poole, Ray Wentz, Sam Twedell, Roy Scheurich, Leon Schachter, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, Those persons with low and medium incomes are paying income taxes at a higher rate than ever before levied in peacetime, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living rose steadily until 1955, and the mortgage and installment debt load borne by workers has risen to record heights, making personal use of their income important, and

WHEREAS, The taxing of low income is a perversion of the original intent of the income tax law, which was meant to level off incomes, and

WHEREAS, Experts in this field recommend that the United States Government cease to tax people whose income is not sufficient to permit a comfortable and secure standard of living; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at this Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations go on record urging the Congress of the United States to amend the Internal Revenue Act relating to the Federal Income Tax Law, relieving the tax burden of the low-income worker and, in so doing, to increase income tax exemptions for the taxpayer and his dependents; and, further, to reduce considerably the rate of taxation for those earning less than \$6,000.00 a year.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, we would like to call the attention of the delegates to Resolution No. 23, which appeared in the first booklet. This resolution deals with income tax exemption, and the subject matter of this resolution has been dealt with in Resolution 139 just enacted a few minutes ago and already approved by the Convention. Therefore, the Committee recommends that no further action is required.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: All those in favor of the adoption of the report of the Committee signify by saying aye; those opposed, no. The motion is carried.

ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

Resolution No. 135—Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The discussion and the adoption of the "Organizing the Unorganized" resolution was one of the high moments in the closing hours of the historic convention which merged the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Trade union delegates left the convention hall full of the idealism and determination that union people always feel when faced with the problem of organizing the unorganized. Hopes, expectation, enthusiasm ran high.

A frank evaluation of the record made in organizing the unorganized since the adoption of that resolution tells us that we have fallen short of the hopes we had, and the goals we set. But failure is not the proper way to describe our record these past two years.

- Department of Labor statistics tell us that there are today more members of bona fide unions than at any time in the history of our country.
- In spite of anti-labor employers encouraged by the restrictive provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, the achievements of labor in Labor Board elections shows the continuing great desire of American workers for trade union organization. The records of the National Labor Relations Board show that AFL-CIO affiliates have participated in more than 7,000 representation elections since merger. 60 percent of these elections have been won. And these victories represent bargaining rights for more than 400,000 workers.
- Impressive gains have been made in union organization and in union membership in fields and jurisdictions not covered by NLRB authority.
- Well-financed and powerfully led movements aimed at raiding AFL-CIO units have been launched. The defections are so negligible that they amount to nothing.

We have gained in membership; many international unions have strengthened their membership positions; many international unions have on request the services of additional manpower; we have and we are presenting a tough, aggressive front toward our adversaries; our staff is active and widespread; we have protected collective bargaining achievements in organized portions of our land by being present and active in unorganized sections where wage-cutting and stretch-out tendencies would otherwise have jeopardized the economic health of our country. This is not a record of failure.

Nor can we boast of success. Our feelings were right in 1955—our words were right—but resolutions do not organize unorganized workers. We have to understand the facts, and we have to work from those facts.

In 1953 a business government came into power in our country. Property rights became more important than human rights, and as a result a powerful attack was mounted and launched on the labor movement. Such attacks are aimed not only at restricting and confining existing unions, but even more important, they are aimed at limiting the capacity of unions to grow in membership and in strength. Hence, the process of organizing now has become not only a struggle for the interest, the loyalty of the unorganized worker, but also a struggle against business interests who have powerful governmental backing.

Thus through its administration we are now beginning to feel the full evil impact of Taft-Hartley. 'Right-to-work' legislation on the state level takes more and more of the energy and the resources of the labor movement, to say nothing of the roadblocks, to organizing, such legislation creates. A rash of local and county laws, licensing organizers, prohibiting union membership solicitation, restricting organizers from their duties has come about these past two years. Such laws are harassing in effect and create another obstacle in the way of organizing the unorganized.

Another fact is that the jurisdictional problems facing the AFL-CIO have been an inhibiting factor in our organizational program. But here too, we should note that some progress has been made. There have been several substantial agreements reached by international unions which have cleared the way for organizing programs. And many, many such agreements have been reached on local levels that have made possible organizing endeavors.

In the South, where for two years we have better than held our own, the organizing problem is most acute. The most hopeful thing about the South today is that the economic pattern is changing. The textile industry—the last major industry in the United States holding to a low wage, boom-or-bust economic philosophy—is losing its place as the predominant industry. And as this process continues, the organizing picture becomes brighter. But in the meantime, we have serious problems to face and to understand. The present hysteria over the civil rights question, much of it artificially fanned by cynical newspaper editors, radio commentators and politicians, and the organizing difficulty is further compounded. The McClellan Committee investigation has been used with telling effect against union campaigns in recent months. Once more in facing the many problems and difficulties confronting us in the South, we must guard against pessimism and a defeatist attitude. Organized southern workers have proved time and again their faithfulness to the trade union move-

ment. They stand today among the finest elements of our movement, and in time they will be joined by millions of their brother and sister workers now unorganized in a movement that will bring prosperity and happiness into that part of our country.

Mention should be made of the growing importance of the white collar worker as influencing the further growth of our labor movement. The problems of the white collar worker—with the steady loss of much of the preferential position they once held; with the agonizing threat that automation holds to their security and their employment, have been matters of concern to our organizational department. Studies have been made, plans have been developed, and some work has already begun. The response so far has been gratifying.

Two years ago at the merger convention, we dedicated ourselves to the task of organizing the unorganized. We said then "the organizing job is a difficult assignment which will not be achieved overnight. There is no magic formula to hasten results, nor are eager intentions alone adequate to the task. It will require realistic appraisal of the obstacles, careful and imaginative planning, years of untiring effort and unflinching determination, and full use of our resources."

No matter how difficult the job, the determined effort of the united labor movement will ultimately prevail and the task of bringing into the family of trade unionism the millions still outside the ranks will be completed. Only if the movement itself should fail to utilize all its resources and fail to solve remaining internal problems, will the hopes and desires of the organized workers of America be thwarted, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions hereby reaffirm their determination to redouble their efforts to pursue an expanded organizing program designed to bring trade unionism to every worker in America not now enjoying the benefits, protections and satisfactions of union organization, and renew their commitment to provide complete and vigorous support to that program to the end that every obstacle of nationwide organization shall be overcome and the proud task of organizing the unorganized accomplished.

We ask our affiliates to give every possible assistance and cooperation other AFL-CIO unions in their organizing campaigns. We especially urge that all AFL-CIO unions in their relationships with each other in their organizing campaigns conduct themselves in the traditional fraternal spirit of the trade union movement. Cooperative and mutual efforts in organizing efforts will contribute to the greater strength and solidarity of the trade union movement and redound to the greater welfare of all workers.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of Resolution No. 135.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: You have heard the report of the Committee. The Chair now recognizes Vice President Beirne of the AFL-CIO.

VICE PRESIDENT BEIRNE: Mr. Chairman and delegates, it is my humble belief that this resolution is among the most important that we have to look at during this Convention or any other Convention.

I believe, further, that with all the great problems we have faced and must face we might neglect to consider the very cornerstone of

our house. This resolution deals with the life's blood of our organization. I think all of us are aware now that as a result of previous actions this week, we are smaller, numerically, that organizationally we may face greater problems in the future.

Two years ago, at our Merger Convention, we made great pledges to each other. We emphasized the great task before us of bringing our message to the thirty million Americans who are working but who do not belong to a labor union. Our problems in the field of organizing will be greater in the future, and every one of our organizations that has spent money in the last two years in this field is to be complimented for having participated in those 7,000 elections that took place.

The Director of Organization, Jack Livingston, and his staff are to be commended for their help in keeping alive this fundamental task we have before us.

This morning I would just like to bring your attention to one or two things that tie directly into our continuing job of organizing.

We are very much aware today, largely due to sputnik encircling us, that the world itself is changing. Our industries are changing. The kind of life we live tomorrow we know now will be much different.

Into the working force already are coming the technicians. They, like the white collar worker, are not easy to talk to. They consider themselves to a great extent above this mass worker movement. They, in effect, due to their considered superior education, look down their noses at you and me and those who fight for the decency of life for the less fortunate, for the ill-clothed, for the partly educated. They are not in substance good material today for trade union membership.

Yet, with automation — that new word that we in our industry have lived with for 75 years — that new word connotes the type of industry we will have tomorrow. It suggests the class of worker that will be working tomorrow.

Unless in this field we do those kinds of jobs, we do the planning, we do the thinking, we set in motion the apparatus for tomorrow, we can find ourselves in the trade union movement as America finds itself today in the eyes of the world scientifically because it didn't plan, because it didn't spend money, because it didn't make us aware of this tomorrow.

Each organization, of course, has to carry its own load. Each organization, of course, is the one that has to be on the battle line.

With McClellan, with the actions that we have taken here, with the emphasis in the press, with the emphasis in the public platform, on corruption and evil, our job today may not be as easy as it should be.

But let us remember that one of the greatest educational teachers of our movement is that hand bill at the plant where we organize, is that organizer who stands on the public platform asking people to join us in this movement. It is there more than anywhere else that we can do our best educational job. It is there that we can supplement any publicity program that we may spend millions of dollars on to bring our name, our views, our hopes and our aspirations to the American public. It is that lonely organizer bringing our message that is keeping us strong. It is to him that every one of our organiza-

tions should turn from time to time, should spend a moment in their thinking to give him the tools, to give him the dollars, to give him the inspiration and the courage, to give him the pat on the back, to keep carrying our message, to keep telling of our traditions, to keep telling of our history, to keep telling of our hopes, to keep telling of our aspirations for tomorrow.

It is in the grubby field of organizing that our greatest martyrs worked. It's in that tough, thankless job of encouraging people to join with us where we have made our movement as strong, as powerful, as wealthy, as influential as it is today.

So, as we consider this resolution, I felt a moment should be spent on this, the cornerstone of our organization, on this which is the life's blood of our movement today, the life's blood of our movement tomorrow.

VICE PRESIDENT MacGOWAN: Thank you, Brother Beirne.

Are there any further remarks?

. . . The motion to adopt Resolution No. 135 was carried.

MIGRANT FARM WORKERS AND FOREIGN CONTRACT LABOR

Resolution No. 132: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

No group of workers is as cruelly exploited as the million agricultural migrants who plant and harvest in our fields. For many years, the organized labor movement has tried, with only partial success, to focus public attention on this shocking situation and to end it.

During the last two years, the AFL-CIO has sought to carry out the mandate of its founding convention to "continue and expand" its effort to eradicate this moral, economic and social scandal. As the result of our activities, aided by increasing cooperation from religious, welfare, government and enlightened employer groups, some progress has been made in arousing public concern and in obtaining a slight improvement in the administration of federal and state programs intended to protect both foreign and domestic farm migrants.

These gains, on the other hand, have been offset by the recent inauguration of new and dangerous programs for the importation of Asian farm laborers which threaten to undermine even the woefully inadequate regulations which now apply to agricultural employment. This new threat to decent labor standards, actively promoted by the largest agricultural growers and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and accepted and approved by the State Department, utilizes a loophole in the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act to thwart the declared intent of Congress to provide at least minimum protective standards for foreign contract labor. The new programs not only victimize the Asian workers, they also provide none of the protections spelled out in detail by Congress in the Mexican Contract Labor Law—to prevent our own citizen farm workers from having their wages undermined and their job opportunities destroyed by competition from sweated labor from other lands.

Meanwhile, the Mexican Contract Labor Program, established by Congress as a "temporary" means of meeting "wartime" labor shortages, has continued to grow until now nearly half a million Mexican

nationals are annually being brought into this country chiefly for work on the huge and already greatly subsidized corporation farms of the Southwest.

Under the impact of this program, and the continued exclusion of the U. S. agricultural workers from the protection of most of our state and federal labor laws, conditions for farm labor since the end of World War II have been steadily worsening. While most workers in the United States have improved their living standards during the postwar years, the ratio of wages received by hourly paid farm workers (who receive no room or board) fell from 54 percent of the wages received by factory workers in 1948 to 46 percent in 1956.

Moreover, despite overwhelming and indisputable evidence of widespread violation of the wage and other terms of the Mexican labor contracts on the part of employers, Congress this year has again turned down the urgent plea of the Secretary of Labor for an increase in appropriations to provide more compliance officers. The result is that today enforcement of a program involving five times the number of foreign workers imported in the first year of its operation depends upon a compliance staff even smaller than when the undertaking began. In the face of such mockery of this nation's solemn pledge to Mexico that our government will enforce the terms of the labor contracts, it is only inevitable that Mexican workers are found living in housing which the Labor Department has described as "unfit for human habitation" and that some growers have been reaping illegal profits of many thousands of dollars from charges levied against their underpaid braceros for room and board.

The most serious peril to the economy of our nation in the Mexican contract labor program results from the fact that due to inadequate compliance machinery, in many areas farm employers with the help of unqualified or venal State Employment Security officials have succeeded in using it to create a surplus of farm workers thereby forcing wages down and forcing both domestic and foreign labor to accept substandard working conditions. After deliberately lowering wages offered to domestic workers to a point where the employers know they will not be acceptable, the growers then use the resulting labor "shortage" as the justification for importing Mexican nationals. In some regions wages have been driven so low by this method that farmers, contrary to the basic pattern of American economic progress, have been substituting hand labor for machinery previously used.

As a consequence, not only are the wages of all hired farm workers depressed but at the same time the nation's remaining family type farmers are being subjected to an increasingly severe evil kind of competition. Pious statements by Secretary of Agriculture Benson in support of family type farming are bitter mockeries in the face of the government supported subsidization of large corporate farms through legalized use of underpaid domestic and foreign migrants who are pitifully exploited and then dumped on the roads and told to move on. It is against this kind of vicious competition that family farmers are trying to maintain incomes sufficient to achieve an American standard of living twelve months of the year.

Only a better administration of this program by the Labor Department and the State Employment Security officials can eliminate such economic anachronisms. Not only must these agencies be given the staff

necessary to make accurate surveys, but their officials must also have the courage and the determination to withstand the strenuous employer pressures for lower wage determinations and certification for more foreign workers than they actually need. Moreover, members of Congress and the state legislatures also must show more integrity and enlightenment in acting on legislation designed to aid farm migrants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the time has clearly arrived when this nation can no longer tolerate from either a moral, economic or social standpoint, the callous indifference which our state and national legislatures have shown toward migrant farm workers and foreign contract labor. This Convention, accordingly, calls for an end to the exclusion of these workers from state and federal labor laws and social legislation, and we specifically ask that action be taken to bring them under the coverage of the Wage-Hour Act, the National Labor Relations Act, state safety and workmen's compensation laws, and similar welfare and protective measures.

The new employer effort to establish sweatshops in the fields, manned by underpaid and exploited workers from Japan and the Philippines, poses a threat not only to American labor standards but to the continuing good will of the peoples of these countries toward our own. It has already been vigorously denounced by the democratic labor movement of the Philippines and before such criticism spears and becomes a weapon which our enemies will surely seek to use against us, we call upon the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Labor Department and the Secretary of State to end this program promptly.

We congratulate the special migratory labor commission appointed by Governor George Leader in Pennsylvania for its pioneering foresight in recommending that the same protections now given to Mexican and Puerto Rican farm workers be extended to domestic farm workers within the state. We urge Congress to end the discrimination which now exists against our own citizens under the Mexican Contract Labor Law by enacting legislation requiring employers to offer terms and conditions of employment to U. S. workers at least comparable to the higher standards they now must offer Mexican braceros in order to be eligible for their labor.

We deplore the irresponsible action of the Congress in denying the Labor Department sufficient funds to enforce compliance of the Mexican Contract Labor Law, particularly since the solemn international obligation to enforce the law was imposed upon the Secretary of Labor by the Congress itself. We urge an immediate increase in appropriations for the department's compliance staff that will insure at least one full-time enforcement official for every 2,000 braceros brought into this country. At the same time, it is essential that adequate appropriations be continued for the Border Patrol so that illegal "wet-back" labor can be entirely eliminated.

We commend the Department of Labor for its action, long overdue, in establishing minimum standards for the housing of Mexican contract workers, and particularly for refusing to repeal such standards despite employer pressure so strong that two state legislatures were induced to memorialize Congress and the President against them. We call upon the Secretary of Labor to establish similar standards with respect to the commissary system for feeding Mexican workers and requiring

financial responsibility and solvency of employers' associations hiring them.

Another recently adopted employer device for escaping the need to comply with the minimum wage and labor standards set in the Mexican contract labor program is the use of "special permits" for immigration purposes. The issuance of such permits by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for purposes of border crossings for farm employment clearly contradicts the international agreement with Mexico and should be halted immediately.

We recommend increased appropriations for the Farm Placement Service of the Department of Labor in order that it may expand its efforts to provide year-round employment for domestic migratory farm workers. In meeting the needs of employers for farm labor, the Labor Department should give emphasis to the placement of U. S. workers, including Puerto Ricans, in preference to bringing in workers from other countries.

When foreign labor must be imported to meet genuine labor shortages, we favor the principle of an International Agreement such as that which governs the Mexican Contract Labor Program. We urge repeal of the "go-it-alone" amendment to the Mexican Contract Labor Law which the Administration pushed through the 83rd Congress. We urge the Congress to act immediately to establish a uniform law governing all foreign agricultural labor, regardless of its country of origin, by extending the bilateral principles of the Mexican Contract Labor Law.

We demand that legal foreign farm labor be guaranteed full rights and social benefits equal to those enjoyed by U. S. labor, including protection against any kind of discrimination, and the exercise of their right to union affiliation and representation.

The joint U. S.-Mexican Trade Union Committee, set up under the auspices of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers is to be commended for the work it has done in this area, as well as in other matters affecting the labor movements of the U. S. and Mexico. We thank the free labor movement of Mexico for its cooperation and pledge the full support of the AFL-CIO in the effort of the Joint Committee to improve the working and living conditions of Mexican migrant workers.

We urge the enactment of laws by Congress and state legislatures designed to meet the special needs of American migratory farm workers. We particularly call upon Congress to enact legislation to regulate labor contractors, establish rules for safe transportation, require better housing facilities, and insure educational opportunities for migrant children. We also renew our demand for legislation penalizing persons who illegally hire or transport foreign workers, as has been recommended by the Attorney General.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of Resolution No. 132.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

POLITICAL ACTION

Resolution No. 136—Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The American labor movement is deeply committed to the cause of political education and political action.

This commitment stems first from our recognition of our responsibilities as citizens in a democracy and secondly from the attempt by the remaining hard core of reactionary business interests to use the processes of politics to weaken and destroy the trade union movement.

As citizens and as steadfast defenders of the democratic faith we are fully conscious of the need for participation in the political life of our nation. Vital questions which bear on the day to day welfare of our members and their families are decided at the ballot box.

Indeed, as the race between democracy and totalitarianism becomes more intense our very survival, as well as the victory of free men everywhere, depends upon wise decisions made by an informed electorate at the polling places.

In fulfilling this commitment we are acting in accordance with the highest and best traditions of the American labor movement. Since the earliest days of united effort by working men and women we have sought to better the lives of those we represent.

We are proud of the achievements we have made. Among these we number the laws embodying the 40-hour week and guaranteeing the payment of a basic minimum wage; the laws which provide some measure of security to our aged; the workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation laws; measures providing for the education of our children; protection of fair labor standards; civil rights laws which at least provide a start toward guaranteeing all citizens their fundamental rights; and many other measures which have contributed to the welfare and prosperity of our community and our nation.

We are conscious of the work yet to be done, of the challenges with which we are confronted in all phases of our national life. Upon decisions made by the leaders of our government depend such vital questions as the course of our economy in the years ahead and the future of our relations with the other peoples of the world.

Those who seek to limit our right to participate in our democracy and who, through special interest and class legislation, attempt to weaken and destroy our organization, strike blows not only at the labor movement. They strike at the basic foundations of our American political and economic systems.

It is imperative that this challenge be met and overcome.

We are proud of the contributions we have made to the political life of our country. We have given strength and direction to the forces of liberal democracy. Much remains to be done, however, toward the achievement of an informed, politically alert trade union movement capable of fulfilling all of its responsibilities and obligations in the political arena.

Our basic task remains the registration to vote of every trade union member together with every adult member of his or her family.

We must make each member fully aware of the fundamental duty of citizenship, namely the responsibility to participate.

Equally important is the duty to be informed. We have sought and we will continue to seek to provide each member of our organization with proper and objective information on which sound political judgments can be based. We regard the distribution of voting records on issues of importance as a primary step in this direction.

In order that elections may be free from the domination of corporate wealth and vested interests it is vital that the American labor movement be in a position to assist financially candidates whose views and activities on behalf of social justice denies them contributions from special interest sources. We believe such assistance is right and proper and in the public interest and we have therefore conducted each year a drive for voluntary contributions for this purpose from our members.

We reject any suggestion that we are second class citizens with fewer rights in politics than the multi-million dollar corporate monopolies in the communications industry. We call to the attention of those who would seek to place us in this position the decisions of the courts which have, without exception, upheld our rights to participate.

We must continue to rally support behind the liberals of both parties in Congress, the state legislatures and local governing bodies. We must continue to encourage them in their battles against the raids by special interests and on behalf of the public welfare.

In area after area where organized labor has been united, has been able to cooperate with genuinely liberal political forces, and has had top quality candidates willing and able to campaign on meaningful platforms, labor and the liberal forces have been victorious. This has been true not only in the 1954 and 1956 congressional elections but it has also been true in the special elections held in 1957. This policy has contributed to the bettered quality of candidates and to the liberalization of political platforms. It has given voters the opportunity to choose and has provided life to the democratic process.

We express the hope that this development will continue, that in more and more areas voters will have the opportunity of exercising their political rights in an atmosphere of reason and judgment and in which political promises are sacred pledges.

Unfortunately the Republican party, with a few but growing exceptions, is still too often a willing and obedient servant of big business.

The opposition to civil rights legislation by southerners who dominate the Democratic party in Congress has tended more and more to alienate the Negro voters from their natural allies, the liberal Democrats of the north and west. Thus the anti-civil rights southerners are depriving the Democratic party of one of the essential forces in the coalition that carried Roosevelt and Truman to victory and kept the New Deal and Fair Deal in office for 20 years.

We shall not fail to meet our commitment to the cause of political education. We will not be deterred from our objective. We will continue to expand and broaden our work of political education and political action to insure that the freedoms we cherish will be strengthened and made more secure, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this second convention of the AFL-CIO, the world's largest free trade union organization reaffirms its dedication to the principle of non-partisan political education designed to protect and secure the legitimate economic and political aspirations of America's working men and women. To achieve this purpose we call upon each affiliated national and international union and each state and local central body to render all aid, assistance and support to the policies and programs of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education.

We direct and authorize the Committee on Political Education to continue to expand its efforts in this direction and we further charge it with the responsibility of assisting, directing, and coordinating the political education work of state, county and city bodies. We call upon it to provide all aid, assistance and cooperation commensurate with its resources to the political education and action activities of the affiliated national and international unions.

We call upon all affiliates to take steps to develop programs in cooperation with the appropriate central bodies to check membership lists against the lists of registered voters in their community. We urge those not already participating to join our year-round program of good citizenship to make certain that all AFL-CIO members and their families are registered voters and remain registered voters.

Working with our state and local central labor bodies our affiliates must initiate programs and work with other groups for the reapportionment and redistricting of election districts in line with growth and shifts in population to insure fair and adequate representation for all citizens.

We commend the program launched in 1956 of providing each member of our organization with the voting records of their elected federal officials and we urge and recommend that this program be continued in 1958.

We recognize the contribution that has been made to our efforts by the women of our trade union movement and we call upon all affiliates to render every possible assistance in the further development of programs that will utilize their skills and energies. We call upon the officers of our affiliated organizations to make political education a family affair by encouraging all our members, their wives and other members of the family to take an active part in the political life of their community during and between election campaigns.

To finance the program herein set forth we urge all affiliates to participate actively and energetically in the annual campaign for individual voluntary contributions. We call upon them to assume their full share of organizational and moral responsibility by meeting such reasonable goals as may be established.

We again declare our traditional non-partisan policy of (a) supporting worthy candidates regardless of their party affiliation, (b) judging candidates based upon where they stand on the issues, as those issues effect the welfare and well-being of our nation and its people. We will cooperate wherever feasible and practicable with other groups which have the same ideals and aims as our organization.

We re-dedicate ourselves without reservation to the defense of the principles of our democracy which have made our country strong

and great. These principles we regard as beacons in a world of change and we reaffirm them as the best means of achieving a secure land at peace in a world in which each man and woman has the fullest possible opportunity to achieve the stature and dignity with which they have been endowed by our Creator.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of Resolution No. 136.

VICE PRESIDENT McGOWAN: You have heard the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

DELEGATE GRAJCIAR, Steelworkers: All of us heard a very great talk by Vice President Beirne this morning on organizing the unorganized. Of course, I have to agree with him, that is the No. 1 job in our movement. The No. 2 job in our movement is to implement the resolution we just heard read by the proper kind of action. You know, we have been here now for some time and we have passed all types of resolutions, good resolutions. All of us know that unless we do our proper job on the political field many of these resolutions will not get too much consideration.

It is also necessary that we wake up to our responsibilities on the political field, not only in going out and trying to elect the right kind of people who are sympathetic to the kind of resolutions that we have, but to do that we have got to do something more than that. We have got to realize for ourselves that you can't play politics with peanuts. You have got to have money to play politics, and in too many instances we are not putting our share of the money into this program. It is about time we wake up our people to what is going on, what is going to happen to us.

I heard a speaker here in this Convention tell us very forcefully how many of us got here. It was through the Wagner Act and the NLRB in the early days.

We also see what is happening to us all over the country in Washington and in practically every state of the Union. We are not making headway; we are losing ground. It is about time we realized that in addition to organizing the unorganized, which we must do, we had better start organizing our people on the political field to implement the work that we are trying to do in this Convention.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

VICE PRESIDENT MacGOWAN: Are there any other remarks? If not, all those in favor of adopting the report of the Committee will signify by saying aye; those opposed, no.

The motion is carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I now call attention of the delegates to Resolution No. 79 also dealing with Political Action. We desire to note that the subject matter of this resolution has already been dealt with in Resolution No. 136, and therefore no further action is required.

POLITICAL ACTION

Resolution No. 79—By the Committee on Resolutions.

The American labor movement, here represented, is deeply committed to the cause of political education and political action.

This commitment stems from the recognition of our responsibilities as citizens in a democracy and from the attempt by the remaining hard core of reactionary business interests to use the processes of politics to weaken and destroy the trade union movement.

As citizens and as front line defenders of the democratic faith we are fully conscious of the need for participation in the political life of our nation. Vital questions which bear on the day to day welfare of our members and their families are decided at the ballot box.

Indeed, as the race between democracy and totalitarianism becomes more intense our very survival depends upon wise decisions made by an informed electorate at the polling places.

Those who seek to limit our right to participate in our democracy and who, through special interest and class legislation, attempt to weaken and destroy our organization, strike blows not only at the labor movement. They strike at the basic foundations of our American political and economic systems.

It is imperative that this challenge be met and overcome.

We believe our efforts in this field have thus far been commendable; that we have made vast contributions to the political life of our country; that we have given strength and direction to the forces of liberal democracy. We further believe much remains to be done toward the achievement of an informed, politically alert trade union movement capable of fulfilling all of its responsibilities and obligations in the political arena.

Our basic task remains the registration to vote of every trade union member together with every adult member of his or her family. We must make each member fully aware of the fundamental duty of citizenship, namely the responsibility to participate.

Equally important is the duty to be informed. We have sought and we will continue to seek to provide each member of our organization with proper and objective information on which sound political judgments can be based. We regard the distribution of voting records on issues of importance as a primary step in this direction.

In order that elections may be free from the domination of corporate wealth and vested interests it is vital that the American labor movement be in a position to assist financially candidates whose views and attitudes bar them from contributions from the usual sources. We believe such assistance is right and proper and in the public interest and we therefore have conducted each year a drive for voluntary contributions for this purpose from our members.

We will not fail to meet our commitment. We will not be deterred from our objective. We will continue to expand and broaden our work of political education and political action to insure that the freedoms we cherish will remain unimpaired and unchallengeable.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That this second convention of the world's largest free trade union organization reaffirms its dedication to the principle of non-partisan political education designed to protect and to secure the legitimate economic and political aspirations of America's working men and women.

2. That we direct and authorize the Committee on Political Education to continue and expand its efforts in this direction and we further charge it with the responsibility of assisting, directing and coordinating the political education work of state, county and city bodies. We call upon it to provide all aid, assistance and cooperation commensurate with its resources to the political education and action activities of the affiliated national and international unions.

3. That we commend the program launched in 1956 of providing each member of our organization with the voting records of their elected federal officials and we urge that this program be continued in 1958.

4. That we recognize the contribution that has been made to our efforts by the women of our trade union movement and we call upon all affiliates to render every assistance possible in the further development of programs that will utilize their skills and energies.

5. That to finance the program herein set forth we urge all affiliates to participate actively and energetically in the annual campaign for voluntary contributions and that we call upon them to meet such reasonable goals as may be established.

6. That we again declare our traditional policy of avoiding entangling alliances with any political group or party, of supporting worthy candidates regardless of their party affiliation, of maintaining in all instances our own identity, and of placing the interests of our country above any other.

7. That we dedicate ourselves without reservation to the defense of the principles of democracy which have made our country strong and great.

VICE PRESIDENT MacGOWAN: You have heard the report of the Committee that the subject matter of Resolution No. 79 has been handled in another resolution. If there is no objection, the Committee's report will be adopted.

It is adopted.

. . . The report of the Committee was continued, as follows:

. . . President Meany in the Chair.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Resolution No. 137—Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

One of the major factors in the political life of our nation today is in the interest and activity by woman in politics.

To a constantly increasing extent they are participating in all phases of political campaigns, engaging actively in registration and get-out-the-vote-drives, conducting house meetings, and working to inform themselves and their neighbors on the issues which concern the welfare of their families.

The devotion and interest they have shown in the cause of good citizenship and the contribution they have made to the effective functioning of our democratic system deserve the commendation of every citizen interested in free government.

Of particular assistance in the drive toward this goal has been the Women's Activities Department of the Committee on Political Education. In the 15 states in which they have established full-time organizations and in the countless other neighborhoods and communities in which they are volunteering their time and effort on behalf of good government they are rendering invaluable service to the labor movement and to the country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That we commend the activities of the women volunteers of the Committee on Political Education and express our official thanks for their services to the cause of democracy.

We authorize and direct the Committee on Political Education to continue its program of enlisting the aid of women volunteers in its political education efforts and that it continue to integrate such programs into the framework of local and state committees on political education.

We further urge state and city bodies which have not yet done so to take steps to strengthen their political efforts through the adoption of a systematic program best designed to utilize the skills and efforts of women volunteers in the field of politics.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTIONS 70, 81 and 145

... Vice President Harrison, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, reported on the above three resolutions as follows:

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates Michael J. Quill, Matthew Guinan, Ellis F. Van Riper, James F. Horst, Gustav Faber, Eugene Attreed, and Frank Sheehan, Transport Workers Union of America.

WHEREAS, The full resources of the labor community of the United States are needed now as never before to meet the well organized onslaught of reaction and greed against the American worker and his labor union. Jurisdictional disputes between labor unions are wasteful of these resources and regressive in their impact upon the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, Six years ago, the CIO Executive Board evolved a program for eliminating jurisdictional disputes within the CIO. Three years ago, the AFL and CIO adopted the No-Raiding Agreement to terminate all jurisdictional disputes between the AFL and CIO unions signatory to the agreement. The application of these agreements to all the jurisdictional disputes which have arisen under them has benefited the workers and the labor unions involved in such disputes. The wisdom of the labor movement in adopting and enforcing the No-Raiding Agreement is now proved by their general acceptance and by the uniform compliance of all parties with the decisions of the impartial arbitrator appointed under the Agreement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this Convention endorses the continued application and enforcement of the No-Raiding Agreement through the

AFL-CIO Constitution to all AFL-CIO labor organizations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention urges the AFL-CIO to gain official recognition of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement from the National Labor Relations Board, National Mediation Board and all state and city labor relations agencies through the enactment of legislation by the United States Congress and the adoption of administrative rules and regulations by such agencies.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT JURISDICTION

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Richard J. Gray, Building and Construction Trades Department.

Pursuant to action taken at the Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department this morning, I am submitting to you as follows a Resolution which was unanimously adopted for presentation to the Convention of the AFL-CIO which convenes December 5, 1957:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor on February 10, 1908, pursuant to a resolution duly approved by the American Federation of Labor Convention held from November 11 to November 23, 1907, issued a charter to and established the Building Trades Department to have autonomy over the building trades, and

WHEREAS, Under its charter so granted by the American Federation of Labor the Building Trades Department received full and complete jurisdiction over all construction, alteration and repair work, and

WHEREAS, By Convention action, the title of said Department was augmented to "Building and Construction Trades Department", enlarging its jurisdiction to cover the entire field of construction, and

WHEREAS, The nineteen National and International Unions affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO historically and traditionally, and by virtue of their separate jurisdictions as established by their individual charters issued by the American Federation of Labor, have exercised and maintained the general jurisdiction held by the Building and Construction Trades Department for more than half a century, and

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the AFL-CIO adopted at its first Convention in December, 1955, guarantees to each affiliate the same organizing jurisdiction which it enjoyed by reason of prior affiliation with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and

WHEREAS, Several industrial unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO have deliberately encroached upon and continue to attempt to usurp the recognized and historic craft jurisdiction of the Building and Construction Trades Department and its nineteen affiliated National and International Unions, with complete disregard for the express provision of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, and

WHEREAS, Those industrial unions have effectuated their policies of encroachment and usurpation through the use of economic

pressure, picket lines and collective bargaining contracts containing provisions which limit or prohibit employers of their members from awarding contracts for construction, alteration and repair work to contractors whose employees are members of the nineteen National and International Unions affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO, and

WHEREAS, Contractors who employ members of the nineteen National and International Unions affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department have been excluded from many plants and factories and have been prevented from carrying out contracts for construction, alteration and repair work by strikes and threats of strikes, and

WHEREAS, the work of construction, alteration and repair which has been performed by members of those industrial unions has been performed at rates of pay far below the established rates of the nineteen National and International Unions affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department, and

WHEREAS, Repeated efforts by the Building and Construction Trades Department to reach a satisfactory agreement with the Industrial Union Department which would preserve the established craft jurisdiction of the nineteen National and International Unions affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department have failed and the encroachment and usurpation of jurisdiction by those industrial unions still continue; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the AFL-CIO go on record:

- (1) To guarantee to the Building and Construction Trades Department and its affiliated National and International Unions the jurisdiction which each has enjoyed historically and traditionally and has held by virtue of the charters issued to each of them by the American Federation of Labor;
- (2) To condemn any activity on the part of any affiliated industrial union which would tend to encroach and usurp, through the use of economic pressure, picket lines and collective bargaining contracts containing provisions which limit or prohibit plant employers from awarding contracts for construction, alteration and repair work, to construction contractors whose employees are members of the nineteen National and International Unions affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO.

WORK JURISDICTION, DISPUTES AND BOYCOTTS

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate Walter P. Reuther, Industrial Union Department.

In a labor federation of nearly 140 unions, operating within the framework of an increasingly complex industrial society, it is to be expected that disputes over jobs and work will arise, just as disputes arise within other groups in our society. The important objective is to resolve these disputes through an orderly process so that the labor movement can remain unified and strong.

The founding convention of the AFL-CIO, recognizing the need for resolution of conflicts arising over work jurisdiction and for

the elimination of harmful boycotts of the products of one union by another, established a joint committee of the Industrial Union Department and the Building and Construction Trades Department, "to develop rules of procedure for the adjustment of any conflict of interest that may presently exist or may arise in the future" between the departments and their affiliates.

This joint committee established without delay in keeping with the convention mandate, despite numerous meetings, failed to reach agreement.

When it became evident that the joint committee could reach no agreement, the entire matter of work jurisdiction disputes and boycotts, was referred to President Meany, who appointed a committee of the AFL-CIO Executive Council representative of the building trades and industrial unions to review the matter.

On July 1, 1957, after this Committee had held a number of meetings, President Meany, in identical letters to the Industrial Union Department and the Building and Construction Trades Department, stated that an enlarged special committee of the AFL-CIO Executive Council had reached "general agreement" in this case.

This plan pointed out that "new building construction on the one hand, should be the work of workers represented by the building trades craft unions; production and running maintenance work on the other hand, should be the work of the workers represented by the industrial unions." It added that between these two clear areas "there is a doubtful area involving such work as alterations, major repairs, and relocation of existing facilities, changeovers, and other kinds of maintenance work." The general agreement reported by President Meany called for solution of disputes in this "doubtful area" on the basis of "established past practices on a plant, area or industry basis."

This agreement has not yet been made effective and the problems of work jurisdiction and boycott disputes continues to harass unions, their members, the united labor movement, and the public. We maintain that this problem is not insoluble and that effective machinery can be established within our labor movement to deal with disputes arising in this area. A solution must be found for the good health and progress of our united movement.

Open conflict arising from work jurisdiction disputes does irreparable harm to all of us. Such internal struggles dissipate our strength needlessly at a time when we need maximum unity to beat back those who would enchain us with anti-labor laws. Open conflict of this kind is grist for the propaganda mills of those who would alienate the American people from us. Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO recognizing the need for a prompt and equitable solution of work jurisdiction disputes and boycotts, calls upon the Executive Council to implement the general agreement reported by President Meany on July 1, 1957, by providing at the earliest possible opportunity, internal procedures with appropriate terminal facilities which, while respecting basic jurisdictions, will provide for the prompt, peaceful and just settlement of individual work jurisdiction and boycott disputes.

VICE PRESIDENT HARRISON: Reporting for the Committee I want to report to the convention on Resolutions Nos. 70, 81 and 145.

Now, two of the resolutions, Nos. 81 and 145 deal with the basic conflict of general proportions between the Industrial Unions and the Building Trades Unions. Resolution 81 was sponsored by the Building Trades Department, calling for this convention to endorse carte blanc their jurisdictional claims.

Resolution No. 145, on the other hand, was a resolution by the Industrial Union Department asking for the same thing, generally speaking.

This whole controversy is reviewed in the report of the Executive Council on Pages 48, 49, 50 and 51. The matter was considered at length by the entire Resolutions Committee, and I am authorized to say to you that we now have an agreement between the sponsors of Resolutions 81 and 145 that these two resolutions be referred to the Executive Council, with directions that the Executive Council continue the efforts reported in the Executive Council Report looking to an ultimate solution of this problem by agreement between the contesting organizations.

We also recommend that Resolution No. 70, which deals with a no-raiding situation be likewise referred to the Executive Council to continue their general efforts to adjust outstanding raiding activities that have brought about disputes.

I move the adoption of the report of the Committee.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Resolutions Nos. 70, 81 and 145. These resolutions are directed to the problem of jurisdictional conflict, and the recommendation of the Committee is that they be referred to the Executive Council to continue their efforts in this field.

Is there discussion on the motion to adopt the Committee's report? Is there objection to the adoption of the Committee's report?

Hearing none, the Committee's report is adopted and it is so ordered.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to break in on the report of the Resolutions Committee for a report of the Committee on Labels. The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Labels, Vice President Potofsky.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN POTOFSKY: Mr. President, I would like to call on the Secretary of the Committee to read three resolutions referred to this Committee for consideration, and to submit them to you.

The Secretary of the Committee, Brother Joe Lewis.

. . . Committee Secretary Lewis presented the following report on behalf of the Committee:

PATRONIZE UNION INSURANCE COMPANIES AND AGENTS

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates George L. Russ, Charles G. Heisel, Max Shine, Insurance Agents International Union, and Delegates Wm. A. Gillen, Arthur H. Higginson, Wm. S. McDermott, Insurance Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The principle of patronizing Union-made goods and Union services has been advocated by organized labor from the earliest days of its existence, and

WHEREAS, The principle has proven itself to be sound on both moral and economic grounds wherever it was applied in an intelligent and collective fashion, and

WHEREAS, The fundamental principle applies to insurance with the same force and for the same reasons that it applies to any other commodity or service, and particularly so when we are mindful of the fact that when an insurance company formulates an insurance policy, it writes into the policy all of the benefits that the insured is to receive, as well as the cost of the policy; and whether the insurance policy is sold by a Union insurance agent or by a non-Union insurance agent, the benefits and the cost to the insured are identical. In view of these considerations, there is every reason why organized labor ought to transact all insurance matters with members of Insurance Agents affiliated with the AFL-CIO. In view of these practical and moral reasons, be it

RESOLVED, That this Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO in Atlantic City, earnestly declares that the time-honored principle of patronizing Union-made goods and Union services is as applicable to the purchase of insurance as it is to the purchase of any other commodity or service; that it is just as unfitting for an officer or member or organized labor to patronize a non-Union insurance agent, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention respectfully but urgently call upon all affiliated unions to transact all insurance matters with members of Insurance Agents' Unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY LEWIS: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, I move adoption of Resolution No. 19.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

UNION LABEL WEEK

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Joseph Lewis, Union Label and Service Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department of the AFL-CIO, throughout each year, is engaged in constant campaigns and programs designed to harness the purchasing power of all union members, their families and friends and bring about permanent benefits to all citizens through an increased demand for Union Label goods and for services identified by Shop Cards and Service Buttons; and

WHEREAS, The high point in the Department's promotional efforts is the celebration each year of Union Label Week; and

WHEREAS, The observance of Union Label Week, year by year, receives greater recognition and acclaim on both the local and national level; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO, in Convention assembled, designate the period September 1st through September 7th, 1958, as Union Label Week and call upon all trade unionists, their families and friends to officially observe and celebrate the period; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO, in Convention assembled, designate the period September 7th through 13th, 1959, as Union Label Week and call upon all trade unionists, their families and friends to officially observe and celebrate that period.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY LEWIS: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, I move adoption of Resolution No. 111.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

PARTICIPATION IN UNION-INDUSTRIES SHOW

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Joseph Lewis, Union Label and Service Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show, produced and sponsored each year by the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department, furnishes the general public and our own trade union membership a dramatic example of the good relations that exist between AFL-CIO unions and their fair employers; and

WHEREAS, These annual exhibitions with their action-packed displays of the crafts and skills of the unions participating in them are beneficial to all segments of our great trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Participation in the AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show is limited to AFL-CIO unions and the fair employers they invite to exhibit union goods and union services; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the AFL-CIO, in Convention assembled, extend a hearty and warm invitation to every national or international union affiliated with the AFL-CIO to take part in the 1958 AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show scheduled for April 25th through April 30th in the Cincinnati Music Hall in Cincinnati, Ohio; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these AFL-CIO national and international unions be also urged to take part in future Union-Industries Shows as they are scheduled.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY LEWIS: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, I move the adoption of this resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY LEWIS: The Chairman of the Committee has a further report of the Committee on Union Labels.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN POTOFKY: Mr. President, I shall now read a resolution sponsored and adopted by the Committee on Union Labels.

UNION LABEL RESOLUTION

Resolution No. 77—Submitted by Committee on Union Labels.

WHEREAS, The American labor movement today is faced with serious threats to the gains it has won over the years. Hostile legislators and executive departments, inspired by powerful industrial leaders and their hired hands, will do their utmost to attempt to cripple labor's strength and to handcuff our efforts to maintain our gains and to organize the unorganized.

Already our organizing power has been weakened by anti-labor legislation and by an antagonistic press which has inflamed public opinion in some areas against unionism.

There are serious threats—and we must meet them with every legitimate weapon at our command. Among those weapons we already recognize the importance of our power as workers and as voters. Today we must add a third link in our chain of strength—our power as consumers.

Every time we spend a union-made dollar for union products and services, we are doing our part in the battle to preserve our standard of living. Every time we spend our union-made dollar for non-union products or services, we are subsidizing those very companies who are seeking to destroy us.

Our power as consumers is indestructible. The right to buy, or not to buy, cannot be taken away by legislative fiat or labor spies or strikebreakers and scabs. We cannot lose it by hostile action—we can only lose it by indifference, by the failure to use it.

The union label, shop card and service button are our own symbols of decent working conditions and economic democracy. They stand for all that we cherish, all that we have worked for over the years, the blood we have shed on the picket line, the high ideals which have guided us through many years of struggle, the goals we are reaching for in the years ahead.

Today the union label, shop card and service button have a significance they have not had before, for today they take their place among the most important tools at labor's command. Patronizing union made products, often marked by a union label, and union services, often marked by a shop card or service button, is our right, and more than that, it is our duty.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the AFL-CIO supports the efforts of the Union Label and Service Trades Department, the official AFL-CIO organization to promote union label consciousness among union members and consumers generally; and
2. That the AFL-CIO urges all AFL-CIO affiliates to join the Union Label and Service Trades Department and to share in its important work; and
3. That the AFL-CIO urges all AFL-CIO affiliates to make every effort to institute the use of the union label or shop card or service button on products made or services offered by their members, and
4. That the AFL-CIO earnestly urges all international and national unions and state and local labor bodies to redouble their efforts to increase union label consciousness among union members and consumers generally.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN POTOFSKY: Mr. President, the Committee moves adoption of this resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN POTOFSKY: This completes the report of the Committee on Labels, and it is signed:

Jacob Potofsky,
Chairman

Joseph Lewis,
Secretary

Lloyd Gilmour

John Chupka

James J. Doyle

Arthur Gildea

Edward A. Smith

Thomas Durian

William Gillen

George Miller

E. L. Wheatley

Milton Weibrauch

Joseph A. Duffy

Glenn W. McCabe

John Mara

W. L. Allen

Pat Somerset

James H. Sampson

Madge King

COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS

PRESIDENT MEANY: This completes the report of the Committee on Labels, and the Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

However, on this same subject I want to present to you for a moment a representative of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Brother Jake Clayman, who has an announcement to make.

MR. JACOB CLAYMAN, Amalgamated Clothing Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates: In just about three or four minutes we are going to have a drawing and two lucky people in this hall, or two lucky people who have registered, will receive a beautiful suit and a handsome box of shirts from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Just to prove that nothing is really free in this world, you are going to have to listen for a few minutes to me.

I have a suspicion, a fear, that some of us, perhaps too many of us, believe that the union label and consumer purchasing power held in the hands of the families of trade unionists in America is a kind of gimmick, a kind of publicity stunt, perhaps a little bit of showmanship. To those who entertain this notion, I would suggest that nothing is further from the truth.

We have learned in the Amalgamated that the union label is a practical, effective and efficient tool for organizing the unorganized. In a clear and definite and precise way, by the judicious use of the union label and other means of organizing, we have brought tens of

thousands of workers within the fold and family of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. We have learned to place this instrumentality, this practical tool, alongside of the picket line, as well as house-to-house and door-to-door organizational visitations. We feel that it would be a tragic mistake if we were to think of the union label as purely an academic frill to be a thrust way back on the shelf of labor's arsenal.

Also, we have the firm conviction that the union label wisely used can be an instrument, a weapon, a sword of defense and self-preservation. If you want to know what I mean, ask the Rubber Workers, who are engaged in a mortal conflict with the O'Sullivan Heel Company. Ask the UAW, who are locked in battle now with the Kohler Manufacturing Company.

These unions and others have come to understand and appreciate that if we could only marshal the buying power of the trade union movement, which constitutes approximately one-third of the total buying power of the nation, we would have at our side and in our hands a weapon of self-preservation and a weapon of self-defense.

But, as the saying goes, enough of this talking. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America wants to thank all of you for the marvelous support you have given us in the past. There hasn't really been an occasion when we have called upon you that you haven't been forthcoming with support. Just because we know you are so friendly to our cause, please permit me to quickly tell you of a few current problems we have on our hands.

We have a 14-months strike against the Hagar Manufacturing Company. They manufacture pants down in Texas. It has been a lousy outfit, using every possible, conceivable anti-union device. We have an expression among some of our folks in the Amalgamated that goes like this, "If workers refuse to wear Hagar pants, Hagar will lose his pants." While this may not result in a very pretty sight, it will be a heartwarming sight for those of us in the Amalgamated and the union people on the picket line.

We have a strike of rather long standing now against the Fruit of the Loom people, the people who manufacture work clothes and work pants. We urge upon you, don't buy Fruit of the Loom.

We are trying to organize Wing's shirts and bring the people of that organization within the orbit of the legitimate trade union movement. Don't buy Wing's shirts.

We are likewise trying to organize B-V-D Shirt Company. These people seek the protection of a union. Don't buy B-V-D shirts.

Now that you have paid the penalty and the price of a suit and box of shirts, we are about to conduct our raffle, and in just a minute or two, two, lucky people will be able to savor and flavor the exquisite skill and craftsmanship of the workers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

. . . At this time the raffle of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers International Union was conducted, and the following were the winners:

Winner of suit: Delegate Manuel Val, Ludlow Massachusetts, representative of Textile Workers Union.

Winner of box of shirts: Delegate H. R. Weller, Toronto, Canada, Lathers Union.

PRESIDENT MEANY: We appreciate very much the very nice gesture on behalf of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Presentation Of Canadian Visitors

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to present to you to take a bow two of the three top officials of the Canadian Labor Congress. We have already had the pleasure of meeting Secretary MacDonald, but now we have here with us the President of the Canadian Labor Congress, our good friend Claude Jodoin.

I also want to present the Executive Vice President of that organization, our very good friend, Gordon Cushing.

I am very pleased to have these representatives here with us today.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Resumed)

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I would like to bring to the attention of the delegates Resolution No. 122.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING OBJECTIVES

Resolution No. 122: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The period ahead poses a serious challenge for union collective bargaining efforts.

The general economic climate has been deteriorating as we enter 1958 and a decline in business activity is often reflected in tighter bargaining conditions. But the very fact of an economic slackening makes it doubly imperative that unions gain sizeable wage increase to bolster consumer buying power and thereby provide a needed stimulating force for an upturn in the economy.

The steady increases in wages negotiated since the end of the great depression of the 1930's have been a significant factor in the generally prosperous growth of our economy. They have helped provide the broader-based rising purchasing power needed to keep pace with our economy's expanding ability to produce. We must continue to reinforce this needed growth in mass purchasing power through negotiation of substantial wage rises.

The record of the 1954 economic recession is particularly pertinent. The continued negotiation of wage increases that year in the face of a general economic downturn was a notable stimulating force for a pick-up in economic activity.

All the major economic indicators once again disclose that a decline in levels of employment and business activity is now upon us. Most of America's basic industries are operating at levels 15 to 20% below their capacity. This worsening of the general economic situation and pressures for cutbacks in wage bargaining must be overcome by intensified

bargaining efforts. Any easing of union negotiated wage gains would be a serious blow to attempts to restore and maintain a healthy expanding economy.

Collective bargaining is not limited to wages alone. It is the means through which working people have a meaningful voice in determining all of the conditions under which they work. Through unions and collective bargaining, there has indeed been a momentous reshaping of America's living patterns in the past two decades, not alone because of increased wages and buying power and progressive shortening of the work week, but in the gaining for the working population of paid vacations and holidays, aid in meeting hospitalization and medical emergencies, increased stability of income, and improved working conditions in terms of health, safety, convenience and cleanliness.

These and other improvements gained through pressures exerted in collective bargaining have elevated standards of living of the general American public well above the levels they would have attained in the absence of union efforts. American unions have dared to reach for new objectives and have thereby raised the sights and achievements of all the nation. A timid approach would at best have yielded only minor advance.

It is with this lesson in mind that trade unions can look to the vast areas of needed improvement which lie ahead; advances in buying power, in leisure time, in programs to better meet the hazards of illness, family emergency, old age and unemployment, and in solving problems arising anew out of rapid technological innovations, the shifting makeup of industry and the labor force and other changes in the nature of our economy, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions cannot and will not rest on yesterday's laurels or yesterday's living standards. Our collective bargaining efforts will be directed to continuing improvements in wages, hours standards, and benefit and working conditions.

In the period ahead, we will press particularly for higher wages to bolster present inadequate consumer buying power and restore needed national economic growth.

"While American labor will cooperate wholeheartedly in the national defense effort, no need has been demonstrated for any wage freeze or for any nationwide extension of the statutory work-week."

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will also bend their best efforts 1) to transforming advancing technology into a force, not for growing unemployment, but for increased leisure through reduction in hours of work with no reduction in take-home pay; and 2) to gaining more adequate protection for workers against the strains of ill health, old age, and irregular employment through improved health and welfare plans and programs for guaranteed employment and fully adequate supplemental unemployment benefits.

We set our sights for wage advances and other improvements not merely to benefit alone the millions of American workers and their families, but because we are well aware that collective bargaining is the most direct means for trade unions to exercise a constructive effect on the economy. We are secure in the knowledge that success in vigorous bargaining efforts will benefit the well-being of all the nation by con-

tributing to the achievement of a dynamic, expanding balance between greater productive power and greater purchasing power.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Resolutions Committee has approved a brief amendment to Resolution 122 entitled "Collective Bargaining Objectives."

On Page 25 of its Report No. 2, the first full paragraph, at the top of the page, should read as follows:

"In the period ahead, we will press particularly for higher wages to bolster present inadequate consumer buying power and restore needed national economic growth. While American labor will cooperate wholeheartedly in the national defense effort, no need has been demonstrated for any wage freeze or for any nation-wide assistance of the statutory work week."

Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution 122, as amended.

... The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You will note in the report of the Committee on the resolution on collective bargaining that there is a sentence added at the end of the third paragraph from the bottom of this resolution, the paragraph which begins with the words "In the period ahead." At the end of that paragraph the Secretary of the Committee has indicated this sentence is added: "While American labor will cooperate wholeheartedly in the national defense effort, no need has been demonstrated for any wage freeze or for any nationwide extension of the statutory work-week."

Now, you have the resolution before you. The recommendation is to adopt this resolution as amended.

On the discussion of the resolution the Chair recognizes Vice President Reuther who, as you know, is Chairman of the AFL-CIO Standing Committee on Economic Policy.

VICE PRESIDENT REUTHER: Brother Chairman and fellow delegates, I rise to support Resolution 122 dealing with our collective bargaining objectives, but in behalf of the Committee on Economic Policy I should like to discuss two other companion resolutions—Resolution 134 dealing with the national economy and Resolution No. 140 dealing with technological changes and automation. Your Economic Policy Committee has found that these three resolutions are inseparably tied together because collective bargaining must take place within the framework of our national economy, and what happens in the national economy depends very heavily upon the economic and technological developments.

I think we are all aware of the fact that this Convention meets at a time of great crisis in the world and of growing crisis in America. We have said many times that the American economy is freedom's greatest material asset. We say today that how effectively we mobilize the productive potential of the American economy and how intelligently we distribute the abundance that will make possible can be the decisive factor in the struggle between the forces of freedom and the forces of tyranny.

We of the organized labor movement have said many times that we believe that America has both the material and the human

resources to overcome our scientific and technical lag as dramatized and symbolized by the Soviet satellite, to overcome our tragic deficit on the educational front and at the same time that we can strengthen our defense posture we can go on continuing in the task of raising living standards and improving life generally.

We are going to be confronted in the days ahead with the voices of despair, by the men of little faith and little vision who will cry out and try to make us believe that we need to sacrifice our wage standards, our living standards, in order to find the economic resources necessary to strengthen our defenses and to overcome our lag on the educational front and related scientific and technical fronts. At the bargaining table in 1958 we have to answer those little men of big business.

Our problem in America is not the problem that flows from our being unequal to this challenge. The problem of America is the problem of complacency. It is a problem that grows out of the fact that we are not trying. When we were confronted with the challenge that faced us after Pearl Harbor, every American understood that half-way, half-hearted measures would not meet the challenge of war, nor will they meet the challenge that we now face in this period of twilight when we live between the shadow of war and yet we have not won the peace in the world.

What we need to do in America is to get our values in sharper focus, so that we know what we are supposed to be defending in the world, and then we need to work out a list of national priorities in which we begin to put first things first. What we need is not leadership based upon panic. What we need is leadership based upon a calm evaluation of where we are, the dimensions of the challenge and the dimensions of the tools that we have to work with in meeting that challenge. What we need is to replace complacency with bold leadership that understands the dimensions of both the challenge and the capacity of our nation to meet that challenge.

At the bargaining table we will need to work to help find those answers and to bring into being the kind of forces out of which this kind of positive, bold, adequate leadership will flow.

As the resolution indicates, in the last ten days there have been voices of panic, and it seems to me there have been two proposals made that this Convention must give an answer to that will be unmistakably clear and that people high in government and people high in the corporate structures of America will understand without any footnotes. This Convention must say in one strong, loud and united voice that a wage freeze is economically unrealistic and dangerous and that when we sit at the bargaining table in 1958 we will have no part whatsoever of any kind of wage freeze in any shape whatsoever.

Last evening we were told by the newspapermen that Senator Lyndon Johnson, Democratic leader of the Senate, made a speech in Texas. I understand this morning that he was misquoted or misunderstood. I hope he was, because based on the original information we got, a proposal was to have been made calling for the abolition of the 40-hour week. We won the war without abolishing the 40-hour week and we can win the present crisis without abolishing the 40-hour week.

There has never been a crisis in the history of this great and wonderful land of ours where American labor has failed to answer the call, and in this crisis we will work as many hours as need be within the framework of the 40-hour week, and we will make whatever sacrifices are essential to make our common freedom secure.

What I would like to suggest is that before we can work longer hours in Detroit, before the steel workers can work longer hours in Pittsburgh, before workers in other industrial centers can work longer hours in their factories, the politicians in Washington had better work longer hours providing leadership to America in this hour of crisis.

We approach the bargaining table in '58 as we have in other periods, not as a narrow, economic pressure group that attempts to make progress at the expense of the balance of the community. We go there mindful of our broad, economic and social responsibilities. American labor understands very well that we cannot make progress, nor can we find the answers to our problems in an economic or social vacuum; that we can solve our problems only as we work with other people in the community in finding answers to the problems of all of the people. It is in that spirit that we go to the bargaining table in '58.

But we say that bargaining must take place within the framework of the economic facts; that collective bargaining decisions should be the result of a rational, intelligent, joint exploration of the economic facts, and the decision should be based upon economic facts, not upon economic power.

But look at the struggles in the history of the American labor movement. We could bring you a long list and we could talk about the Kohler strike, which goes on and will be four years old shortly, and we could talk about the O'Sullivan rubber workers strike and many others. In each case industry has arrogantly used its economic power and refused to settle economic questions based upon facts. Only as the power of persuasion replaces the persuasion of power can collective bargaining mature in a free society. But industry has to recognize this fact and they have to begin to be willing to sit at the bargaining tables of America and deal with the questions based upon the facts.

Now, I would like to talk briefly, since your Economic Policy Committee has spent many, many hours and many, many meetings wrestling with these basic economic facts, because they are the arithmetic of our future, about what are the facts as we see them.

Well, today at noon the Department of Labor will release the latest figures on unemployment, and they will report that unemployment in November of 1957 reached a figure of 3,200,000, or an increase of 23 per cent since November of 1956. The October figure released by the Department of Labor said that there were 400,000 less workers in manufacturing industries in October of '57 than there were in October of '56. Yet with 400,000 less workers employed, there was a 400,000 increase in the labor force.

Twenty-four major labor areas have serious unemployment, with more than six per cent of the working force completely and totally unemployed. Sixty-seven minor labor areas have more than six per cent of unemployment. Unemployment is going to snowball in the months ahead, because nothing breeds unemployment as does unemployment. This unemployment picture is going to get more serious month

after month until we can begin to reverse the present trends by bringing into balance the tremendous productive power of America with adequate purchasing power.

What we do at the bargaining table in '58 will be an important factor in reestablishing this dynamic, expanding balance between greater productive power and greater purchasing power.

You know, when we think of recessions and depressions, we always go back to 1929, and old Herbert Hoover takes an awful beating. But when you take a look at the facts reported by the government agencies, there were 72,000 bankruptcies, business failures in the first half 1957. There were more bankruptcies in the first half of '57 than there were in the first half of 1932. The only difference today is that we have built into our economic structure economic cushions that absorb the shock of dislocation, that minimize the compounding of negative economic factors.

We have a strong labor movement. We have minimum wage legislation, unemployment compensation, social security, and many other things that were built into the American economy during 20 years of the New Deal. If it weren't for these cushions then the economic difficulties that we currently confront would pyramid and multiply at a more dangerous rate than is the case.

So, small business is going through the wringer. Workers are going through the wringer, and the farmers are going through the wringer. Farm income is down more than \$4 billion from 1952 to 1956. The auto workers know what it means when farm income goes down. We've got a work force in the agricultural implement industry that is about 40 per cent less than what we had a few years ago, because American farmers are not buying the tools of production on the farms that they need.

While the income of farmers is going down steadily, the income of the big processing companies is going up. Some years ago I was discussing the economics of the dairy industry with a group of farmers up in Wisconsin. I had some figures showing what their income was and what the income of the big national Dairy Association was. After I made the comparison, I made the observation that it is obvious that it is a whole lot more profitable to milk a dairy farmer than to milk a dairy cow in terms of the American economic situation.

Now, why are we getting in trouble? Well, we are getting in trouble for the same basic reason that we got in trouble in the period before 1929. We get in trouble when we expand the productive capacity of the American economy, when we gear into our economy all the new tools of science and technology and automation that can create unprecedented economic abundance, and then we fail to make it possible for the people to secure sufficient purchasing power to absorb that tremendous increase in our ability to produce.

During the past year, in fact, during the past several years, the American labor movement has been subjected to a vicious propaganda campaign. The American people have had their ear drums beat day after day by the propaganda of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce and other anti-labor groups trying to pin the responsibility for inflation upon organized labor. They talk about the union bosses going in and forcing industry to yield wage increases far and beyond the ability of

industry to pay higher wages without raising prices. They try to get the American consumers to believe that we are the culprits, that our wage demands are responsible for higher prices. I think we need to get the facts to the American people so that they will know what the situation has been in our economy.

This is the first time in the history of our kind of free economy in which we have had inflation under conditions completely contrary to all the classical concepts out of which inflation results. We have been told for many, many years that inflation comes about when you have a situation where there are more consumers, where the demand for goods and services exceeds the ability of the economy to satisfy those demands.

But that has not been the source of our inflationary difficulties. We have had inflation under circumstances where the capacity of American industry far outran the ability of people to translate need into demand by having adequate participating power. We have had inflation rigged by a small group of powerful corporations whose economic dominance in their industries gave them the power to arbitrarily set aside the laws of supply and demand and to rig the price, unrelated to the law of supply and demand.

What we need—because they will beat the drums more vigorously in 1958 as we go to the bargaining table—is to point out some of the simple facts of life.

Let's just compare take-home pay to take-home profits of America's giant corporations, corporations with a hundred million dollars or more in assets. From 1952 to 1957, the profits of these giant corporations increased 90 per cent. In 1952 they made profits after taxation, take home profits, if you please, of one billion four hundred sixty four millions of dollars. In 1957 they made profit after taxation of two billion seven hundred and eighty-one millions of dollars.

What happened to take-home pay during the period when take-home profits went up 90 per cent? Well, the wages of manufacturing workers of America on the average in 1952, according to the government records, were \$60.90 a week. In 1957 they were \$74.20 a week. If wage earners in the manufacturing industries had gotten the same percentage increase in their take-home pay from 1952 to 1957, every worker in manufacturing industries in America today would be getting \$40 a week more take-home pay than he currently is getting.

These are the brutal facts of life, and we need to get these facts out before the American people so that they will know what the causes of inflation are and where to fix the economic and moral responsibility for that inflation.

Our problem is not complicated. You don't have to graduate from one of the Ivy League universities to understand the basic problem of the American economy. When you look at the facts and you know that during the period of 1947 to 1956 American industry expanded in terms of new factories, new technology, all the tools of abundance to the tune of 342.6 billions of dollars; when you put that much expansion into the tools of production and you get them in production, then you have got to shift the emphasis from the expansion of capital goods to the expansion of consumer purchasing power to create the market to absorb the greater production made possible by this

tremendous expansion of American industry. This is what we have failed to do.

The automotive industry, GM, Ford, Chrysler, put 7.2 billions of dollars in the last ten years into bigger factories, automated factories, expanding their productive capacity. Yet in 1957 the General Motors Corporation will make 31 percent less automobiles than they made in 1955, although they have expanded their plant capacity since 1955.

We don't lack capacity in the auto industry. We have got a very old-fashioned, simple problem. We lack customers. We aren't making the millions of other automobiles that we have the capacity to make because they can't find customers. And in the steel industry, which is operating at 69 per cent of capacity, the steelworkers are not employed making the steel that we could use making automobiles. And in the electrical industry, the appliance industry, where they make refrigerators and washing machines and all other things that the womenfolk need in our homes, that industry is operating at less than 70 percent of capacity. Is it because every housewife has all the things she needs to make her life more pleasant and more comfortable and more convenient? The answer emphatically is no. The problem is that millions of households who need the things that the appliance workers can make and which the appliance industry has the unused capacity to meet, that the demand never realizes because the people lack the purchasing power to translate need into demand.

And what is true in appliances is true in textile, it is true in the housing industry with thousands of building trades workers unemployed.

What we need to do is to recognize that our basic problem in America is that we have mastered the techniques of mass production but we have not developed a comparable system for mass distributing of our great abundance.

And this is what we will be working at at the bargaining table. If we will mobilize this great productive power we can increase wages and protect the equity of American wage earners. We can lower prices and protect the equity of American consumers; and American industry can still realize a fair return on their investment.

We are in trouble because big business is taking a disproportionately large share of the fruits of our developing economy. We are not only in trouble, but so long as the economy limps along we will be inadequate to meet the challenge on the world front. And as long as we are inadequate the voices of hysteria will cry out in their hour of panic and they will call upon the labor movement to sacrifice its gains in order to make up the deficiencies of their failure to provide adequate leadership.

I raise these things because the answer to a strong defense posture and the answer to greater emphasis upon education and scientific development, the answer to higher living standards can be found in that area where America is failing to mobilize its maximum production potential.

Let me just give you one simple figure on that. If you take the '47-'53 period and compare what happened in the last four years, you find that had we expanded at the same rate in the last four years, as we did in the period from '47 to '53, the American economy could

have turned out 96 billions of dollars in increased goods and services —96 billions. Every American family could have had more than \$2,000 more in income. We could have built 2 million new homes. We could have built 300,000 new classrooms; hospitals with 400,000 beds, We could have doubled social security payments. We could have increased our defense budget. We could have increased our foreign aid program and still had money left over.

Our problem is to find a way to mobilize this unrealized abundance and gear it to our defense needs, our educational needs and our living standards. And this task is the task primarily of the labor movement on the collective bargaining front.

You can't bargain with corporations about prices. If you try they will threaten you and accuse you of trying to undermine the free enterprise system. They will tell you you are trying to steal sacred managerial prerogatives. We don't want to bargain on the price front but we do say that on the bargaining front we intend to begin to find the answers to how America can achieve this dynamic expanding balance between greater productive power balanced by greater purchasing power, each time achieving a balance on a higher and higher economic plateau that will yield wage earners a higher living standard and the nation a stronger defense posture in this hour of crisis.

Now, this is the challenge. It is not an easy challenge to face, and I say that this Convention has to resolve that in 1958 we are not going to start a retreat at the bargaining table; that in 1958 the labor movement of America has got to take an affirmative position. We need to pledge the solidarity, the kind of practical trade union support that we need, so that those unions who will be sitting at the bargaining table in the lead position will know that they are not only representing their own members but behind them they have the united support of the whole labor movement in pushing forward our collective bargaining demands. This is the answer; there are no other answers. The NAM Convention met in New York last week. They didn't find the answer to this question. They adopted what essentially is a one point program. They have been trying for several years to repeal the 20th Century. We have to learn to live in the 20th Century because it can't be repealed.

And I say at the bargaining table in '58 we have both a responsibility and an opportunity to make a great contribution to prove that just as our free economy and free men were capable of meeting the challenge of war we are capable of meeting this challenge. And if we mobilize our economy and achieve full production and full employment then we will forge the weapons and the tools of peace necessary to push back the forces of communist tyranny.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure we all appreciate the very fine address given to us by the Chairman of the AFL-CIO Committee on Economic Policy. I think he has indicated without question the road that we have to follow.

Is there further discussion on Resolution No. 122 on collective bargaining? Hearing no further discussion, those in favor of the adoption of this resolution will signify by saying aye; contrary, no.

It is carried and so ordered.

... **COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD** continued the report of the Resolutions Committee as follows:

NATIONAL ECONOMY

Resolution No. 134: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

National economic activities have been drifting downward since the past summer. Layoffs and short work-weeks have been spreading throughout the nation. In most industries, 15% to 25% of productive capacity is idle. Industrial production is 3% below last year and somewhat lower than it was two years ago. Retail sales have been falling.

There were 2½ million unemployed in October—400,000 more than in the previous year. In November, the number of unemployed persons, covered by state and federal unemployment insurance systems, was 40% greater than in 1956. In mid-November, the Labor Department reported that "unemployment increases since September were reported in about three-fifths of the 140 major production and employment centers." The government agency expects continued unemployment increases in the weeks ahead.

Total wage and salary income dipped in September and declined again in October. Short work-weeks brought down the average weekly earnings of factory workers from \$84.05 in December 1956 to \$82.16 in October—a decline of almost 5% in buying power, after accounting for price increases.

Underlying this condition is a lack of balance between the economy's increasing ability to produce and its lagging ability to consume. This downward drift may develop into a general recession in the coming months, if it is not reversed quickly by positive actions to strengthen consumer buying power and encourage economic growth.

Recent events can be expected to force a belated and needed change in the government's defense expenditure policy that may cushion the current economic downturn. It will not, however, provide the balance that is needed for long-run economic health. The increase in defense expenditures that is now contemplated is too small to have a decisive impact on the level of economic activities. Even a far greater rise in national security spending will not eliminate the long-run danger to the national economy resulting from a lack of balance between productive ability and private consumption.

This lack of economic balance is the result of government and business policies of recent years. During the Korean War defense expenditures rose sharply and business investment was encouraged, while the rise of personal consumption was curbed by income and credit restraints and tax increases. The share of the gross national product that went for national defense rose from 6.5% in 1950 to 14.2% in 1953 and the share that went for new plant and equipment outlays increased from 7.2% to 7.8%. The portion of total national output that went for personal consumption, however, was depressed from 68% to 63.5%.

After the end of the Korean War and the peak of the defense mobilization build-up, there should have been a new balance between investment and consumption—private and government policies were needed to stimulate consumer activities. Instead the dominant corporations continued their high-price, large profit-margin policies and the government granted tax concessions to stockholders and corporations, particularly the large firms.

These business and government policies helped to produce a substantial increase in the flow of cash to corporations. From 1953 to 1956, corporate after-tax profits and depreciation allowances rose 33%—more than twice the 15% rise in spendable consumer income. This disparity between the flow of cash to corporations and consumers established the foundation for the capital goods boom, between the spring of 1955 and the end of 1956, while consumer markets lagged.

The large cash-flow to corporations produced huge internal financial resources, that were supplemented by borrowing funds for investment purposes. "Costless capital," arising from large profit margins and tax concessions, freed the large corporations from dependence on the funds of individual investors in new stock flotations. Business investments in new and improved plant and equipment rose 22% between 1955 and 1956, while consumer spending increased 5% and expenditures for home-building fell almost 8%.

From 1953 to 1956, the share of the nation's total output that went for defense declined from 14.2% to 10.2% and the share that went for new plant and equipment increased from 7.8% to 8.5%. The share of gross national production that went for personal consumption, which had been depressed during the Korean War, increased merely from 63.5% in 1953 to 64.4% in 1956—still below the 68% of 1950.

Although there were no prolonged shortages of goods or productive capacity during the capital goods boom, it created an environment for price increases by the dominant corporations in key industries—in markets where demand was weak, as well as in markets where demand was increasing. These dominant corporations had generally maintained or enlarged their profit margins during the 1954 downturn, despite declining sales and the termination of the excess profits tax that had reduced their costs. After the middle of 1955, they raised prices sharply—in the auto industry, for example, where sales declined, and in the steel industry, among others. Price boosts continued in 1957, despite sagging markets; the steel industry's price increase last summer, that brought steel prices 25% above mid-1955, occurred at a time when the industry's production rate was falling below 85% of capacity.

The widespread organized business attack on trade unions and collective bargaining as the cause of a rising price level is made to shift the responsibility, in the public mind, from business pricing policies. The evidence points at the pricing policies of the dominant corporations, with their large profit margins, high rates of return on investment, and rising flow of cash, as the major cause of a rising level of prices.

Improvements in wages, salaries and fringe benefits have proven to be an essential factor in building mass consumer markets during the years since World War II. A Bureau of Labor Statistics study of the entire private, non-farm part of the national economy in the post-war period reveals that prices were rising faster than labor costs between 1947 and 1956, except in the one year, 1956. "The index for unit labor costs," states the government study, "was lower than the price index for every year prior to 1956."

Price boosts from the major corporations in key industries were passed along the price pipeline to other businesses and consumers. Living costs rose. These price boosts also pressed many smaller firms

in more competitive markets that could not easily pass on the price increases of the major basic industries. Business failures in 1956 and 1957—largely among smaller firms—have been at a higher rate than at any time since 1942.

The government responded to these price increases and pressures on the money markets' supply of lendable funds with a general tight-money policy. Interest rates rose to their highest levels in almost a quarter of a century. The tight-money policy made it difficult for smaller businesses, family farmers, states and local governments to borrow funds for expansion or needed improvements. The rate of national economic growth slowed down. But the large-scale investment activities of the big corporations, with their vast resources, continued to the beginning of 1957, when growing gaps between productive capacity and actual output brought a leveling off of the capital goods boom.

In the first half of 1957, the national economy was in a lull. Industrial production slipped from the peak reached at the end of 1956 and the growth of the national economy was virtually halted. The backlog of manufacturers' unfilled orders declined. Non-farm employment began to level off. Most markets for consumer goods continued to be relatively weak. With the installation of new plant and equipment, gaps between productive capacity and output continued to grow. Rising exports and government expenditures prevented a general decline. In the summer months, however, exports began to slip, the government further tightened the money supply and defense expenditures were cut. Government surveys indicated that business investment in new plant and equipment would start to decline toward the end of the year. Most markets and almost every state of the nation experienced a weakening of economic activities after the end of the summer. In recent weeks, the basic steel industry, for example, has been operating below 80% of capacity.

The buying power of total after-tax personal income, in the third quarter of 1957, was only a little over 1% greater than in the spring quarter of 1956. After accounting for population growth, the buying power of per capita after-tax personal income had slipped more than 1% in the 15 months between the spring of 1956 and the third quarter of 1957.

Within the past several weeks, most people have become aware of the downward economic drift and the danger of sharply rising unemployment after the holiday season. The Federal Reserve Board gave belated and partial recognition to this condition by permitting a reduction of re-discount rates in the major areas of the country.

The launching of two Russian space satellites shocked the American people into an awareness that there were serious lags in key areas of the nation's security efforts. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That National Security programming should be carefully re-evaluated in the light of world conditions and defense needs. Defense expenditures should be increased, if warranted by national security requirements, regardless of costs or economic trends.

Whether or not defense expenditures are increased, private and government policies should emphasize the need for a resumption of national economic growth and an improved relationship between the economy's ability to produce and its ability to consume. Balanced economic

growth requires emphasis on the need for a growing mass consumption base. The structure of the national economy must be strengthened to preserve its health for the long-run as well as for the next year or two.

Improvements in wages, salaries and fringe benefits are required to provide the foundation for growing mass markets that can match the economy's improving ability to produce a rising volume of goods and services. They are essential, too, to provide wage and salary earners with a fair share of the fruits of rising productive efficiency. Such improvements can be granted, without a rising price level, if business would share the benefits of increasing productivity and profitability with its employees and customers.

Most industries can afford to grant improvements of wages, salaries and fringe benefits, without price increases; some industries, whose productivity is rising most rapidly, can afford to grant such improvements and reduce their prices, while others, in which productivity is not increasing, may have to raise prices. Over-all living costs, therefore, could remain relatively stable, if business would seek rising profits from low profit margins and an increasing volume of sales, rather than large margins and smaller sales volume.

The government's general tight-money policy should be reversed to make lendable funds, at lower interest rates, more available to borrowers, including home-owners, home-buyers, and small business, through the activities of the Federal Reserve Board's Open-Market Committee and by reducing the required bank reserves. A reversal of the tight-money policy is necessary to permit the national economy to resume its growth, which is the basis of improved living conditions and national strength.

The federal tax structure should be overhauled to provide a more equitable basis for raising revenue and to meet the need for strengthened consumer buying power at a time of economic decline. Individual income taxes on low and moderate income families should be reduced. Upwards of \$5 billion of additional revenue should be raised, without increasing tax rates, by eliminating the grants of special tax privileges to corporations and wealthy families.

State and local tax structures, too, should be revised, so that revenues can be raised on the fair basis of ability to pay.

Coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act should be extended to millions of low-wage workers in trade and services who are not now protected by that law. The Act should likewise be improved to raise the federal legal minimum wage to \$1.25 an hour.

The social security system should be improved to provide adequate benefits, as a matter of right, to the aged, the permanently and totally disabled and those suffering from temporary illness or accident.

State unemployment insurance systems should be overhauled by federal legislation to provide uniform minimum standards. The state laws should be improved so that unemployment compensation will cover a larger portion of the individual's lost wages and that harsh eligibility and disqualification provisions are removed.

Long-neglected public services and social welfare programs should be started or improved. Federal aid for education is essential to im-

prove the educational standards of the nation. A federal program of assistance to communities of chronic economic distress is long overdue. Comprehensive federal housing and urban redevelopment programs are needed to improve housing conditions of low and middle income families and to restore the nation's decaying urban centers.

Resource conservation is essential to enrich the nation's economic potential. Public service and social welfare efforts should be started without delay and should move forward on a continuing basis—to be stepped up when private economic activities decline and curtailed only if defense outlays are suddenly and sharply increased.

The spotlight of public attention should be focused on the pricing policies of the dominant corporations in key industries as a step in the direction towards developing policies designed to restrain excessive profit margin pricing practices and achieving a relatively stable price level. The wage-price-profit-investment policies of price-leading corporations should become public knowledge, through a comprehensive Congressional investigation and study. The investigation of these issues, begun by the Senate Anti-Monopoly Committee, should be continued to provide the American people with available information on the policies and practices of the dominant corporations that affect the price level, employment and national economic growth. The investigation and study of monetary policy, begun by the Senate Finance Committee, should likewise be continued and broadened to provide the public with information on how monetary policies are formulated and enforced.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of Resolution No. 134.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Resolutions on Resolution No. 134 on the national economy and the motion to adopt the resolution. Is there any discussion?

VICE PRESIDENT DOHERTY: As a member of the Resolutions Committee, Mr. President, I did submit to the Committee yesterday afternoon an amendment to Resolution 134 which was adopted in the Resolutions Committee and I ask that that amendment be now read.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I think that was added to Resolution No. 122.

VICE PRESIDENT DOHERTY: The Committee put it in 134, Mr. President. Maybe they have changed it overnight. To help the situation, Mr. President, the amendment merely asks that this Convention assembled go on record against any wage freeze or any other proposal that will detract from the earnings of the workers in the United States of America.

PRESIDENT MEANY: That was added to 122, at the end of the third from the last paragraph. It referred to the wage freeze and to the elimination of any restrictions on the work week. It has already been included.

Now, we are on Resolution 134 which is on the national economy. Is there any further discussion? Is there any objection? Hearing none, the resolution is adopted.

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND AUTOMATION

Resolution No. 140: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

We are living in a period of rapid technological advances—improvements in mechanical devices, automation, the development of new materials and industrial uses of atomic energy. Scientists and engineers are providing us with the technical means for solving mankind's ancient problem of material scarcity.

These new methods and tools for producing and distributing goods and services should be a blessing. They make it possible to increase productivity, to improve living conditions and to reduce hours of work. A vast, new potential for a richer life and increased leisure is unfolding before us, as these new and improved production techniques come forth from the laboratories and drawing boards.

The new technology, however, is neither good nor bad in itself. It represents a potential for human advances. It likewise represents a challenge to human wisdom, since rapid technological change inevitably creates a multitude of social and economic problems. If this new technology is misused, it can result in large-scale unemployment and serious dislocations of our entire society.

Social and economic adjustments must accompany these technological advances, to prevent widespread disruption of families, communities and the nation. National full employment policies must be pursued with more vigor than before and the benefits of the new technology must be adequately and quickly shared by working people and consumers, as well as by business. Only in an environment of high employment and economic growth can the many adjustments to the new technology be made with a minimum of human disruption.

We have already witnessed the development of great social changes and problems. Production and maintenance jobs in manufacturing industries dropped 600,000 between 1953 and 1956 and they have continued to fall in 1957. The number of non-supervisory employees on Class 1 Railroads declined almost 200,000 from 1953 to 1956 and they have been declining further this year. While jobs in technical, clerical, trade, services and government employment have been increasing, they are frequently at much lower pay than factory or railroad jobs or they often require specialized skills and training.

Entire departments or divisions in factories, offices and on the railroads have been eliminated or drastically reorganized, with smaller work forces and radically-changed skill requirements. Although job opportunities have thus far been rising in such economic sectors as retail and wholesale trade, labor-saving technological changes are slowing the pace of those employment increases.

Large-scale geographical changes of business locations are under way, and as a result, old business centers because of radical technological changes are losing their economic advantages. Entire communities and sections of cities are being plagued or threatened by industry migration, unemployment and a declining tax base. Competitive relationships within industries are being disrupted, as large firms with great resources and high-volume operations utilize the new techniques, to the disadvantage of smaller companies that cannot afford them.

There have been dislocations of the work-force in many parts of the economy that are installing the new machinery and production methods. Skill requirements are changing, with the downgrading of skills for some jobs, as well as the upgrading of skills for others. Collective bargaining arrangements on seniority, job classifications and pay schedules are being placed under new strains.

A vigorous trade union movement makes possible the adjustment of these numerous dislocations, through collective bargaining and protection of workers' rights. Management cooperation is essential however, to provide adequate advance notice before radical technological changes are introduced and to work out the problems in good faith with unions.

The trade union movement, too, attempts to make certain that the burden of the transition to the new technology does not fall solely onto wage and salary earners. Through collective bargaining, it endeavors to bring a fair share of the fruits of technological progress to working people, in the form of higher living standards and increased leisure.

Mass purchasing power must be expanded, along with the rapidly rising productivity that accompanies radical technological advances. Collective bargaining and legislative programs should be developed and put into effect to protect individual workers and their families when technological changes displace workers from their jobs. Retraining opportunities and allowances should be provided for workers whose skills are made obsolete by new machines and production methods. Government assistance should be made available for communities whose well-being is shattered by the new technology and industry migration.

Democratic processes provide organized labor and the American people generally with the opportunity to obtain government assistance for safeguards that can minimize and cushion social dislocations.

The economic power or organized labor and the legislative processes of democratic government should be fully utilized to insure that buying power is expanded to keep pace with the growth of the economy's ability to produce, that the advances of productive efficiency are reflected in a greater measure of leisure, and that the fruits of technological progress are translated into improving living standards and the enrichment of our entire society.

There is a need for detailed information on the social and economic impact of the new technology, as it is developing in various parts of the country, in numerous industries and companies—such as (1) the present and prospective impact of technological developments on the national economy, (2) the extent to which these developments are causing manpower displacement in industries and communities, (3) the changing skill requirements by industry groups, (4) the further displacement of manpower that may be anticipated within the next several years, (5) the geographical and industrial sectors most likely to be affected, (6) the business plans for further installation of new production and distribution techniques, (7) the potential impact of such plans on business location, manpower displacement and changed skill requirements.

The Congressional Joint Economic Committee has made a start in that direction, but the need is for intensified congressional interest, backed up by detailed studies by pertinent government agencies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges the Congress to engage in a continuing study of the social and economic impact of the new technology and to provide adequate funds to the pertinent government agencies for the purpose of collecting, studying and reporting the facts as they develop, so that Congress may make recommendations, based on factual studies, to assure the maintenance of full employment and economic health.

All affiliated unions are urged to continue their efforts to press for effective collective bargaining and legislative programs to minimize the danger of hardships to individuals, and communities, whose welfare is threatened by the consequences of radically changing technology and to insure that the new technology will be geared to raising living standards and affording more leisure for all the people.

This Convention reaffirms the determination of the AFL-CIO to support all efforts that will enable the economy to sustain economic growth and full employment and that will insure a fair sharing, among all the American people, of the fruits of technological progress.

... **COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD** moved adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: I desire to call the attention of the Convention to Resolution No. 36 dealing with automation. The subject matter of this resolution is dealt with in Resolution No. 140 just adopted, and the Committee believes that no further action is required. The same is true of Resolution 61 entitled "Automation in the Railroad Industry." We feel that this subject was dealt with in both Resolutions 140 and 122 and, therefore, no further action is required. That applies to Resolution No. 36 and Resolution No. 61.

AUTOMATION

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates A. F. Hartung, Wm. Botkin, Joe Morris, Burk Christie, Ronald F. Roley, J. B. Hanna, International Woodworkers of America.

WHEREAS, Automation is rapidly transforming American and Canadian factories and offices, and

WHEREAS, The free labor movement favors technological changes which lighten the burden of human toil and with the introduction of automation in industry it will mean doing more work with fewer workers, and

WHEREAS, A study of the first industrial revolution reveals the multitude of complex problems that developed with its introduction and unless automation is properly introduced, the end result will mean either greater wealth for the few and unemployment for many, or unprecedented abundance of leisure for all; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations call for a representative conference of Government, management and labor to plan the proper introduction of automation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge such a conference to make a study of the guaranteed annual wage, the question of shortening the work week

without loss of take-home pay, the maintenance of general full employment, and develop a system of proper severance pay for displaced workers and their retraining wherever possible.

AUTOMATION IN THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Michael J. Quill, Matthew Guinan, Ellis F. Van Riper, James F. Horst, Gustav Faber, Eugene Attreed, and Frank Sheehan, Transport Workers Union of America.

WHEREAS, Automation in the Railroad Industry no longer is a future threat or promise; it has become a present reality, and

WHEREAS, While the bond and stockholders of the nation's railroads have reaped the full benefit of automation in lush profits, the railroad workers have suffered the full impact of automation in loss of jobs and loss of security, and

WHEREAS, Railroad employment in the country in 1957 has fallen to depression levels although there is no depression in the railroad industry. Its profits have soared because the industry has been able to operate with 30 percent fewer workers, and

WHEREAS, For the workers automation has meant permanent mass layoffs with no opportunity to benefit from the savings managements have effected as a result of automation. Greedy managements have been content to rake in increased revenues with fewer workers, and have made no effort to cushion the cruel effects of automation on the workers who are thrown on the scrap heap of industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations urges that, Railroad Labor organizations join in demanding that railroad companies enter into agreement which provides the same treatment and benefits for workers who lose their jobs through automation as are now provided for those who lose their jobs through coordination or abandonment of facilities, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations seek the enactment of emergency legislation which would provide "extended benefits" under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act to workers made jobless through automation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO continue its fight for a 30-hour work week on the railroads as the only realistic answer to automation on the railroads.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Committee is reporting on Resolution No. 36 and Resolution No. 61. The subject matter was covered under Resolution No. 140 and they state no further action is required. If there is no objection, that will be the course followed.

Visitors from South America

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to interrupt the work of the Resolutions Committee to present a few more of our visitors from foreign lands.

From Bolivia: Osvaldo Kinn Zambrana, Foundry Workers Union; Antonio Lopez Lequizaman, Railway Union.

From Chile: Raul Fuentes Acevedo and Marta Regina Iglesias Zuniga, Communications Workers Union; Marta Marin Galliano, Social Security Employees Union; Francisco Osorio Osorio, Industrial Union of Chilean Power Co.; Reinaldo Roasenda Maggi, Trolley Bus Drivers Union.

From Colombia: Metal Workers—Andres Bello Rincon and Jaime Alfonso Pena Salcedo. Brewery Workers—Luis Francisco Lopez Rueda.

From Costa Rica: Migueal Angel Gonzalez Murillo, National Association of Communication Workers; Heriberto Obando Barahona, Public Workers Union.

From Ecuador: Efrain Holger Arquello Ruiz, Jorge Humberto Echeverria Cardenes, Chauffeurs Union; Eugenio Arnolfo Naula Velasco, Martin N. Villamar Guerrero, Longshoremen's Union; Samuel Gilberto Cisneros Hernandez, Railway Workers Union.

From Peru: Hernan Alva Astete, Public Utilities Workers Union; Benjamin Castellanos Plascencia, Shoe Workers; Esteban Talledo Gery, Brewery Workers; Alejandro Villanueva Villanueva, Street Car Motor-men and Conductors.

From Cuba: Ismael Rodriguez, National Federation of Sugar Workers.

I want to present to you the representatives of the ORIT, which is the Western Hemisphere Regional Branch of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The principal officers of this organization, of which the AFL-CIO and the Canadian Labor Congress, of course, are members, are here with us today. I want to present them to you and give them time for a very, very short address to you.

I now present the President of ORIT, who is also the Secretary of International Relations of the Cuban Confederation of Labor, Brother Ignazio Gonzales Tellechea.

MR. IGNAZIO GONZALES TELLECHEA

(Secretary of International Relations, Cuban Confederation of Labor and President of ORIT)

. . . Senor Tellechea addressed the Convention in Spanish.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, Brother Tellechea. Brother Romualdi will read the translation.

. . . Brother Romualdi gave the following translation:

I wish to take this opportunity to express, as President of ORIT, my sincere appreciation and thanks for the kind invitation extended to me to attend this convention. The unity and strength of the labor movement in the United States, symbolized by the AFL-CIO, is an example for the workers of the other countries of the free world.

As Secretary of International Relations of the Cuban Confederation of Labor (C.T.C.) it is my privilege to extend to you fraternal greetings from the workers of my country. The C.T.C. is expressing admiration and congratulations for the energetic manner with which you have undertaken the task of cleaning the labor movement. This is a prerequisite for the survival of free and democratic trade unionism.

I can assure you that the workers of Latin America, as represented by ORIT, join wholeheartedly in applauding you for your conduct.

Realizing that you have still much work to do and that you are pressed for time, I will end my message of greetings by giving you a warm embrace on behalf of all the workers of Latin America. We are confident that your deliberations will always be inspired by the desire to bring about a greater measure of cooperation among the people of the free world.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now I would like to present the principal officer of ORIT, the General Secretary, a native of Costa Rica. Although a very young man, he is really a veteran in the international labor movement. He spent several years on the staff of the ILO and has been an officer of the trade union movement in his own country and has been the General Secretary of the ORIT since its founding.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you for a very short address Luis Alberto Monge, General Secretary of ORIT.

MR. LUIS ALBERTO MONGE
General Secretary, ORIT

. . . Mr. Monge addressed the Convention in his native tongue, following which Serafino Romualdi read the following translation.

Cooperation and solidarity have existed between North America and Latin American trade unions ever since Samuel Gompers' time. But the tightening of bonds and the organized action to defend labor and democracy really commenced in 1948, in Lima, when the Inter-American Confederation of Workers (C.I.T.) came into existence. Then, in 1951, the organizations belonging to the C.I.T. and other friendly organizations established the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (O.R.I.T.), at Mexico, which is the regional branch of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, for the Western Hemisphere.

The role played by O.R.I.T. in the fight for economic and social justice for labor throughout the American Continent, for an assertion of democratic principles in all our countries and for the political, economic and spiritual coordination between the Americas, is of extraordinary historic value. Our people have come to realize this and are now giving their wholehearted support and sympathy.

In spite of the great importance that O.R.I.T. now holds—a powerful alliance of workers from North America, Latin America and the Caribbean area—and in spite of the important achievements O.R.I.T. has won in various aspects of our fight, we are still a long way from attaining our objectives. We must double our efforts and greater resources must be made available to O.R.I.T., both in personnel and in finances, so that its mission can be fulfilled in the future to a higher degree.

There are still strong negative forces, such as the reactionary Rightist groups, the reactionary Leftist or Communist groups, and the dictatorship regimes under whose yoke several Latin American countries are suffering today such as Venezuela, Dominican Republic and Cuba. To face these negative groups and to triumph it is imperative that each and every free trade union worker give his conscientious support to O.R.I.T.

And therefore, this greeting to the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Convention is a greeting of fraternity and solidarity. It is a reiteration to our brothers in the United States that the workers south of the Rio Grande are with them in their fight. But it is also a notification of future responsibilities and an expression of confidence in the sentiments of solidarity and in the steadfastness of the United States' workers convictions.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, Brother Monge.

Now, the Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Education for a report of that Committee. Chairman Schoemann of the Committee on Education.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN SCHOEMANN: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the Convention: Your Committee on Education had fourteen resolutions presented to it for consideration. We have also had policy statements of the Permanent Committee on Education. We find that practically all of the fourteen resolutions are covered quite thoroughly in the Policy Committee's recommendations. Therefore, we have prepared resolutions covering each and every one of the resolutions that was presented to us.

Norman Matthews of the UAW, Secretary of our Committee, will read the report.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MATTHEWS: Mr. Chairman and delegates: As the Chairman of the Committee stated, we have some policy matters here which have to be read in detail to the Convention. It is our thinking that an educated membership is a militant membership, and I hope we will have your consideration in these resolutions.

FULL-TIME ORGANIZERS FOR TEACHERS

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchardt, John M. Fewkes, F. Earl McGinnis, Jr., Herrick S. Roth.

WHEREAS, Recent studies show that today's students are less favorably oriented toward organized labor than formerly, and

WHEREAS, The unorganized teacher is uninformed in the basic concepts of the American labor movement, and

WHEREAS, Organizational drives of other internationals of the AFL-CIO have been retarded by this lack of orientation of the unorganized teachers, and

WHEREAS, Organizing teachers requires organizers with special qualifications, and

WHEREAS, The organizational program of the AFL-CIO as now constituted is incapable of supplying organizers especially qualified to successfully organize teachers into the American Federation of Teachers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organiza-

tions direct its officers to allocate a specific amount of money to be used for organizing teachers at the elementary, secondary and college levels, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this fund be sufficient to provide for not less than six (6) full-time organizers.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MATTHEWS: We are referring this resolution to the Executive Council for sympathetic consideration.

Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

RESOLUTION No. 52
INCREASED APPROPRIATION FOR U. S. BUREAU OF
APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Dept. and James T. Marr, Oregon State Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Because of our rapidly changing economy the need for various kinds of skilled workers is on the increase, and

WHEREAS, Both the Metal Trades and Building Trades Departments of the AFL-CIO have emphasized the need for promotion and stimulation of all types of training for industry, and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the U. S. Department of Labor has historically been given the responsibility for promotion of apprenticeship and skill improvement training programs, and has very faithfully and effectively carried out these responsibilities, and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training has the responsibility of assisting management and labor in developing training programs designed to increase the skill of all workers in our skilled labor force, and

WHEREAS, The operations of the Bureau of Apprenticeship the Training of the United States Department of Labor directly affect the trade union movement, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, goes on record endorsing the activities of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training and urge that the next session of Congress be requested to increase, through appropriation, the abilities of the agency to function; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be submitted to the U. S. Secretary of Labor.

. . . COMMITTEE SECRETARY MATTHEWS moved adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

RECOMMENDED CENTRAL BODY, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNION, AND LOCAL UNION ACTION IN EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Resolution No. 88—By Committee on Education.

From its inception, the American trade union movement has been concerned with labor education. These programs are based on the realization that democratic trade union organizations can be competently governed and operated only if the members and officers understand the history, structure and goals of the labor movement. Improved collective bargaining and legislative representation, better contract enforcement and more democratic union meetings can all result from a more informed membership and leadership. An understanding of world affairs, civil rights, government, economics, organizing problems and community services greatly strengthens all labor organizations. It is vital that all trade unionists understand the principles and policies of the AFL-CIO and of their own national or international unions.

Many labor organizations now carry on widespread programs of labor education.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That in building their trade union education programs, we urge state central bodies to: (1) appoint a staff Director of Education, where possible, and to establish an active standing committee on education; and (2) establish an annual, week-long, resident labor school for leaders and members. Many state central bodies have undertaken such schools and these have contributed importantly to the strength of the trade union movement.

We urge local central bodies to undertake education programs based on the experience of the many local centrals now conducting them, to include periodic weekend institutes for the leaders and members of all local unions in the area and to assist affiliated locals in conducting educational and information classes for the membership.

We also urge national and international unions to continue their expanding work in the field of education. We note the increase that has taken place in the number of institutes and conferences sponsored by national and international unions and the expansion of their education staffs.

We urge local unions to contact their respective national and international unions and, in cooperation with them, to carry on such education programs as seem best suited to their particular needs. Directly affiliated unions are urged to contact the AFL-CIO Department of Education for assistance in conducting an on-going education program through an active local union education committee.

Staff assistance, aid in planning, and printed and audio-visual materials are available for these programs from the Department of Education.

. . . COMMITTEE SECRETARY MATTHEWS moved adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

RAISING TEACHER STANDARDS
(Substitute for Resolutions Nos. 15, 43, 45 and 46)

Resolution No. 156—By Committee on Education.

The quality of the education provided for the thirty-two million American children enrolled in our primary and secondary schools largely reflects the professional qualifications of the men and women who teach them.

Unfortunately, Americans have been so callously indifferent about the substandard salaries and working conditions of the teachers that hundreds of thousands of those most qualified are being driven into other occupations or have already left the classrooms.

During the course of the 1956-1957 school year, for example, the average salary of the American classroom teacher—generally a college graduate—was \$4,220, equivalent to \$81 weekly on an annual basis but before deductions for taxes, pensions, and for other purposes. Twenty-three states paid less than \$75. Weekly teachers' salaries in Kentucky, Mississippi and Arkansas were \$54, \$48, and less than \$46 respectively.

Besides substandard salaries most teachers have an excessive workload imposed upon them. On top of teaching duties that become more and more burdensome as school over-crowding grows, most school administrators require the teacher to assume a broad range of duties outside of the classroom without providing extra compensation.

Furthermore, in most American communities classroom teachers are still without a genuine union organization of their own through which they can seek redress from exploitation. The National Education Association (NEA) dominated as it is by the school administrators, does not and cannot fulfill that need. In fact, in many instances, membership in the American Federation of Teachers—the only bona fide trade union organization of classroom teachers in the United States—is subtly and even openly discouraged by school Administrators and by school Boards. Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations urges all of its affiliates to continue and to extend their efforts to rectify the deplorable salary and working conditions of our teachers, through legislative action at the local, state and federal levels and by other appropriate means. Clearly the free public school system for which organized labor has fought for more than 100 years in order to achieve equal educational opportunities for all children is in jeopardy unless teachers' standards are immediately and drastically improved.

Furthermore, all affiliates are urged to increase their cooperation with the American Federation of Teachers so that this sister affiliate of the AFL-CIO can complete its mission to elevate the standards and the dignity of American teachers through their full participation in the trade union movement of the United States.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION "COMPANY UNION"

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Clement J. Lemon, Delaware State Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, All employees are entitled to the fundamental right to organize without interference by management, and

WHEREAS, Even the federal law recognizes the harm to employees' rights that can follow when the employees' organization is subsidized by management or when the management holds membership in such organization, and

WHEREAS, Certain school administrators are still trying to prevent teachers from joining the union of their choice and are pressuring these teachers to join the National Education Association and its local and state affiliates which not only take in administrators as members but are generally dominated by these administrators making this organization a "company union" in fact, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, and its affiliated locals are bona fide labor unions for teachers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations does hereby recognize the National Education Association and its local and state affiliates as a "company union," and further directs that all internationals, state and central bodies shall be urged to accord no aid or assistance to this "company union."

STATE AND LOCAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS "COMPANY UNIONS"

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchardt, John M. Fewkes, F. Earl McGinnis, Jr., Herrick S. Roth.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers is the only teachers organization affiliated with the AFL-CIO, and

WHEREAS, The National Education Association, the state education associations and the local teachers associations not only are not affiliated with the AFL-CIO but in practice oppose the fundamental principles of trade unionism even to the extent of instituting suit to invalidate a collective bargaining agreement established by a legitimate AFT local and its board of education; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in Convention assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, consider the National Education Association, the state education associations and the local teachers associations not affiliated with the AFL-CIO as company unions in fact, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO recommend to its affiliated bodies that teachers requesting help and assistance be encouraged to affiliate with the American Federation of Teachers and to work toward establishing legitimate union collective bargaining agreements with their boards of education.

PREVENT PROMOTION OF MEMBERSHIP OF TEACHERS IN ANY TEACHERS' ORGANIZATION

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchardt, John M. Fewkes, F. Earl McGinnis, Jr., Herrick S. Roth.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers is the only teachers' organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers through such affiliation becomes the bona fide teachers' union in the United States, and

WHEREAS, The National Education Association, the state education associations, and the local teachers' associations not only are not affiliated with the AFL-CIO but, in addition, because of their administrative membership and control, are company unions, in fact, and

WHEREAS, Certain of these school administrators are known to exert tremendous pressure, influence, intimidation, and coercion upon the teachers to affiliate with the National Education Association, the state teachers education association, and the local education association, while at the same time, said school administrators oppose affiliation of their teachers in the American Federation of Teachers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., go on record in favor of legislation which will prevent school superintendents, principals, and other school administrators or advisory staff from exercising influence designed to promote membership in any teachers' organization, and be it further

RESOLVED, That state and city central labor bodies be advised of this action and asked to use their influence at the state legislative level to secure enactment of such legislation.

SHOW PREFERENCE FOR TEACHERS AFFILIATED WITH AFL-CIO

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchardt, John M. Fewkes, F. Earl McGinnis, Jr., Herrick S. Roth.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers is the only teachers' organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers through such affiliations becomes the bona fide teachers' union in the United States, and

WHEREAS, The National Education Association the state education associations, and the local teachers' associations not only are not affiliated with the AFL-CIO but in addition, because of their administrative membership and control, are company unions, in fact; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations encourage its international affiliates to give preference to teachers who are members of the American Federation of Teachers when making recommendations for part-time or summer employment.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MATTHEWS: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of Resolution No. 156.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee, which is a combined report on Resolutions 15, 43, 45 and 46 on the subject of raising teachers' standards. Resolution No. 156 is a substitute resolution. The motion is to adopt Resolution No. 156. Is there discussion of the motion?

The Chair recognizes the President of the American Federation of Teachers, Brother Carl Megel.

DELEGATE MEGEL, American Federation of Teachers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to make an amendment to insert in the second sen-

tence of the paragraph on the first page these words: "Because it is in effect a company union," so that the phrase will then read "The NEA, dominated as it is by the school administrators, does not and cannot fulfill that need because it is in effect a company union."

Mr. Chairman, I move this amendment.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: This amendment calls for the insertion of language in the forepart of the resolution referring to the National Education Association. Was the amendment presented to the Committee?

DELEGATE MEGEL: I brought it to the Committee, yes.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I understand this resolution was brought to the Committee and not accepted, and now it has been brought to the floor as an amendment to the motion adopting this resolution,

Is there further discussion?

Brother Megel wants to speak on the amendment.

DELEGATE MEGEL: Mr. Chairman and delegates, this amendment is brought to your attention because it is of tremendous importance to the organizational program of the American Federation of Teachers. We are in accord with the provisions of the resolution as read to you by the Chairman. My no vote in the Education Committee is not to be interpreted by any manner of means as opposition to anything that is found in this resolution.

The amendment is being introduced in order to clarify the resolution. This is why I voted no on it. We are introducing the amendment so that the delegates and labor representatives understand fully the company union aspect of the National Education Association, its state and local affiliates, and so that they will better appreciate the anti-labor program of this NEA company union.

What is the fundamental difference between the NEA and the AF of T that makes it necessary for us to introduce this resolution? The NEA considers the superintendent as the spokesman for the teachers. The AF of T, the American Federation of Teachers, in accordance with the traditional labor position and philosophy, considers the superintendent as the representative of management. This is one of the reasons why teachers haven't been able to get salaries, because the representatives of the NEA, the superintendents, sat on both sides of the table and it wasn't possible for the teachers to get proper recognition through those superintendents. The superintendent is a representative of management. He is not, therefore, qualified to speak for the classroom teachers, who in this case are the workers.

Furthermore, in typical company-union fashion, these superintendents or school administrators elect the officers of their association and they formulate the policy of the National Education Association. They do this in spite of the fact that the classroom teachers and the vast majority of the NEA membership is in the majority. The school administrators do this by designating, in most cases, classroom teachers who shall be the delegates to the policymaking NEA Convention. By providing special favors for these teachers, the available vote on issues they formulate is for acceptance.

Not only do these administrators develop the program and formulate the policies of the NEA, but worse, to our thinking and of greater interest to you, is that they force classroom teachers to join the National Education Association. The dues of these teachers are then used to finance the program and policy which the administrators had formulated in their previously controlled Convention.

The majority of teachers in the United States sign a yearly contract for employment. In state after state teachers, through the pressure of the school administrators, are compelled to sign a contract which mandates that the NEA dues are deducted from the teacher's first salary check. Whether the teacher wants it or not, that is mandatory. Right in New Jersey over half of these teachers this year have signed that contract. I can give you state after state all over the United States. In school district after school district in every state in the Union prospective teachers applying for a teaching job are carefully screened as to their labor philosophy. If they express a favorable labor sentiment, they are never employed but if they are employed, in substance they are told, "Well now, we don't expect any of our teachers to belong to labor. That is beneath teachers. But of course you will be a member of the National Education Association." This is one of the reasons why we find it so difficult to organize teachers.

This screening process removes from the teaching ranks those teachers who would bring to the attention of the students labor's ideals and labor's philosophy. This is why the AFofT has had such a difficult time to organize teachers.

I call to your attention one more thing. Eighteen states now have right-to-work laws. These are the states where the NEA has nearly a 100-percent membership and where the AFofT has little or no membership. Except for Indiana, no right-to-work law has ever been passed in any state which has a good strong American Federation of Teachers State Federation. The NEA is bitterly anti-labor. Their school administrators constantly work in many areas of the country to promote anti-labor ideas and to prevent labor-conditioned teachers from belonging.

This fall a letter was sent from the NEA to every superintendent, and I quote from this letter:

"We are asking you to select the finest young teachers and put them on committees to formulate our policy. We are doing this because the unions have made great inroads and we certainly must prevent unionization of teachers."

Because of this company-union dual role of the NEA, we ask support of our amendment. Many of our best labor friends are unaware that the NEA is so bitterly anti-union. In fact, some do not know that the American Federation of Teachers is the only bona fide teachers' union affiliated with the AFL-CIO. This amendment will clarify the resolution so that no one can misunderstand. This amendment will prevent the embarrassment occasioned by cooperation, very often inadvertently, given by sincere labor representatives to this company union.

Last summer I was asked to address a forum at the University of Oklahoma. The representative of the national office of the NEA was my opponent. I discussed the idea of teachers belonging to the

American Federation of Teachers and I stated that we belong to labor. This is our strength; this gives us our philosophy; this gives us a major reason for joining the American Federation of Teachers.

The representative from Washington then got up and stated, "My fellow teachers, Mr. Megel has dramatically told you about the advantages of belonging to the labor movement. I can tell you that that is fallacious, because I have access to the officers of the AFL-CIO equally with Mr. Megel and, therefore, you don't have to belong to the A.F.T. to get help and support from labor."

This is the basic reason why we are asking you to help support us on this resolution, so there can be no question about its clarity and its purpose.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion?

The Chair recognizes Chairman Schoemann of the Committee.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN SCHOEMANN: Mr. President, first I would like to say that the address that you have just heard from President Megel was read to the Committee on Education. We had a very fine attendance at that particular meeting. When the vote was taken it was unanimous, with the exception of President Megel, not to accept this amendment.

There are many reasons why your Committee and the permanent Committee on Education has taken the position of not recognizing at this particular time the fact that the National Education Association is a company union.

There is and will be again important legislation presented to the next Congress, which will be a part of our report later on, that will not only place the legislative representatives of the AFL-CIO in a peculiar position of cooperating with representatives of a so-called company union, but it is going to be very embarrassing to good trade unionists to be forced to do that.

We are in complete sympathy with the American Federation of Teachers. We tried to express in our language the things that Brother Megel has said to you this morning. I would like to have the privilege of reading to you the language that we have used, which we feel is very appropriate at this particular time. I again read from the report:

"The National Education Association, dominated as it is by school administrators, does not and cannot fill that need. In fact, in many instances membership in the American Federation of Teachers, the only bona fide trade union organization of classroom teachers in the United States —"

I think we have tried to express the thinking of President Megel.

Now, of course, there have been many disastrous results that the N.E.A. has been the cause of throughout the United States in blocking the organization of the American Federation of Teachers.

But as it happens to be—and I am going to take the time to recite to you—I am a former member and elected school board member in the city of Milwaukee. The Wisconsin Teachers Association is an adjunct of the NEA, and the things that he has recited to you here this morning were also applied in the city of Milwaukee.

Now, we didn't commit hari-kari or we didn't become unduly alarmed. We thought it was going to be a long, tough, hard fight to get the AFT recognized in the city of Milwaukee. And in my 23 years on that Board I happened to be the first labor representative that was ever elected on that Board and was successively elected five times for six terms. When I left there we had accomplished this, as far as the American Federation of Teachers are concerned: We have an assistant principal in senior high schools; we have an assistant administrator of the Superintendent of Schools, and I know that the membership of that local union has grown and grown. Where has the growth been secured? It has been secured from the Wisconsin Teachers' Association.

Now, I recite that to you to show what is necessary, in my opinion, and what is the best way of assisting the American Federation of Teachers. It isn't by going headlong into this battle, because I am positive that the taxpayers of these communities who in many instances are laboring people unconsciously are placed in the position of voting against any increase of taxes because of the things that the American Federation of Teachers might be advocating.

And I might say further—and I think this is very important, again—in the city of Milwaukee, at the time of the convention of the Wisconsin State Teachers Association they had always forbidden the holding of a convention of the American Federation of Teachers at the same time. The School Board always paid the teachers to attend the convention of the Wisconsin State Teachers Association. We were successful in getting recognition for the American Federation of Teachers. They held their convention simultaneously in a different hall, and we paid them in the same way as the Wisconsin State teachers were getting paid.

Now, I trust that this Convention will support your Committee. We are doing everything we possibly can to assist the American Federation of Teachers, and the things that we are advocating and recommending, we think, will be of great assistance to them.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report. Is there any further discussion?

DELEGATE ROTH, Teachers: I appreciate very much what Brother Schoemann has just said, and I think that we have been fortunate in Milwaukee in having had him as a member of the School Board in the past and in having labor's support on the Board at the present time. The fact is we still do not have a majority union of teachers in Milwaukee, in spite of this labor support. We don't have a collective bargaining relationship.

You have today passed a resolution on collective bargaining principles. In this resolution you state what the objectives of the working people are. One of the objectives not stated is the extension to employees in the public services, in governmental services the same rights which the rest of you in organized labor have won for yourselves.

We are not going to win any battles in the American Federation of Teachers or the International Association of Firefighters or the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees—we aren't going to win battles by playing footsie with company unions. If there is a principle involved here, if the principle involved is—and I think

Brother Schoemann said this is not the time to recognize the principle—if there is a principle, now is the time to recognize it, because the Teachers' Union has not grown in this country even in proportion to the growth of the total membership in the teaching profession. We have not grown in the Teachers' Union. We have not established for ourselves, which we would like to do, the right to act like a trade union. We have not been able up to this time to give to ourselves nor our membership the same kind of thinking, because our own membership has been so used to the fact that they have bargained, through the company union, because the company union—the NEA and the State Education Associations and the local Education Associations have provided a good support for the public school program, with the support of the labor movement on the side.

One of the things I would like to point out—and I am not going to speak at any length, I can assure you—is the fact that we do not have Federal aid to education, in spite of the supposed support of the National Education Association. We do not have as the first plank in their company union program in any way the thing that we need—the support, not just for school construction but for teacher salaries, and we are not going to get it from them because of the domination of the company, namely, the company union.

We have in public education a public corporate structure, the same as we have in private business. We have management and we have labor. Most teachers don't recognize it, but the labor is that of teaching. If, for instance, in the automobile industry you had the National Association of Automobile Workers and you had an open shop, and you had in the open shop situation an independent private trade union known as the Automobile Workers, and because of the open shop and because when you were employed you were unable to seek and get employment unless you agreed to belong to this association, you would be dealing in the same kind of situation that we do in the public school situation, the same kind in the public services generally.

Now, the reason this little additional clincher is needed in this resolution—and this is not just the position of President Megel; this is not just the position of the five of us who are delegates from our International Union here at this convention; this is the opinion of our own International Union, and we have a real grass roots convention, believe me. Come to it some time and see. Everything is discussed completely on the floor and committee reports are not sanctified and holy, and we often get things changed on the floor. But we had, for the first time, this year after discussion for many years, by almost unanimous consent a directive to us that we do identify the National Education Association and its state and local affiliates for what they are; and we do identify them as company unions; that we do let the people in the trade union movement know who are brothers and sisters; that there are company union people and, as a result, we cannot as trade unionists expect to survive in a situation where we must do business through an intermediary bargaining agent, which also says it represents teachers but is dominated by those who manage.

I think that is the principal issue here, should we or should we not call the NEA a company union. The only purpose of this amendment is to make it crystal clear to the AFL-CIO generally and to the delegates to this Convention, to the local central bodies, to the state central bodies and international unions and their affiliates that it would

be good if we did business only with trade unions. We can't sit and do business with the National Association of Manufacturers because the AFL-CIO is not an affiliate of it. We should not do business in any other phase of public life, and we will get federal aid to education and other things much faster if we do business only with bona fide trade unions; and we will do it best, too, in the public service.

So I urge you, if you will as a delegate body here today, to give your support to this amendment as an amendment that comes from the grass roots thinking of the struggling 50,000 members of a public employee union in your midst who, too, would like to establish collective bargaining rights in the real sense as the basis of raising and improving the conditions of teachers in this country, and not do it just out of the benevolence of the labor movement because it is our kids that are in the schools.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Delegate Borchardt.

DELEGATE BORCHARDT, Teachers: Fellow trade unionists, I rise in support of the amendment, because I respect the men and women in the trade union movement. President Meany has said this must be a workers' convention. We agree. The movement must be a workers' movement.

President Beirne pleaded for the Communications Workers that labor have informed scholars working with us, not distorting facts, but as scholars within our own membership giving the facts for the common good.

Walter Reuther pleaded for union solidarity. The Union Labor League asked for the imprint of the spirit of the union label. We who teach your children are asking for just that.

I ask for the same consideration for the teachers that we are asking every place, that we outlaw our working contacts with a company union. I protest the contempt in which the workers are held by those who say, "We are professional. We cannot lower ourselves to belong to a union." That's what the teachers' associations say to us continually, that we are not professional because we join with our fellow workers on the level with them in pleading for the common good.

We hold ourselves to be superior in professional service because we are in the trade union movement, and we offer no apologies for that. We hold that we are professional because we work with other trade unionists as one of them for the common good.

I would say I got my four college degrees on a college campus, but I got my education in the trade union movement.

When the hospital managers wanted the hospital bill passed, certainly we worked together. When they want defense measures, certainly we'll work with them, but on a strictly trade union matter we want the National Education Association, the state associations and the local bodies known by what they are—company unions, speaking with contempt of the parents of the children we teach.

The idea of having your child told, "I cannot belong to the kind of organization to which your father belongs because we are superior," I say to you, we are not superior if we are born with the

fundamental principle of recognizing every worker for the service he gives to the common welfare of our country.

As trade unionists, let us recognize that approach and support the amendment to call the organization what it really is at the national and state level—a company union.

DELEGATE UMBER, Montana AFL-CIO: I rise in support of this amendment. In Montana we have a strong teachers' union. We need it. We need more of them. Every state needs more teachers' unions. We in Montana know the difference between a company union and a free trade union.

We know a company union is boss-dominated and a free trade union is the workers' own mouthpiece and guide. To appreciate the importance of a free teachers' trade union, let me emphasize what has happened, because our teachers have not all been organized and because of this the teacher-worker does not speak for himself, but is spoken for by the boss.

I agree with President Meany; this is and must be a workers' organization. The Teachers' Union is the only professional organization which fights for the classroom teachers. Salaries and working conditions of the classroom teacher are notoriously poor. To improve these conditions and so to get and keep enough qualified teachers the AFL-CIO is dedicated.

Classroom teachers' salaries on the average range from as low as \$46 per week in some states to about \$81 per week in others. These salaries, if you can call them salaries, do not increase properly as the teacher gains experience. Nor do they take into consideration the years of training required to enter the profession. It takes too long for a teacher to reach the top salary bracket. I am a carpenter by trade, and after four years of training I was paid the top wage as a craftsman. This was only due to the fact that I belonged to a strong trade union.

Let me call your attention to what a teacher's job looks like. Teachers work under a terrific load. Is there a man here who would want the care of 150 to 200 teenage boys and girls every day? That is what most high schools have assigned their teachers. Is there a parent here who would want to watch over 35 to 45 young children for over six hours every day? Well, that is what most elementary teachers must do.

In addition, the teachers must plan each day's work, prepare lesson materials, mark and grade papers, prepare and file at least two dozen office reports every week, check on the health of pupils, contact parents to get them to cooperate, keep up on current educational trends and events and be generally well informed. From our viewpoint, a most important function is to give to children a respect for and appreciation of the contribution of the father as a worker to the common good.

The Teachers' Union is the only professional organization that will help the teachers do this. But there is another reason why the growth and development of the Teachers' Union is important to us. Our movement needs to have facts concerning the rise and the development of our labor movement truthfully and adequately taught. We need qualified teachers who know the facts to teach them. We need teachers

who have learned the facts in the labor movement as well as in books and college classes to tell the truth. In short, we need a Teachers' Union, not a company union.

If you have any doubt in your mind that the National Education Association or the Montana Education Association in our state is any friend of the Teachers' Union, let me tell you that right now in Montana we are fighting in Butte against a campaign of the free riders in an attempt to establish a local right-to-work law, if you please. It is an attempt by the company union to break a contract between the Teachers' Union and the local school board, an attempt to destroy union security. This is the same company union that fought us in the 1955 State Legislature when we sought and won social security coverage for teachers and all employees of state government in its various subdivisions. This same outfit attempts to discourage teachers against joining a Teachers' Union by saying that it is disgraceful to belong to a trade union and only detracts from the dignity of the teacher.

I beg for the support of the labor movement for the bona fide Teachers' Union in the AFL-CIO and a strong fight against the labor-baiting tactics of the teachers' company union, the NEA, the state associations and local associations which are administrator-dominated and in no sense are friends of the classroom teacher or the trade union movement. Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion?

DELEGATE FEWKES, American Federation of Teachers: Ladies and gentlemen, I think it is time that this issue came clearly before you. It is very seldom that a committee in this Convention is reversed or that an amendment is made and successfully carried to a committee report. I think it is good that that is true. However, there are occasions when I think such amendments should prevail and I believe this is one of them.

The American Federation of Teachers has been fighting an insurmountable battle, faced by an organization that claims three-quarters of a million in membership and which is a company union dominated by the administrators of the school system and the board of education. I want to call a couple of significant facts to your attention.

The Chicago Local is the largest local in the American Federation of Teachers, numbering almost one-sixth of the total membership of our national organization. The membership in the State of Illinois numbers about one-fourth of the total membership of the American Federation of Teachers. Why is this so? This is so because the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor have recognized the Chicago Teachers' Union as a local in the City of Chicago and our State Federation of Teachers in the state as the bona fide local organization of the American Federation of Labor-CIO. It has given us support and help at every turning point in our history.

Our representatives in the Illinois State Legislature are our great President, Reuben Soderstrom, and Stanley Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer. Whenever the Illinois Education Association requests support of the State Legislature on school matters they are asked "What does the Illinois State Federation of Teachers and the Chicago Teachers Union say about this matter?" They refer them to us. This is one of the reasons why the Illinois State Federation of Teachers is soon going to be the dominant organization throughout the entire State of Illinois.

We know that in other states you men and women of labor are giving similar support as in Montana, whose great representative just spoke to you. You are giving great help to our organization there but unfortunately it is true that in too many instances at the national, state and local levels our opponent, the NEA, is given aid and comfort by labor. We say, ladies and gentlemen, that it is all right to work with the NEA on anything that is good for education for the children of the United States of America and for the teachers who serve them. But it is wrong not to say clearly and definitely that the American Federation of Labor-CIO recognizes the NEA as a company union. We will work with anybody on good measures for education, but we want our position clearly and definitely known throughout the labor movement of the United States of America, that the AFL-CIO recognizes the NEA as a company union, dominated by administrators, and one which forces membership upon the teachers throughout the United States of America.

You give us help in removing that situation from the backs of teachers all over the nation. If you do not, you cannot expect us, ladies and gentlemen, to organize teachers under the banner of unionism.

DELEGATE SMITH, Broadcast Employees: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I rise in support of the amendment submitted by President Megel. I believe we should call a spade a spade. To sit here and recognize a company union and in any way cooperate with them I think is dead wrong. If it is a company union let's call it a company union. The cooperation that we may get from them on legislative matters will never outweigh the lack of cooperation and the damage that they do at the grass roots of the labor movement. I am speaking now of the classroom. There they do irreparable damage to the labor movement. We all know that and no one here can deny it. That is all I have to say on it.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The question before the Convention is the amendment to the Committee report. As some of the speakers have outlined, it is the desire of the American Federation of Teachers, or their delegation, that this resolution on raising teachers' standards should brand the National Education Association as a company-dominated union. The resolution as reported refers to the National Education Association as being dominated by the school administrators and points out that it cannot fulfill the real need for the teachers.

I would like to point out in this connection that the teachers, like all other civil service employees, desire some form of collective bargaining, and they have not, of course, as far as I know, in a great many places been able to achieve that objective. Of course neither have a good many of our other unions achieved that objective.

The question of collective bargaining in public service has been debated for many, many years, and there were very, very strong objections to it, but I think there has been a great deal of progress made.

However, I have followed the problems of the teachers for many, many years. Of course, I have some of my own ideas about it.

I can recall when I was doing legislative work for the New York State Federation of Labor in Albany, New York, a good deal of our legislation was legislation concerning teachers, and I can remember that lobbying in the State Capitol we had a very difficult problem

because of the fact that the Teachers Unions, our own Teachers Unions, were a minority, and also because of the fact that at the time—this is the period of about 20 years ago at the time I was doing this work—there were 84 separate and distinct teachers' organizations represented by lobbyists at the State Capitol.

Now, I don't mean 84 lobbyists. They combined. But there were 84 organizations representing the school teachers of the City of New York. They were segregated into groups on the basis of the class they taught, on the basis of locality, some on the basis of national background and origin, and they did not present a very united picture.

The question of organizing teachers, I think, runs to something even more important as to whether or not we call this organization what it undoubtedly is—a company union. I think the term would not be improper.

I noticed one of the speakers said, "If you expect us to organize teachers, you must call this group a company union." Well, if that's true, then if this Convention does call the group a company union, it is a sort of implied promise that they will organize teachers. I think it is a much more difficult problem than that.

I want to make one thing clear. The point was made that some officers of the NEA said that they didn't have to worry about the teachers; that they had their contacts with the trade union movement. Well, if they do they don't have any contacts in Washington as far as I am concerned. I don't know any of them. I have never spoken to them. As far as I know, they have no contacts with our people.

I do know, however, on the question of Federal aid to education, we supported Federal aid to education and so did they, but that does not by any means mean that we have any cooperating sort of work with them. Frankly, I can remember for many years that when I supported legislation in the State of New York, at every legislative hearing a representative of the Communist Party appeared and with great delight put himself on record, he said, "I support Brother Meany's position." Now, that was a little bit embarrassing, but it didn't prevent me from going ahead and supporting the position of the trade union movement.

Here we have it. It is a very simple question. Do you want this resolution to contain the phrase that is contained in the amendment?

... The motion to adopt the amendment to the resolution was carried.

RAISING TEACHER STANDARDS

Resolution No. 156 (Amended)—The quality of the education provided for the thirty-two million American children enrolled in our primary and secondary schools largely reflects the professional qualifications of the men and women who teach them.

Unfortunately, Americans have been so callously indifferent about the substandard salaries and working conditions of the teachers that hundreds of thousands of those most qualified are being driven into other occupations or have already left the classrooms.

During the course of the 1956-1957 school year, for example, the average salary of the American classroom teacher—generally a col-

lege graduate—was \$4,220, equivalent to \$81 weekly on an annual basis but before deductions for taxes, pensions, and for other purposes. Twenty-three states paid less than \$75. Weekly teachers salaries in Kentucky, Mississippi and Arkansas were \$54, \$48, and less than \$46 respectively.

Besides substandard salaries most teachers have an excessive workload imposed upon them. On top of teaching duties that become more and more burdensome as school over-crowding grows, most school administrators require the teacher to assume a broad range of duties outside of the classroom without providing extra compensation.

Furthermore, in most American communities classroom teachers are still without a genuine union organization of their own through which they can seek redress from exploitation. The National Education Association (NEA) dominated as it is by the school administrators, does not and cannot fulfill that need because it is in effect a company union. In fact, in many instances, membership in the American Federation of Teachers—the only bona fide trade union organization of classroom teachers in the United States—is subtly and even openly discouraged by school Administrators and by school Boards. Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations urges all of its affiliates to continue and to extend their efforts to rectify the deplorable salary and working conditions of our teachers, through legislative action at the local, state and federal levels and by other appropriate means. Clearly the free public school system for which organized labor has fought for more than 100 years in order to achieve equal educational opportunities for all children is in jeopardy unless teachers' standards are immediately and drastically improved.

Furthermore, all affiliates are urged to increase their cooperation with the American Federation of Teachers so that this sister affiliate of the AFL-CIO can complete its mission to elevate the standards and the dignity of American teachers through their full participation in the trade union movement of the United States.

. . . The motion to adopt the resolution as amended was carried.

. . . At 12:55 o'clock p.m., the Convention recessed until 2 o'clock p.m.

PROCEEDINGS
Second Constitutional Convention of the
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

FIFTH DAY — AFTERNOON SESSION
WEDNESDAY, DEC. 11, 1957

... The Convention convened at 2:10 p.m., President Meany presiding.

COMMUNICATIONS

... The following communications were received:

December 7, 1957, Milano

AFL-CIO Convention,
Atlantic City, New Jersey

UIL workers express fraternal solidarity glorious AFL-CIO.
Best success Convention.

VIGLIANESI

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
Washington

December 3, 1957

Mr. George Meany
President, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Meany:

This Second Biennial Convention of the AFL-CIO seems a fitting occasion for me to express to you, your associate officers on the Executive Council, the officers of your constituent unions, and the delegates to your Convention my appreciation for the splendid support you have consistently given the foreign aid program.

You have rendered service of great value by helping to acquaint the Congress, the general public, and your membership with the basic issues involved in the cold war and the vital need to assist our allies in their efforts to develop their economies in order that they may live in peace and freedom.

I am grateful to you for your splendid cooperation in our program to acquaint labor leaders from friendly countries with the role of trade unions in a free society. I am well aware that the total cost of this to the AFL-CIO and its constituent unions is high.

I hope you can find a convenient way to bring the gratitude of the ICA to the notice of the Convention and to convey to your associates some measure of our appreciation.

Sincerely yours,
J. H. SMITH, JR.

Paris, December 5, 1957

AFL-CIO

Atlantic City, New Jersey

In the name of the French members of Force Ouvrier, I am sending the AFL-CIO Convention our fraternal greetings and best wishes for the success of its work in the interest of the international free labor movement and social progress.

ROBERT BOTHEREAU
Secretary General
Force Ouvrier

George Meany, President
William F. Schnitzler, Secretary
AFL-CIO Convention
Atlantic City, New Jersey

Heartiest congratulations and best wishes from the National Committee for Labor Israel. Sincerest thanks for your solidarity and cooperation with the Histadrut, the Labor Federation of Israel.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Chairman
DOV BIEGUN, Secretary

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

Mr. George Meany, President,
AFL-CIO
Second Constitutional Convention
Atlantic City, New Jersey

The Jewish Labor Committee greets the AFL-CIO on the occasion of its Second Constitutional Convention.

We hail the courageous and forthright manner in which the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO and President George Meany have fought against the twin menace of racial discrimination and corruption.

In sharp contrast with labor's policies and actions on these problems has been the silence of employers' groups on the use by anti-labor corporations of bribery and of racism as weapons against unionism. All sectors of the community must stand firm for equal rights and ethical practices if the welfare of our people and the prestige of our nation is to be secure.

The Jewish Labor Committee pledges its continued support to the AFL-CIO in the struggle for freedom, equality and dignity for all people.

Fraternally,

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

Adolph Held, National Chairman
Charles S. Zimmerman, Chairman,
National Trade Union Council
for Human Rights.

TANGANYIKA FEDERATION OF LABOUR

87 Livingstone Street
P.O. Box 5359
Dar Es Salaam
28th November, 1957

Mr. George Meany, President
AFL-CIO
c-o Ambassador Hotel
Atlantic City, New Jersey, U. S. A.

Dear Brother Meany:

This is just to convey greetings of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour 3rd Annual Congress held in Dar es Salaam from 25th to 28th November, 1957 to the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations Convention to be held in Atlantic City, from 5th of December, 1957.

The Tanganyika Federation of Labour 3rd Congress wish the Convention every success.

I am also directed to convey the following Resolution passed by the Congress: "The 3rd Congress of the T.F.L. do appreciate gratefully the efforts made by the American trade union movement in helping the young trade union movement in Africa, through the AFL-CIO Scholarship Program for Africa, and we wish the scheme every success."

Faternally and sincerely yours,

R. M. KAWAWA, General Secretary

KENYA FEDERATION OF LABOR

Dear Brother President Meany, the AFL-CIO Executive and Delegates assembled on this great occasion of your Convention. The Kenya Federation of Labour, on behalf of its affiliates, all the workers in Kenya and indeed the entire African community, send you the warmest greetings and deeply felt message of solidarity.

In addressing ourselves to you we are fully conscious of the disparity in our ages, strength, experience and achievements, but are equally aware of the solidarity of workers in the free world and particularly that solidarity between the workers of our two countries. Our confidence in the greatness and dignity of labor and our appreciation of your historic contribution in assisting workers the world over to realize their rightful status has led us today, and despite our youth and relative inexperience, to associate ourselves with you and the International Labor Movement in this noble cause.

The AFL-CIO is no longer a stranger in Africa and Kenya in particular. On this occasion it is fitting that we convey our deeply felt thanks and appreciation for the grant of 35,000 dollars from the William Green Memorial Fund to help us build a trade union center. It is not so much the size of the grant that we must thank you for, but the sentiments and solidarity implied. This expression of solidarity, in addition to the obvious material gains and advantages that we shall enjoy, will encourage and strengthen us in our determination to raise the status of labor in our country.

The policy of the Colonial powers is to instill in the indigenous people an inferiority complex aimed at undermining their will power, creative ability and self confidence. It is this that we must destroy, and we are glad to tell you that your extended activities to Africa will help us in our endeavors.

Brother President, the Trade Union Center, which we hope will be built in the next year, we have decided to call the 'Solidarity Labor Center'. Within the Center will be a library called "The William Green Memorial Library." In addition to this Center being the symbol of Afro-American workers' solidarity, we hope it will provide a rallying point for Kenya workers. We shall ourselves endeavor to raise locally whatever funds we can in our present circumstances.

This message would be incomplete without mentioning the visits to Kenya and East Africa of two AFL-CIO representatives during this year. We refer to Sister Maida Springer and Brother Vice President A. Philip Randolph. The United States could not have sent better ambassadors. The impression these two representatives created has helped to weld more strongly the friendship between our two organizations and indeed countries. The African appreciates friends who respect his basic human dignity and personal pride and this your two representatives could not have done better. Please convey to them the greetings from us all.

The AFL-CIO Scholarship program could not have come at a better time. If we may say so, we wish it had come earlier. Africa as a whole is in urgent need of leaders not only with academic qualifications or training, but with a broader background and outlook. This we are confident will be the outcome of the program. Anyone who provides for Africa one effective leader contributes ten or even a hundred fold to her development and in helping to lay the foundations of a democracy against which the Communists would have no answer.

Let us stress that regardless of what any critics may say, we wear the shoe and know where it pinches and we are completely convinced of the great contribution this Scholarship program will make to our efforts to develop a live, active and effective free trade union movement. We hope this program can be enlarged.

May we conclude on this note. We are particularly glad that the AFL-CIO chose Sister Maida Springer for this assignment. In a few days she has not only become known and respected, but has been completely accepted in our hearts and homes. Her energy, easy adaptation and deep understanding of the African situation are an asset the AFL-CIO must treasure greatly.

Our choice for this program, Brother Arthur Ochwada, Assistant General Secretary-KFL, is a proven fighter in whom we have confidence and great hopes for the future. We look forward to his return and know that he will come back better equipped to continue the struggle to which he has already made a great contribution.

This may be a longer message than normal at your conventions, but how can we express all we feel in a few sentences across such vast distance and disparity of conditions.

Brother President, sisters and brothers assembled at this convention, on behalf of all my colleagues, our members and my people, I send you greetings in the hope that the solidarity already expressed

will contribute to our struggle for political freedom, economic opportunity and human dignity.

Long live the AFL-CIO and the ICFTU to continue the struggle for bread, peace and freedom.

Hon. TOM MBOYA, M.L.C.

General Secretary.

Kenya Federation of Labor.

28th November, 1957.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Education, Brother Matthews.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

(Resumed)

COOPERATION BETWEEN AFL-CIO AND UNIVERSITY WORKERS' EDUCATION CENTERS

Resolution No. 157—By Committee on Education.

In the past decade an increasing number of universities established workers' education programs; at some universities workers' education activities are part of the university's extension service, while at others these programs are administered by an industrial relations center.

The AFL-CIO recognizes that universities have a role in the field of workers' education and regards these programs as an important function of a university's educational activities. The labor movement has repeatedly stated that workers' education should be a full-fledged part of a university's curriculum just as much as the services that are rendered to management and agriculture.

Special problems that have developed in the relationship between organized labor and universities cannot be overlooked. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the following prerequisites are regarded as essential for successful cooperation between the AFL-CIO and its affiliates on the one hand, and a university's workers' education program on the other:

1. The AFL-CIO and its affiliates cannot cooperate with a university which does not take an unequivocal position in favor of the basic principles upon which the American labor movement is built.

Additionally, there can be no misunderstanding that labor's point of view must always be clearly presented in workers' education classes.

2. University workers' education programs should operate in consultation with labor advisory boards whose members are to be nominated by the labor movement, at the appropriate level. Where a particular union or unions have an especially large membership and have an interest in educational activities, the labor advisory committee should include an officially designated representative. The function of these boards should be to advise the university administration as to the educational needs and to evaluate the services and activities performed by the university. The AFL-CIO recognizes that in nominating committee members experienced trade unionists can serve best to contribute to a sound university workers' education program.

3. Universities should not seek to "sell" their services to local unions simply to have a program. Workers' education requires careful planning and is valuable only if it becomes an integral part of the union's overall program. Therefore, the university should coordinate its services and activities with the union's representatives—such as, national and international unions and state central bodies; education directors or committees, and other appropriate official representatives of the labor movement. The university should adjust its projects and programs to the organizational set-up of the union and cannot work independently. It should function through the proper union channels if it is to fulfill the purpose of building a better functioning union organization and of training union officers. Universities should aim at establishing programs operated through the locals themselves and to accomplish this, in each local union served, an active education committee should be established.

4. A skilled and competent staff is a prerequisite of a sound university workers' education program. In addition to subject knowledge, acquaintance with the labor movement and experience in modern education techniques are essential for teaching labor classes.

5. The AFL-CIO headquarters and national and international unions and state and local central bodies strongly urge that university labor educational specialists be trade unionists; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the labor movement needs and can benefit greatly from the educational courses offered by universities to unions. They can be an important link in the AFL-CIO educational activities. However, the university will attain these goals in the field of workers' education only if its program is consistent with labor's overall educational objectives.

. . . COMMITTEE SECRETARY MATTHEWS moved the adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion was second and carried.

"MERIT RATING" PLAN

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchart, John F. Fewkes, F. Earl McGinnis, Jr., Herrick S. Roth.

WHEREAS, Proposals for state legislation requiring a salary plan based upon a misnamed "merit rating" plan were considered in several states in 1957, and

WHEREAS, Such proposals were supported primarily for reasons of economy or possibility of political preferment other than improvement of education, and

WHEREAS, "Merit rating" salary plans discourage teacher recruitment rather than encourage it, and

WHEREAS, "Merit rating" tends to break down teacher morale rather than to build it up, and

WHEREAS, It is impossible to rate one teacher above another on a dollar and cents basis; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organiza-

tions, through its legislative representatives and its affiliates, condemn the unfair procedures which the "merit rating" plan necessitates and use their influence to prevent legislation or local school boards incorporation of a "merit rating" plan in connection with their teacher salary schedules.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MATTHEWS: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

SPECIAL "DAYS" IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Resolution No. 158—By Committee on Education.

The American public school system is based on providing an opportunity for free education to all children, on a substantially equal basis, as a function of government. Conduct and control of the schools is the responsibility of the duly elected or appointed boards of education, administrators, and teachers. No private interest group should control or conduct the educational process, nor should they so influence its procedures or content as to accomplish this end. Propaganda in the public schools, when used by teachers as factual material, violates this basic consideration. Business and other outside groups which attempt to organize special programs for the schools, secure the cooperation of school officials, and exclude the role of labor in these discussions, obviously violate this consideration. The AFL-CIO and its affiliates should work toward well-rounded, fair programs, which all segments of the community are involved in helping to plan, but again the planning and conduct must be the responsibility of the duly constituted school officials.

We do not, of course, object to field trips, speakers from special groups in the schools, or use of materials of special interests where identified as such, as long as the teachers and administrators control the educational process and are guaranteed their academic freedom in respect thereto. Teachers should not be left to forage for free materials. This limits a teacher's freedom and drives him to propaganda sources. Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: On the basis of these facts, we urge our affiliated organizations—national, international, state, city and local unions—to oppose the initiation, continuation or extension of such devices of propaganda. We urge them to see to it that the schools control all such teaching with respect to management, capital, labor, agriculture, and other groups. As stated, the schools should use all proper resources in their teaching. The principle is that our free public schools must remain public and free in every sense.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MATTHEWS: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

. . . The report of the Committee was continued as follows by Committee Chairman Schoemann.

CRISIS IN EDUCATION

Resolution No. 159—By Committee on Education.

(Resolution incorporating relevant portions of "Policy Statements on Education, Submitted to the AFL-CIO Executive Council by the

Committee on Education" and Resolutions Nos. 45, 73, 74, 92, 93 and 94)

The launching of the Soviet satellites has called forcefully to the attention of all Americans what should have been painfully clear for years: the shameful neglect of our educational system has led to a deterioration that threatens our way of life and our very existence.

America must awaken to this great challenge. At every level, our educational system must be strengthened. No child should be deprived of the best possible educational opportunities because of lack of school facilities, because of lack of qualified teachers, because of financial difficulties or because of racial discrimination.

Current concern over Soviet scientific advances is understandable, but we must be on guard against over-emphasis on education in science at the expense of the arts and the humanities. Our entire educational system needs strengthening, and the labor movement will do all in its power to help meet this crisis.

From its beginning, organized labor has recognized that universal public education is essential for the achievement of equality of opportunity by the children of the United States. We take pride in the fact that a growing number of trade unionists are members of School Boards and are otherwise giving active support to the educational needs of all our people.

To meet the great challenge facing our American educational system, action is needed on each of the following fronts:

1. Federal Aid to Public Education

The shameful neglect of our educational system was highlighted in 1957 when the Congress again failed to pass a bill to provide Federal Aid to public school construction. Despite all the impressive evidence as to need, and despite all the lip service paid to it by the Administration, even the inadequate program of the Administration was defeated when a majority of the Republicans and Southern Democrats combined to defeat the bill.

The plain fact remains that the school crisis is so great that only Federal aid can rescue the public school system from further deterioration. The state and local governments where the need is greatest simply do not have the funds nor the taxing authority to raise these funds needed to meet the growing schoolroom shortage and the operating costs needed to attract and keep a good teaching force. Most of the funds these local governments do and can raise, moreover, are based on regressive tax laws.

In the period 1946 to 1956, total indebtedness of school districts across the country increased by more than 600%.

With proper safeguards against interference with local schools, the Federal Government has a responsibility to provide:

1. Federal aid for public school construction
2. Federal aid for public school teachers' salaries
3. Federal aid for scholarships
4. Federal aid to combat illiteracy at all levels
5. Federal aid for health and welfare services for all children.

In September 1956, the U. S. Office of Education found a shortage at that time of 159,000 classrooms. This is generally considered to be a minimum estimate. On the basis of population growth and obsolescence of present facilities, the classroom shortage within 5 years may exceed 500,000. A substantial number of our existing classrooms are actually unsafe for human occupancy.

Federal aid to education cannot wait any longer. The Congress must give this top priority. It is already a top priority item in labor's legislative program.

Last year, the AFL-CIO co-ordinated the efforts of 31 national organizations representing millions of Americans. Unfortunately, in the failure of White House legislative leadership, a campaign conducted by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce developed sufficient opposition to force the defeat of the legislation. A switch of only 3 votes would have been enough to assure passage in the House.

School construction needs have received major attention in recent years because of the outrageous situation in that area; but the needs of our school children will not be met by schoolrooms alone. We must recruit and retain a teaching force to meet the educational challenge of today. All levels of government, including the federal, must do everything possible to aid in the training and recruitment of our teachers, and we must be prepared to provide them adequate wages and decent working conditions.

In addition to schoolrooms and teachers, our children deserve the best tools, especially textbooks that are up to date and fair. Most of our science textbooks are outdated and outmoded. Few textbooks in the social studies give adequate if any attention to the American labor movement. Furthermore, many children are still required to buy their own textbooks. We renew our insistence that free public education must include free textbooks and materials for all children.

2. Vocational Education

Realistic programs of occupational training must be inaugurated on a wider basis. The change to automation calls for a re-evaluation of vocational education programs. The old programs are generally matched to manual achievements. Secondly, very little action is being taken to provide adequate retraining of growing numbers of people displaced by the new techniques.

Vocational education must be reactivated and its programs revised to do more than serve as a catch-all for students who fail to meet other educational standards.

A constructive working relationship must be developed between union representatives and directors of vocational training programs, federal, state and local. Every AFL-CIO affiliate should make certain that its membership is represented on active advisory committees. Experience would indicate that most of this action should be handled or at least coordinated by local or state central bodies.

We urge the Congress to make available whatever funds may be needed to provide the maximum assistance to the vocational education programs of the states.

3. Aid to Higher Education

America's most precious asset—its young people—is being shamefully wasted because many of them fail to complete the education for which they are intellectually equipped. Each year, an estimated 160,000 high school graduates from the top quarter of each class fail to enter college. Financial considerations are the primary cause for 100,000 of these interrupted educations.

We will never know how many accomplished atomic scientists or missile experts or cancer specialists or language students we have lost forever. We propose that this gross waste be eliminated as quickly as possible.

The current concern over Soviet satellites will undoubtedly spur support to science and mathematics studies, but it would be a tragic mistake if this were all. Our national and international needs call for trained people in the arts and the humanities as well as the sciences. We need trained diplomats and economists and political scientists and language experts as well as physicists and engineers.

The AFL-CIO believes that no American boy or girl who demonstrates ability and interest should be deprived of a college education or its equivalent because of lack of funds. Every free junior college or full four-year college or state university makes this goal more attainable.

The Federal government must assume substantially greater support for higher education than it has until now. Primarily, this increased support should come in the form of a liberal scholarship program. Experience with the G. I. Bill of Rights provides eloquent evidence of the constructive role which Federal assistance can play. Hundreds of thousands of Americans were enabled to complete their education at institutions of their choice without any federal interference.

The AFL-CIO will support the broadest possible program of Federal scholarships as the soundest investment we can make in a democratic America and a free world.

4. School Lunch Program

The AFL-CIO endorses and commends the federal school-lunch program as a great public service. However, appropriations should be increased to restore the same federal support for the hot lunch program which was given at the time the school lunch program was enacted.

5. Labor Extension Service

The AFL-CIO reaffirms support of a Labor Extension Service in the Department of Labor to provide service and material comparable to those provided through the Department of Agriculture to farmers, and businessmen through the Department of Commerce, administered at the national and state levels through advisory boards made up of representatives of the organized labor movement and cooperating institutions and agencies.

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO recognizes the great crisis facing the American education system, and calls upon its members and affiliates, the Congress of the

United States, and the state and local governments of our country to do everything possible to meet this great challenge.

We support a realistic program of federal aid to education to relieve the critical classroom shortage.

We support an expanded vocational education program attuned to the needs of a changing technology.

We support a broad program of Federal scholarships for higher education in the science and the humanities.

We support the continuation and the expansion of the federal school lunch program.

We support a Labor Extension Service in the U. S. Department of Labor.

REAFFIRMATION OF A BROAD EDUCATION PROGRAM

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchardt, John M. Fewkes F. Earl McGinnis, Jr. and Herrick S. Roth, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, International developments have dramatized the lack of enough persons in certain technical fields, and the lack of enough qualified teachers to help train students in specialized fields, and

WHEREAS: Popular attention is being drawn solely to the need for precision training in one field, while actually the need exists—even for development in this specialized field—for fully equipped, professionally qualified teaching personnel in all fields, and at all levels, and for schoolhouses in which to teach, and for means to enable all worthy students to extend their education in any form of knowledge, and

WHEREAS: There is real danger in current recommendations that we model our program of education along the lines of the Russian educational program which stresses technical precision training to the exclusion of a broad education for citizenship including training in the humanities and the arts, and

WHEREAS, In a democracy we need broad cultural training with in which precision training is included and oriented; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO, in convention assembled, reaffirm its program in support of the traditional American concept of training for democratic citizenship, through programs in all the States which develop an appreciation of the values we cherish and which, at the same time, includes precision training in the scientific and other technical fields.

REAFFIRMATION OF FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchardt, John M. Fewkes, F. Earl McGinnis, Jr., and Herrick S. Roth, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Recent developments have aroused our national citizenry to renewed demand for action to meet the educational needs of our country, and

WHEREAS, As an answer to this widespread demand, certain individuals prominent in government and in industry are proposing provision for specialized higher training in place of the provision of funds for school construction and aid for other needed educational programs, and

WHEREAS, From some quarters comes a cry to curtail federal expenditure for education, urging that funds so saved be made available for purposes of national defense, and

WHEREAS, Education and training at all levels are assuredly a highly essential form of national defense, and

WHEREAS, It has been established that federal aid is necessary to enable most States to maintain an adequate education system, now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO in convention assembled reaffirm its demands that, to protect the safety of the Nation and help the States develop the well being of every citizen, the federal government make available to all the States, one billion dollars a year for the next 5 years, for such a program which shall provide:

1. Federal aid to the States for school construction,
2. Federal aid to the States for teachers' salaries,
3. Federal aid to the States for loans and scholarships for worthy students,
4. Federal aid to the States for health services for all children,
5. Federal aid to the States for the eradication of adult illiteracy in addition to the federal funds now authorized and expended for educational purposes.

REAFFIRMATION—FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchartt, F. Earl McGinnes, John M. Fewkes, and Herrick Roth, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Recent developments have aroused our national citizenry to renewed demand for action to meet the educational needs of our country, and

WHEREAS, As an answer to this widespread demand, certain individuals prominent in government and in industry are proposing provision for specialized higher training in place of the provision of funds for school construction and aid for other needed educational programs, and

WHEREAS, From some quarters comes a cry to curtail federal expenditure for education, urging that funds so saved be made available for purposes of national defense, and

WHEREAS, Education and training at all levels is assuredly a highly essential form of national defense, and

WHEREAS, It has been definitely established that federal aid is necessary to enable most States to maintain an adequate education system; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the AFL-CIO in convention assembled reaffirm its demands that, to protect the safety of the Nation and help the States develop the well being of every citizen, the Federal Government make available to all the states, one billion dollars a year for the next 5 years, for a program which shall provide:

1. Federal aid to the States for school construction,
2. Federal aid to the States for teachers' salaries,
3. Federal aid to the States for loans and scholarships for worthy students,
4. Federal aid to the States for health services for all children,
5. Federal aid to the States for the eradication of adult illiteracy.

REAFFIRMATION OF A BROAD EDUCATION PROGRAM

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchartt, F. Earl McGinnes, John M. Fewkes, and Herrick Roth, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, International developments have dramatized the lack of enough persons in certain technical fields and the lack of enough qualified teachers to help train students in specialized fields, and

WHEREAS, Popular attention is being drawn solely to the need for precision training in one field, while actually the need exists—even for development in this specialized field—for fully equipped, professionally qualified teaching personnel in all fields, and at all levels, and for schoolhouses in which to teach, and for means to enable all worthy students to extend their education in any form of knowledge, and

WHEREAS, There is real danger in current recommendations that we model our program of education along the lines of the Russian educational program which stresses technical precision training to the exclusion of a broad education for citizenship including training in the humanities and the arts, and

WHEREAS, In a democracy we need broad cultural training within which precision training is included and oriented, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO, in Convention assembled, reaffirm its program in support of the traditional American concept of training for democratic citizenship, through programs in all the States which develop an appreciation of the values we cherish and which, at the same time includes precision training in the scientific and other technical fields.

BUSINESS--INDUSTRY-EDUCATION DAYS

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchartt, F. Earl McGinnes, John M. Fewkes, and Herrick Roth, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Certain school boards and school superintendents continue to allow Business-Industry-Education days to be initiated and

conducted on school time at taxpayers' expense by organizations primarily interested in promoting their particular economic points of view; and

WHEREAS, Business-Industry-Education days interrupt the regular instructional periods and therefore deny boys and girls this opportunity for advancing their education, and

WHEREAS, Business-Industry-Education days are largely developed by interests unfavorable to the philosophy of the AFL-CIO, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO, in convention assembled, reaffirm its opposition to Business-Industry-Education days or any similar programs which in effect open the schools to the propaganda of special interests.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN SCHOEMANN: I move the adoption of resolution No. 159.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee under the title "Crisis in Education." This report covers the report of the Executive Council and the recommendations of our permanent Committee on Education, and also Resolutions 45, 73, 74, 92, 93 and 94.

The resolutions you have just heard read direct our attention to a very, very important problem that faces not just the trade unionists of this country but all citizens. I am sure that it points to a situation in which we must all be concerned.

The motion is to adopt that report.

Is there discussion? Is there objection? Hearing none, the motion is carried and it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN SCHOEMANN: Mr. President, that concludes the report of the Committee on Education, and it is signed by the Committee.

PETER T. SCHOEMANN, Chairman
NORMAN MATTHEWS, Secretary

Eddie R. Stahl
John McDougall
Norman Zukowsky
Donald W. Stone
Carl J. Megel
William A. Smallwood
James M. Roberts
Joseph F. Collis
M. G. Schoch
Desmond Walker
H. L. Mitchell
G. R. Hathaway
Charles M. Scheff
T. M. McCormick
James A. Campbell
Andrew Janaskie
Edward J. Freeman
George L. Russ
Joseph Baumgartner

Carl Griepentrog
Lloyd Mashburn
Ray Muehlhoffer
George R. Petty
J. A. Brownlow
Harold McAvoy
Harland Holmden

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Education. That completes their report and the Committee is discharged with the thanks and appreciation of the Convention.

The Chair recognizes the chairman of the Committee on State and Local Central Bodies, President Minton.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE AND LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MINTON: Mr. President, your Committee on State and Local Central Bodies is prepared to report. President William Pollock, of the Textile Workers Union of America, will present the report on behalf of the committee.

... **COMMITTEE SECRETARY POLLOCK** submitted the following report:

Your Committee on State and Local Central Bodies, having reviewed both the Executive Council report and the resolution submitted to it on behalf of the Executive Council, herewith submits the following as its unanimous report:

Your Committee reports with pride the fact that in the past two years 33 State Federations of Labor and State Industrial Union Councils as well as 169 local central bodies have accomplished voluntary mergers. These state and local central bodies are herewith commended for their recognition of the importance of merger. The remaining state bodies are presently working out details that must and will result in merger agreements. The net result of these mergers will bring to the entire membership, benefits which cannot be fully realized unless mergers are effectuated.

The American trade union movement, as represented by the AFL-CIO, is facing a tremendous task in offsetting the vicious attacks being made upon it in the various state halls of legislature. It is more important now, than ever before, to have an effective and aggressive program in order that all citizens may be informed of the great good the members of organized labor have accomplished in their work for the country. Such programs must be developed, not only for the needs of today, but to also encompass future programs which will include all those activities in which labor participates on a day to day basis.

With reference to state bodies, your Committee especially recommends a program of closer coordination and exchange of ideas and information on all state legislation. Your Committee commends those state bodies that have, through hard, diligent work, helped repeal from the statute books certain so-called "Right to Work" laws. Your Committee also highly commends those many states who have to date, by alertness and diligence, successfully combated initial enactment of such legislation. Your Committee feels that such a program of continuous exchange of ideas and information, as well as a closer working relationship between the states, could do much to further labor's interests on all labor matters and in all state legislative halls.

Your Committee would also recommend that the legislative committees in both the state and local central bodies work closely in cooperation with the Legislative Committee of the AFL-CIO. A close liaison between all of the legislative committees will enable the labor movement to enjoy not only the benefits of cooperation, but will also permit a more cohesive action at the state and local level.

Your Committee suggests that it might be advisable to hold, before or during conventions, a meeting of state and local central body representatives for the purpose of exchanging ideas and views. We ask that this suggestion be given consideration by the incoming Executive Council.

With special reference to local bodies, your Committee calls attention to the very serious problem of complacency which has given aid and encouragement to the enemies of labor. It has, in many instances prevented local bodies from utilizing their fullest potentialities in community affairs.

Your committee recommends that local bodies intensify their efforts to stimulate greater and more active participation by their affiliates and members in the affairs of their local communities.

To stimulate greater membership and active participation by such membership, your Committee calls attention to Article XIV, Section 2, of the AFL-CIO Constitution, which reads as follows:

"It shall be the duty of all national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation to instruct their local unions to join affiliated central labor bodies in their vicinity where such exist."

We urge each National and International Union to give substance to the above provision by instructing their locals to do so.

Your Committee also wishes to submit the following resolution for your consideration.

RESOLUTION ON MERGER OF STATE AND LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

Resolution No. 160—By Committee on State & Local Bodies.

WHEREAS, Article XIV, Section 5 of the AFL-CIO Constitution provides: "Merger of existing state and local central bodies of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations shall be accomplished as provided in Article III, Section 5. Pending such merger state and local central bodies of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall be permitted to continue to exist as state and local central bodies representing the respective local unions or organizations now affiliated to such central bodies," and

WHEREAS, Article III, Section 5, of the AFL-CIO Constitution provides: "That a merger of these state, territorial and local central bodies, heretofore affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be effected within two years after the adoption of this Constitution, through the process of negotiation and agreement under the guidance of the President of this Federation and its Executive Council," and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Constitution was adopted and became effective on December 5, 1955, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Executive Council on February 6, 1957, adopted a resolution which reads in part:

"The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO hereby directs that all state and local bodies, as yet unmerged, immediately undertake negotiations looking toward speedy merger, as contemplated and required by the Constitution of the AFL-CIO. ***"

"State or local central bodies which have not, by August 15, 1957, completed merger are directed, on that date, to refer to the President of the AFL-CIO for resolution, pursuant to the Constitution, any problems or issues which are delaying the completion of merger in their particular cases. The President, then, will seek, through negotiation, to bring about agreement on these issues."

and

WHEREAS, Despite the efforts of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and of the President of the AFL-CIO, a number of state and local central bodies have not effected merger by December 5, 1957, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Constitution provides in Article XIV, Sections 3 and 4 that the AFL-CIO Executive Council shall issue rules governing the conduct of central labor bodies and providing procedures for the discipline, including suspension and expulsion, of such bodies; and for the reorganization of suspended or defunct central bodies to bring their activities and action "to conform with the Constitution and laws of this Federation," and

WHEREAS, Pursuant to these provisions the AFL-CIO Executive Council has issued rules governing state central bodies and governing local central bodies which make detailed provision for disciplinary action against central bodies which violate or fail to comply with any provisions of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO or the rules governing state and local central bodies, now therefore, be it

RESOLVED: 1. The constitution of the AFL-CIO indicates that after a lapse of the two-year period allowed in the Constitution for the merger of central bodies, only merged central bodies shall be entitled to representation at AFL-CIO conventions.

2. The Executive Council hereby declares that each and every central body which has not effected merger by December 5, 1957, has failed to comply with the Constitution of the AFL-CIO. It hereby authorizes the President of the AFL-CIO to revoke these charters as provided by the AFL-CIO Constitution and rules governing state and local central bodies.

3. The President of the AFL-CIO is further authorized to take such action as may be necessary to effect the merger of central bodies not as yet merged or to create and charter new central bodies in lieu of those whose charters are revoked.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY POLLOCK: In conclusion, your Committee commends the President, the Secretary-Treasurer and the Executive Council for their help and guidance without which this excellent progress in the area of state and local mergers could not have been accomplished.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the resolution and the report of the Committee.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on State and Local Central Bodies and the resolution accompanying that report and the motion to adopt.

I think I should explain the position of the Council in regard to these mergers. Of course, the Constitution definitely set up a two-year limit for the state and local central bodies of the AFL and the AFL and the state industrial and local industrial Councils of the CIO to effectuate merger. It was felt at the time that two years was sufficient. However, there are a number of mergers that are still incomplete.

While it is within the power of the organization under the Constitution to compel merger, we realize that this is not a very satisfactory solution of these problems. So, it is the intent of the Executive Council and the officers to try to work on these mergers, knowing full well that it doesn't solve the problem to revoke the charters and then call a meeting and sort of call the roll and see who has the most strength. That doesn't make for a good organization.

In addition, the Executive Council has agreed that members of the Council in teams of two will work on these state mergers to see what can be done to assist the various state organizations that have not as yet merged. We find that in a good many places the local central groups in the States that are not merged are sort of hanging back waiting for the state merger to take place. So, we intend to concentrate on these state mergers, and I am quite hopeful and confident that we can bring them to a successful conclusion before very long.

That is the purpose of this resolution. There is no one with any thought of using compulsion, even though that is provided by the Constitution and by the resolution itself. We feel that some of the reasons that have held back these mergers are not sound and that with a little mediation and conciliation on the part of members of the Executive Council we can rapidly bring about the mergers of these state bodies. That is the intent of the resolution and the intent of the Committee's report.

Is there any discussion on the resolution and the Committee's report?

... The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MINTON: That completes the report of the Committee on State and Local Bodies. The Committee consists of the following:

Lee W. Minton,
Chairman
William Follock,
Secretary
Mario Aspeitia
William Snoots
Ray Mills
Richard Gossert
Joseph M. Rourke
Vernon Housewright
William Pachler

Victor Bussie
Eric Peterson
Steve Nakliski
Gordon C. Preble
J. T. Marr
Matthew Guinan
Peter J. Cahill
E. M. Weston
Charles Weinstein
Robert S. Ash
Robert Soule
Jack Weinberger
Stanton Smith
William A. Webb
Howard Hague
J. E. Sylvester
Robert Byron
George Lynch

COMMITTEE ON
STATE AND LOCAL BODIES

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

The Chair now recognizes the chairman of the Committee on Credentials, Vice President Beirne.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

... VICE PRESIDENT BEIRNE, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, submitted a report involving the seating of delegates and substitutions. (*The list of delegates may be found at the end of this Volume.*)

The Committee reviewed the credentials of the Albany Central Trades body. Its reconsideration results in the withdrawal of the credential.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: The Committee recommends adoption of its report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Credentials. The motion is to adopt that report. The changes and names will be in the record of today's proceedings.

Is there any discussion on the motion? Is there objection?

Hearing none, it is so ordered.

The Chair now recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, Brother McDonald.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS
(Resumed)

... Committee Secretary McDonald continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

DEATH OF JOHN P. FREY

Resolution No. 115: By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO. Submitted by the Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, On November 29, John P. Frey, pioneer trades unionist and outstanding labor statesman, was called to his eternal reward at the age of eighty-six; and

WHEREAS, The passing of Brother Frey terminating a career of service to the cause of organized labor, almost without precedent or parallel, including one-quarter of a century as an International Officer of his craft organization, The International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America, and a similar period as Secretary-Treasurer and President of the Metal Trades Department, AFL, plus years of efficient administration as President of the Ohio State Federation of Labor and seven years as President Emeritus of the Metal Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, Brother Frey's manifold qualifications won the esteem and implicit confidence of the immortal Samuel Gompers, who selected Brother Frey to accompany him on trades union missions to war-torn Europe in 1918, where encouragement was derived by the troops of the Allied Nations from the assurances of the unqualified support of the war effort by American labor; and

WHEREAS, The contributions of John P. Frey to the labor movement can never be adequately evaluated, as his was a dedicated life in which self-interest was completely submerged; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in Convention assembled in Atlantic City, December 1957, hereby acknowledges with deep appreciation and gratitude the immeasurable and inestimable value of devoted, beneficial service of a truly great leader who established a record of achievement that will be inspirational to generations yet unborn, and be it further

RESOLVED: That this resolution become a part of the permanent records of the AFL-CIO, and a copy be presented to the bereaved family of our departed, beloved friend—Brother John P. Frey—of whom it may well be said, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I am privileged to move the adoption of this resolution.

Your committee is deeply conscious of the major role which John P. Frey played throughout his life in developing and strengthening America's free trade union movement. His service as an officer of his International Union and of the Metal Trades Department won for him the confidence and trust not only of his fellow trade unionists but also of all segments of American life.

The committee recommends that this resolution be approved.

... The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE JAMES A. BROWNLOW, Metal Trades Department: Mr. President, I don't care to take the time of this Convention adding to the contents of this resolution. I believe they adequately express better than I just what feeling we had for John Frey. But I would like to ask the permission of the Convention to add to this resolution the names of the two surviving members of the Executive Council of the Metal Trades Department, plus the names of the International Presidents of its affiliated unions.

PRESIDENT MEANY: President Brownlow has requested that the records show that this resolution was submitted not only by him as delegate of the Department, but by the two surviving Presidents of that Department and by the Presidents of the various international unions that make up the Department. I am sure there will be no objection to that, and if there is no objection that will be done.

. . . In accordance with the above request of Delegate Brownlow, the following names were submitted for the record:

**EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND PRESIDENTS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE
METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO**

James A. Brownlow, President
Metal Trades Department
George Q. Lynch, First Vice President, M.T.D.
President, Patternmakers League of N. A.
John H. Lyons, Second Vice President, M.T.D.
President, International Association B. S. & O.
Ironworkers
Chester A. Sample, Third Vice President, M.T.D.
President, International Molders and Foundry
Workers' Union
Al. J. Hayes, Fourth Vice President, M.T.D.
President, International Association of Ma-
chinists
William A. Calvin, Fifth Vice President, M.T.D.
President, International Brotherhood of Boiler-
makers, Iron Shipbuilders, Blacksmiths, etc.
Gordon M. Freeman, Sixth Vice President, M.T.D.
President, International Brotherhood of Elec-
trical Workers
B. A. Gritta, Secretary-Treasurer
Metal Trades Department
Robert Byron, Former Vice President, M.T.D.
President, Sheet Metal Workers International
Association
Charles J. MacGowan, Former Vice President,
M.T.D.
President Emeritus, International Brotherhood
of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Black-
smiths, etc.
Russell M. Stephens, President
American Federation Technical Engineers
William L. McFetridge, President
Building Service Employees International
M. A. Hutcheson, President
United Brotherhood Carpenters & Joiners
Walter L. Mitchell, President
Chemical Workers International
William E. Maloney, President
International Union Operating Engineers
Anthony E. Matz, President
International Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers
Joseph V. Moreschi, President
International Hod Carriers, Bldg. & Common
Laborers

Ray Muehlhoffer, President
 Metal Polishers International Union
 Howard Coughlin, President
 Office Employees International Union
 L. M. Raftery, President
 Brotherhood Painters & Decorators
 Peter T. Schoemann, President
 United Association Plumbers, etc.
 James Roberts, President
 Stove Mounters International Union
 Sal B. Hoffman, President
 Upholsterers International Union

TRIBUTE TO DECEASED MEMBERS

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to say a few words. I am sure that we all recognize the substantial influence that John Frey had on the work of American trade union movement going back many, many years. As you know, he was a close associate of Samuel Gompers, accompanied him to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, at which time the Treaty of Versailles set up on Gompers' insistence a provision which brought about the creation of the International Labor Organization which has, of course, served the workers all over the world for many, many years.

John Frey played a major role in the work of the American Federation of Labor, in the Metal Trades Department, in one of our State Federations of Labor in his early days, and without question he has left the imprint of his work behind him in various segments and various phases of the work of the trade union movement.

Of course, at the same time I am going to ask that we show our respect to John Frey and to the others whose names I will read, and I want to mention in passing that we also think at this time of Matt Woll, who was closely associated with Frey, and, of course, of the loss also of another member of our Executive Council, Brother Willard Townsend.

At this time, before asking the delegations to rise in respect to the memory of these men, I would like to read the list of a number of others. I would like to also say, with a great deal of regret, that yesterday afternoon, as most of you know, we lost one of the delegates to this Convention, the president of our Firefighters International Union, who has been in attendance at these conventions for many years, a veteran of the movement, very, very active in Chicago in the early days in the Firefighters, and president for the last 14 years or so of the Firefighters International Union, Brother John Redmond. He was here on Monday of this week. He collapsed and was taken to the hospital with a heart attack and passed away yesterday afternoon.

In addition to the brothers that I have mentioned, I would like to read the following list of some of those who have passed away since the founding convention of the AFL-CIO two years ago:

Raymond F. Leheny, March 20, 1956, Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label and Service Trades Department.

Frank Tucker, April 8, 1956, President, Wyoming Federation of Labor.

Leo J. Buckley, June 10, 1956, President, Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union of North America.

Volney W. Andrews, June 13, 1956, Secretary-Treasurer, Emeritus, West Virginia State Federation of Labor.

Arthur P. Smith, June 3, 1956, Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers.

John L. Reilly, June 23, 1956, Industrial Secretary, National Postal Transport Association.

William M. Thomas, November 5, 1956, President, National Postal Transport Association.

Michael Walsh, September 27, 1956, Organizer, AFL-CIO.

Frank Feeney, Jr., December 1, 1956, Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of Elevator Constructors.

Normal Greenblatt, September, 1956, AFL-CIO Organizer.

Joseph Heath, December 5, 1956, Regional Director, AFL-CIO.

Burl Phares, December 17, 1956, President, Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America, United.

Albert E. Fischer, December 23, 1956, Secretary, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

John Kolanda, January 3, 1957, Secretary-Treasurer, Railroad Employees Department.

Harry Lundeberg, January 28, 1957, President, Seafarers International Union of North America, and President, Maritime Trades Department.

Phil E. Ziegler, April 20, 1957, Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Charles B. Gramling, August 21, 1957, Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of Operating Engineers.

Earl W. Jimerson, October 5, 1957, President, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers of North America.

Michael Noch, October 9th, 1957, President, International Alliance Bill Posters, Billers and Distributors of United States and Canada.

James Mitchell, November 11, 1957, Secretary-Treasurer, United Shoe Workers of America.

John P. Frey, November 28, 1957, President-Emeritus, Metal Trades Department.

Lawrence J. Katz, July 21, 1957, International Representative, IATSE.

Harry Read, October 23, 1957, Assistant to the AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer.

John Redmond, December 10, 1957, President, International Association of Fire Fighters.

Walter W. Pierce, March 29, 1956, International Vice-President, Barbers.

Patrick Reagan, April 28, 1956, Vice-President Emeritus, Barbers. Walter Pfaller, July 24, 1956, Superintendent Educational Department, Barbers.

William J. Gallagher, August 10, 1956, General Organizer, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

L. L. Robinson, July 25, 1956, International Organizer, Barbers.

John Billie, March 11, 1957, International Organizer, Barbers.

Everett E. Johnston, May 13, 1957, General Organizer, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

Fred Scaffidi, May 28, 1957, International Vice-President, Barbers.

C. E. Herrett, October 2, 1957, International Vice-President, Barbers.

Stephen Demko, October 8, 1957, International Representative, Barbers.

Ben Berk, May 1, 1957, Regional Director, Boot and Shoe Workers.

Frank W. Anderson, October 17, 1957, former Vice-President, Boot and Shoe Workers.

Arthur A. Elbert, October, 1957, Assistant Secretary, Flint Glass Workers.

Henry E. Donley, August, 1957, International Representative, Flint Glass Workers.

H. W. Brown, September 4, 1956, former International President, International Association of Mechinists.

E. W. Patterson, August, 1957, International Vice-President, Boiler Makers.

Paul M. Havery, May, 1957, Assistant to Director of Organization, Boiler Makers.

George Edgerton, July, 1957, International Representative, Boiler Makers.

Harry Fisher, December, 1957, District Representative Boiler Makers.

Thomas B. MacLachlan, Canadian Director,

Gerald Emery, Vice-President,

Leroy Harris, Vice-President, Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union.

Bernard Johnson,

James Fitton, Vice-Presidents, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers.

Harry J. Ames, June, 1957, Vice-President, United Association.

Arthur Olson, June, 1957, General Organizer, United Association.

George Wright, June, 1957, International Vice-President, Firemen and Oilers.

Joseph Breslau, July, 1957, Vice-President,

Israel Horowitz, October, 1957, Vice-President, International Ladies' Garment Workers.

Charles Burchfield, December, 1955, Assistant General President.

Moses Turner, Jr., October, 1957, Grand Lodge Representative.

Joe Anderson, October, 1957, General Vice-President, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

Charles Paulsen, July, 1957, Chairman Executive Board.

Larry Drew, August, 1957, International Representative.

Earl Dickes, September, 1957, International Representative.

William Hogan, January, 1957, International Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Martin T. Lacey, November, 1957, President, New York Central Trades and Labor Council, Vice-President, New York State Federation of Labor.

Howard McSpedon, October, 1957, President, New York Building and Construction Trades Council.

James Davis, December, 1956, District Representative.

John Padgett, August, 1957, International Assistant.

Hardy Wilson, November, 1957, District Representative, Boston and Vicinity.

Ralph Mitchell, September, 1956, District Representative, Alabama, International Molders and Foundry Workers' Union.

Simon Helfgott, Vice-President, Insurance Workers of America.

A. H. O'Brien, April, 1957.

Philo Otis, December, 1956, Organizer, Office Employees' International Union.

Lewis R. Lowry, March, 1957, Vice-President, United Stone and Allied Products Workers of America.

PRESIDENT MEANY: These names will appear in the record of today's proceedings and we will hold the proceedings open for any International Union that has not given us their names. We will add them to the list of those who have departed during the first two years of the AFL-CIO.

At this time we will observe a moment of silence for those who have gone before us.

. . . At this time the Convention delegates stood and observed a moment of silence in tribute to the deceased members.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Resolutions Committee will continue with its work and I would like Vice President Beirne to take the gavel for a while.

. . . Vice President Beirne assumed the chair.

CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: The Chairman recognizes the Secretary of the Resolutions Committee, President McDonald of the Steelworkers.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

. . . Committee Secretary McDonald continued the report, as follows:

LABOR ORGANIZATION REGISTRATION FORM

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates John P. Burke, Joseph Tonelli, Frank C. Barnes, Henry Segal, Elmer P. Meinz, Charles E. Stewart, Christopher Jackman and Harriet Wray, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.

WHEREAS, The revised Labor Organization Registration Form, required by the Bureau of Labor Standards of the United States Department of Labor, is so very complicated that it is beyond the ability of the financial officers of most local unions to answer the questions propounded, and

WHEREAS, It is the desire of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers and its local unions to keep in full and complete compliance with the provisions of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947—and we presume that other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations have the same desire; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations instruct the Executive Council to make a vigorous protest to the United States Department of Labor against the use of these present forms and to urge that they be revised and simplified in such a manner as to make it possible for financial officers of local unions to furnish the government with the information required

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Your Committee recommends approval, and I so move.

This resolution recommends that the financial reporting forms of the U. S. Department of Labor sent to union officers be revised and simplified.

DELEGATE SEGAL, Pulp and Sulphite Workers: I think it is necessary for the delegates to fully realize the importance of this resolution and the reason we have submitted this for your consideration.

Let me say first of all that it is the desire of our International Union to keep in compliance with the provisions of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947.

I am sure that all the unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO have the same desire. The history of the trade union movement of America shows that it has always been law abiding, that it has always wanted to cooperate and support the Government, no matter which political party may be in power.

We have complied with the laws that we did not like. The trade union movement has always considered it good Americanism to support all laws, those that we like and those that we dislike, to work for the repeal of those that we dislike but in an orderly and lawful manner.

I contend, Mr. Chairman, that when the organized labor movement is willing to abide by the provisions of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 because it is the law, our Government should not make it difficult, if not impossible, for our Union to keep in compliance with the law.

I hold in my hand a copy of the labor organization registration form. This form was revised by the Department of Labor early this year. It is a far cry from the form that all our unions completed for the year 1956. This form has to be filled out and filed with the Department of Labor by March 31, 1958. All that any delegate to this Convention has to do is to study this form a little and he will see how complex and complicated it is. Some of you may not know how difficult it is going to be for your local unions to keep in compliance with the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 because of the inability of the local officers to fill out these forms.

Our International Union has over 500 locals in the United States and 100 locals in Canada. It is the desire of our International Union to keep all of our local unions in compliance with the Act. However, we know that this revised labor organization registration form will prove to be an almost insurmountable obstacle to our local unions keeping in compliance. The International Union can do so, but local unions whose local officers have had a limited amount of experience will not be able to fill out this organization registration form in a manner acceptable to the Department of Labor. Of course, local unions will be given assistance whenever our International Union can give it, but we cannot supervise the filling out of the forms by 500 local union officers.

Another thing that has to be taken into consideration is that local officers change from year to year. Many of these local union officers have never held a union office before. They do not have the necessary background and training to fill out these forms.

Last month a committee from our International Union conferred with some of the officials of the Department of Labor on a revised form, and we pointed out the problem that we faced, especially in a small local union. I think we made an impression, but what is needed is more pressure than our committee alone was able to exert. We need

the full support of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in bringing pressure to bear on the Department of Labor to have these registration forms simplified.

I am going to close on the same note I started with, and that is to impress upon the delegates the importance of this resolution. Some of you may not realize the length to which the Government is going to go from now in investigating the administration of local and international unions. I am warning you that you may be shocked when you find out, as you will before long, what the Government expects from your local union and international union and other unions from this time forward.

The government must come at least halfway with the unions and not adopt rules and regulations that are impossible or nearly impossible for the unions to comply with.

Mr. Chairman, I am indeed pleased that the recommendation of the Committee is to adopt this resolution. We feel that the incoming Executive Board will bring pressure to bear upon department officials to correct this evil that is harassing all of the local unions in the entire United States.

Thank you.

CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: The Chair will recognize the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO.

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZLER: Mr. Chairman and delegates, this entire question was discussed at the last conference of the secretary-treasurers of International Unions that was held in Washington. The secretary-treasurers have appointed a special committee from their group, and they are now trying to arrange for a conference with the Secretary of Labor and those people in his Department who deal with these forms to see what we can do to contribute toward the simplifying of the forms so that they will be understandable, and for elimination in places, if that is possible.

CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: Is there anything further on the question?

. . . The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

. . . Committee Secretary McDonald continued the report of the Committee as follows:

FARMER-LABOR UNITY

Resolution No. 146: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

Two years ago at our founding Convention, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations pointed to the continuous record of labor support for measures to aid the American farmer, whether he works as an agricultural wage earner, a tenant, or on his own land. We noted the natural kinship that we feel towards those whose labor produces the nation's food and fiber and the inevitable mutual dependence of farmers and city workers. Indeed, the one group cannot long prosper unless the other prospers, too.

For these reasons, organized labor has supported farm cooperatives, rural electrification, farm credit aids, an adequate system of farm price supports, social security coverage for all employed in agriculture, soil

conservation, crop insurance, the system of democratically-elected farmer committees abolished in recent years, and all other measures to secure a just return and a better life for all who work on the nation's farms.

At our Convention in 1955, we called attention to the fact that although agricultural output and efficiency had reached a record high, the income of American farm families not only was lagging behind the forward strides of other parts of the economy, it actually was falling disastrously. Between January 1953—when the new Administration took over—and the end of 1955, net real income on a “per farm” basis dropped a staggering 20 percent.

In the two years that have passed since 1955 and despite Secretary of Agriculture Benson's continuous assertion that he is guiding the American farm economy towards prosperity, average net real income per farm has gone down another 2 percent including the payments farmers now receive from the new soil bank plan and other forms of federal cash benefits.

Even worse—and largely obscured by statistics that deal only with “averages”—is the increasingly rapid growth of the large industrialized corporate farms throughout the United States. Indeed, if the policies of the Eisenhower Administration are not quickly reversed, family-type farming as the basic pattern of American agriculture will be destroyed.

Clearly, the crisis confronting American agriculture is not of the farmers' making. The fault lies in the failure of the Administration to establish a workable federal program to divert more of the blessing of our agricultural abundance to the millions at home and overseas who want and need it while insuring income parity for the American farmer who produces it. This objective cannot be achieved by our farmers standing alone; its fulfillment is a national responsibility and we must see that it is met, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations will continue to vigorously support corrective measures to restore and to raise the income of all who work in agriculture. We seek an American standard of living for the farm proprietors who by their skill, labor and investment produce our food and fiber. In particular, we wish to aid the family-operated farm through measures to increase its efficiency and its income so that the independent farmer may efficiently compete with corporation farming and may remain the dominant producer in American agriculture. Furthermore, we must raise the living standards of those who work in industrialized agriculture for sweated wages under inhuman conditions, today the most exploited segment of the American labor force.

Surely this great nation can and must assure to all who toil on its farms a full partnership in the unlimited promises of the United States.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

ATOMIC ENERGY

Resolution No. 147: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The peaceful use of atomic energy has caught the imagination of the world. The atom stands as a symbol of a brighter future. The

AFL-CIO believes that America must strive to transform that symbol into meaningful reality by extending vigorous leadership and aid in accelerating constructive use of atomic energy around the world.

Already many nations have demonstrated their need and eagerness for beneficial atomic uses by undertaking ambitious programs to develop peaceful atomic energy despite limited resources. The prime goal has been development of electric power, although valuable industrial, agricultural and medical uses are also being sought.

Thus Great Britain has already put into effect the world's first large-scale generation of electric power from atomic fuel. Six Western European nations have established a cooperative atomic power effort, the Euratom program. On a worldwide basis, the International Atomic Energy Agency has been set up by some 80 countries to hasten and spread peaceful atomic benefits.

Russia has not dawdled on the atomic front. It has pushed ahead on major atomic power projects and it has well recognized the world significance of peaceful atomic development by aiding its satellites and offering atomic aid to other countries willing to turn to it.

The United States led the way to development of the atomic bomb and at the end of World War II it led the world in atomic technology. It has since let its leadership fade. It has failed to do all it could or should to provide leadership to the free world in the practical peaceful applications of atomic energy.

Beginning with the passage of the 1954 amendments to the Atomic Energy Act, the United States Government has depended primarily on the hope and expectation that private industry in this country would more completely develop the atomic reactors and technology necessary for widespread application of atomic energy to the production of power and other peaceful uses—even though the cost and technical problems are so great and the prospect of immediate financial returns so meager that it is unreasonable and unrealistic to expect private industry to carry forward an adequate program.

The result has been inadequate progress, particularly in the construction of full-scale demonstration power reactors. Without such full-scale reactors, we cannot adequately gain the economic and technical information and experience we must have in order to be able to furnish maximum practical assistance abroad and to achieve more rapid progress toward lower-cost power at home.

The Federal Government must initiate a vigorous program of atomic development and world leadership in peaceful applications of the atom. It should make the providing of effective peaceful atomic aid to other nations a national objective of high priority. It must demonstrate that we can apply atomic energy as effectively for the benefit of mankind as we have in developing atomic weapons that can destroy mankind.

Such a program requires that the Federal Government undertake promptly to construct and operate a variety of full-scale atomic power plants in the United States for demonstration purposes. It is not enough to give financial aid to private enterprise to get it to undertake some of this task. Indeed, there are signs that the financial aid already extended may be so large as to make a mockery of the phrase "private enterprise."

It must also be kept in mind that if the government is to foot a substantial part of the costs, it must assume responsibility for seeing that the projects involved are properly administered and that all resulting technical and scientific developments remain in the public domain.

The spread of atomic uses is unfortunately accompanied by the threat of radiation hazards to worker and public health and safety. Radiation hazards are too serious to permit questionable safety standards or lax or haphazard application of regulatory measures. Apart from concern for the welfare of individuals involved, the occurrence of major radiation accidents could quickly disrupt atomic development by causing a general loss of confidence in and opposition to peaceful uses of atomic energy.

It is important, therefore, that the Congress review periodically the existing machinery for protection against radiation hazards and take steps to increase the effectiveness of that protection. The Congress should also examine the advisability of permitting the Atomic Energy Commission to regulate the industry which it has the obligation to promote. The need for such examination has been shown in the hearing held on demand of several AFL-CIO unions, concerning the safety aspects of the Detroit Edison Monroe reactor project, in which the AEC authorized construction of a dangerous type of reactor in a densely populated area in Michigan.

The Atomic Energy Act imposes on the AEC the responsibility for protecting health and safety in this field. The current effort of the AEC to shift to the states part of its responsibility must be resisted. This effort has been aided by the Council of State Governments, which has recommended that major segments of this responsibility be relinquished to the States. The States do not have adequate staffs or funds to assume these functions.

Even present State functions, such as workmen's compensation and medical care for injured workers, have not kept pace with the risks of this new industry. The States have shown little disposition to modernize compensation legislation to take account of the special nature of radiation effects. Some State compensation laws do not clearly cover radiation injury, others do not allow for delayed effects of radiation, and others are inadequate in still other respects. Amendments on radiation coverage have been enacted in some States, but still have gone only part way toward providing adequate coverage.

The AFL-CIO is convinced that adequate workmen's compensation protection for all workers exposed to radiation hazards can be assured only through enactment of federal legislation in this field. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO dedicates its efforts to gain development of peaceful uses of atomic energy as rapidly, fully, equitably and safely as possible, so that the atom's promise may more quickly be realized in improved standards of living around the world. To this end, we urge that:

The United States should provide effective leadership and aid in international activities to promote peaceful use of the atom. This should include: (a) full support of efforts of the new International Atomic Energy Agency to aid and share atomic progress for the benefit of the peoples of the world; (b) encouragement and assistance

to appropriate regional organizations such as Euratom which make it possible for a number of countries in a particular region to pool resources to develop a common program in the general benefit; and (c) direct United States aid to individual countries.

The AFL-CIO endorses the proposal of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to establish a liaison office with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The United States Government must undertake promptly to construct and operate full-scale, demonstration atomic power reactors.

The Federal Government must also be vigilant to the end that atomic development proceeds in the public interest and federal licensing standards must be established and maintained for this purpose. While encouraging broader participation by private industry in atomic activities, the public must be given full protection against the development of private monopoly in any aspect of this industry.

The public's interest also requires that full information be provided on peaceful atomic programs. Restrictions on the publication of non-military atomic information should be eliminated.

The program of Federal Government radiation hazard controls must be maintained and strengthened. It must not be weakened through any shifting of responsibility for radiation safety to the States. Problems related to radiation hazards should be reviewed by the most competent medical and public health bodies and the Congress should establish a National Institute of Radiological Health.

At the international level, full support should be given to the development of sound international radiation control measures through the International Atomic Energy Agency working in cooperation with the International Labor Organization, World Health Organization, and other appropriate United Nations agencies. The AFL-CIO also endorses studies of the effects of atomic radiation under the auspices of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Federal Government should enact legislation to provide uniform adequate workmen's compensation for injuries resulting from radiation exposure.

The AFL-CIO shall also work for the following objectives:

(a) As peaceful uses of atomic energy expand, appropriate public and private policies should be developed to meet and ease any adverse effects on workers and their industries or communities.

(b) Affiliated unions should cooperate in voluntary manpower, training and educational programs required to meet the atomic age's needs for competent skilled labor.

(c) A statutory Labor-Management Advisory Committee should be established to advise the Atomic Energy Commission in developing a sound program on matters of particular labor-management concern.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I would like to call the attention of the delegates to Resolution No. 5, which deals with the subject of "Health and Safety in Atomic Energy Establishments."

HEALTH AND SAFETY IN ATOMIC ENERGY ESTABLISHMENTS

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates Walter L. Mitchell, Marshall Shafer, Thomas E. Doyle, Arvil L. Inge, International Chemical Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The expanded use of atomic energy—particularly in the industrial area—has been accompanied by new and increased hazards from atomic radiation—more than 1,500 industrial plants are now using isotopes in 44 states, the District of Columbia and Hawaii,

WHEREAS, Radiation is invisible and can cause serious injury without the victim being aware of it at the time it occurs; radiation can have a cumulative effect—the dose absorbed at any one time may not be dangerous in itself but may prove seriously damaging in connection with earlier exposures even though they may be many years apart,

WHEREAS, Responsible scientists cannot agree as to the amount of recommended "maximum permissible exposures;" radiation injury may not be immediately recognizable and its effect may be delayed as many as 25 years after exposure—over exposure may not cause diseases directly but increase the susceptibility to certain ones, such as leukemia and cancers,

WHEREAS, The Atomic Energy Commission is responsible for setting standards for safety and health in atomic establishments but has, in the last years, transferred some of this responsibility to private firms and different states,

WHEREAS, There already have been developed practices that permit lower safety and health standards in some states and some establishments, and

WHEREAS, In the past years state workmen's compensation legislation has failed in the field of radiation and does not cover all possible radiation injuries and includes statutes of limitations, which would disallow compensation for a radiation disability which might become evident some time after exposure, and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations go unequivocally on record that uniform standards of health and safety precautions are needed to protect the employees at atomic establishments and the public against the hazards of atomic radiation and thus that the Federal government shall set up a uniform Federal law to provide compensation whether or not the results of radiation are immediately apparent, and to work toward improvements in the state workmen's compensation laws to cover fully disabilities caused by atomic radiation.

This matter has been dealt with through the adoption of Resolution No. 147, and the Committee feels that no further action is required.

Also, in regard to Resolution No. 68 entitled "Calling Upon Public Health Services to Give the American People Facts and Information Regarding Nuclear Radiation Hazards," since this matter has been handled through Resolution 147, the Committee feels that no further action is required.

**CALLING UPON PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES TO GIVE THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE FACTS AND INFORMATION REGARDING NUCLEAR
RADIATION HAZARDS**

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates Michael J. Quill, Matthew Guinan, Ellis F. Van Riper, James F. Horst, Gustav Faber, Eugene Attreed, and Frank Sheehan, Transport Workers Union of America.

WHEREAS, The testing of A-Bombs and H-Bombs has released radioactive particles, including Strontium 90, into the atmosphere. Such radioactive particles cause leukemia and bone cancer, shorten life and produce biological changes (genetic mutations) which are passed from generation to generation. The amount of radiation in the air, soil, and waters, and present in food, can be scientifically determined. The public has a right to facts and information regarding health hazards, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Public Health Services, Federal, State and Local, cooperate in making regular reports to the public regarding radiation health hazards, including:

- (1) The Strontium 90 content of milk produced in each area;
- (2) The level of radioactivity in soil, water and air;
- (3) The incidence of diseases which may be caused by radiation, such as leukemia and bone cancer, and any fluctuations in the rate of their occurrence; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Public Health Agencies conduct research in methods of preventing or reducing leukemia and bone cancer, and make reports to the public on their findings, and be it finally

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Secretary of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and other appropriate agencies.

CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: If there are no objections, those two resolutions will be associated with Resolution 147.

STATE ANTI-UNION SECURITY LAWS

Resolution No. 148: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

Since the earliest American unions were formed more than a hundred and fifty years ago, union members have wanted union security agreements—agreements with their employers that all the workers in the plant or shop or craft must belong to the union. Today union members still want and still need union security.

Union members want union security for the same reason that they want unions—to add to their bargaining strength. Workers form unions so that by acting together they can increase their bargaining power and secure better wages and working conditions, and greater personal security and dignity. A union's bargaining strength depends upon the number of workers adhering to it; and a worker who refuses to join a union, and is content to work on his employer's terms, weakens the union and his fellow workers and impairs their ability to win better wages and working conditions. Workers therefore want union security for the added strength it gives their union; and they emphatically do

not want to work along side of anti-union men who are unwilling to join with and act with their fellows.

Union security always gives added strength to a union, and in some trades or industries it is impossible for workers to maintain their unions at all without hiring halls or some other sort of union security arrangement.

Attacks upon union security are attacks upon unions; they are designed to weaken, at the least, unions and in some circumstances to destroy them outright. That is why reactionary, anti-union employers have for more than a decade lobbied incessantly and unscrupulously for so-called "right to work" laws—laws which guarantee no one's right to work, but do prohibit all forms of union security. The claim of these selfish employers that they are concerned with the "freedom" of their workers is arrant hypocrisy for they seek only to weaken or destroy unions, to the end that they may unilaterally dictate the terms upon which their employees shall work.

During 1956 and 1957, the number of states with anti-union security laws remained static. Labor scored a significant victory when Louisiana repealed its misnamed "right to work" law, but suffered a severe setback when Indiana became the first major industrial state to enact one.

In a number of states not yet tainted with misnamed "right to work" legislation, employer lobbyists are currently driving for the enactment of these nefarious measures. The latest argument of the employer pressure groups, canned for them in New York by the National Association of Manufacturers and distributed broadside through the country, is that the Senate Committee's disclosures of corruption among a few officials of a few unions shows that union security should be prohibited.

This is nonsense. Only strong unions can properly meet their public responsibilities and serve the needs of their members. A broadly based and active union membership is the best and ultimately the only guarantee that union officials will be chosen for their dedication to the best interests of the Nation and its workers. The cure for the corruption of a few is to bring about the active participation in union affairs of the many, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That laws against union security cannot help the labor movement. These laws are intended to do but one thing — to weaken and destroy trade unions. Union members and all those who believe in the rights of workers to form unions will oppose these laws with their whole strength. This union breaking drive must be defeated and rolled back, and the discredited and misnamed "right to work" laws now found in eighteen states must be repealed and stricken from the statute books.

To this end we pledge our full strength.

... **COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD** moved adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: You have heard the motion to adopt the resolution. The Chair recognizes President McDonald for the purpose of making a statement in connection with this resolution.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I hope that I will not be considered out of order in the few remarks that I am going to make in connection with this resolution.

I am firmly of the opinion that one of the slickest phrases that was ever designed by the National Association of Manufacturers is this one, "right-to-work." I think that this is a complete misnomer if I ever heard one.

The United Steelworkers of America has been working very diligently on this problem of right-to-work laws in the various states, and we have many committees, for instance, in Indiana, Ohio, and elsewhere, who are working on this problem in an attempt to either prevent the enactment of so-called right-to-work laws, or the repeal of such laws wherever they may exist. We are calling our program "Work for Rights." "Work for Rights" is the idea of the Steelworkers Union.

Now, we have a lot of our members who would certainly like to have the right to work today. Reference has already been made to serious unemployment which exists. We have some 50,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America who currently do not enjoy the right to work because their work places are shut down. In addition to these 50,000 who are unemployed, we have about 200,000 of our members who do not enjoy the right to work 40 hours or more per week. In other words, some 200,000 of our members are working less than 40 hours a week.

We believe that at the very core of this problem is the inordinate desire of the American steel industry and a lot of its fabricators to make a net profit on every wage increase. We have found out that the American steel industry, whenever the workers win a wage increase, raises its prices about three times the actual cost of the wage increase, and this despite the fact that productivity, that is, output per man hour, of the individual worker in steel has risen steadily in recent years.

In the period of 1939 to 1957, for instance, productivity per man hour has gone up 71.2 per cent, while the real straight-time hourly earnings of the steel workers have gone up 52.7 per cent.

While we find that this is a serious situation in steel, we find it is at least equally serious if not more serious in the automobile industry and in du Pont, and in many banks, which actually make the steel industry look like pikers.

We are producing several television programs to present to the American people and to the members of the Steelworkers Union, calling attention to what is going on in our country. We are also going to hold some meetings in Washington in the month of January of the various segments of the Steelworkers Union in which we are going to attempt to explain to them in great detail what we believe is going on in our country. We are developing a program which we will present to the public and to the Government, calling for appropriate government, industry and union activities in order to prevent a real recession from developing in the United States and in Canada.

On the 1st of December we called for the development of a fifteen-million-dollar school building program, which would make it possible for steelworkers to return to work, for glass workers, brick workers,

cement workers, furniture workers, carpenters, and so forth—all building tradesmen and production people—to get back into their jobs and start building the materials which will eventually go into much needed classrooms in our country. We have also called upon the Boards of Public Education throughout the United States to raise the salaries of teachers and universities, to raise the wages of professors and the Federal Government to raise the salaries of its scientists.

Yes, we have the right to work, and let the working people demand their right to work. What would America think if all of the unemployed steelworkers in the Pittsburgh area were to walk down to the mills and factories, go through the gates and go to their jobs and say, "You say we have the right to work. Here we are with that right, ready, willing and able to work, and if we have the right to work, by gosh, you have to go to supply us with the material upon which to work."

This is what I mean whenever I say that not only the Steelworkers, but all of the workers in America should not only fight against these iniquitous right-to-work laws, but they should work for their rights.

CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: Thank you, President McDonald, for those remarks on this resolution. I trust that everyone will remember the suggestion of President McDonald in respect to this slogan. I am respectfully suggesting, particularly to the delegates from California, that they remember it. The paper suggests that a man may want to be President in 1960 and will start his campaign on a right-to-work bill in the State of California. President McDonald has given us at least a slogan to remember this year in California.

Is there any further discussion on the resolution?

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZLER: At the last meeting of the Executive Committee held in Washington last week this entire question of these right-to-work laws was before the Committee and received attention from the Committee. It was the unanimous opinion of the Committee that a special Executive Council Committee might be formed and properly staffed to coordinate the activities of all of our affiliates in the States in which this legislation is being introduced, as well as in those States where it is already on the books to see that it is repealed?

CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: Is there any other discussion on the motion to adopt the resolution? Is there any objection to the motion to adopt the resolution? Hearing none, we will declare the resolution adopted.

... The report of the Committee was continued, as follows:

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

Resolution No. 149: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, generally known as the Taft-Hartley Act, has been on the statute books for more than a decade.

The declaration of policy which the Taft-Hartley Act carries over from the Wagner Act declares that it is the policy of the United States to protect the right of workers to organize unions, and to encourage collective bargaining. Many of the specific provisions of Taft-Hartley,

however, contradict these purported objectives; and the National Labor Relations Board, now overwhelmingly staffed by appointees of the present National Administration, has repeatedly gone farther than the Act requires, and sometimes even farther than it permits, in sanctioning union breaking and in allowing employers to flout their obligation to bargain collectively.

The Act as written and as interpreted by the Board has been repeatedly used to break unions, to block union organization, and to interfere with free collective bargaining.

The organization of the unorganized has been greatly hampered. During the years that the Wagner Act was on the books, the percentage of organized workers in the total work force steadily increased. Since Taft-Hartley replaced the Wagner Act, there has been no further such increase. By thus impeding the opportunity of unorganized workers to form unions, the Act threatens the standards of all union members.

Machinery for breaking unions is built into the Taft-Hartley Act. For the statute provides that during an economic strike the employer may have the Labor Board conduct an election to see if the union still represents the employees, and that in the election the strikers are not permitted to vote, only the strikebreakers. Thus an employer who wants to break a union formed by his employees has his course charted for him by the Act. First he refuses to make any concession to the union whatever—and the Act spells out the employer's right to do this too—so that the union is ultimately forced to strike, as the alternative to complete capitulation—then the employer hires scabs to operate the plant, and the Act accords him that right too. Finally, he asks for a Board election and in that election the scabs vote and the strikers don't. Obviously the vote will go against the union. This is precisely what recently happened at the O'Sullivan Rubber Corporation in Winchester, Virginia; and this Taft-Hartley pattern for union busting is all too commonly used by unscrupulous employers.

The labor injunction, virtually barred from the Federal Courts by the Norris-LaGuardia Act, has been reintroduced by Taft-Hartley. Under this Act the Government may seek an injunction in any unfair labor practice case before any hearings on the merits, and the statute requires it to seek such injunctions against unions in certain types of cases, such as secondary boycotts. There is, however, no parallel requirement for injunctions against employers, no matter what they do.

Under the Wagner Act unions and employers were, in general, free to write such contractual provisions as they thought mutually advantageous. The Taft-Hartley Act, though written by men who professed devotion to freedom of contract, restricts in numerous respects what collective bargaining contracts may contain. Contractual provisions relating to union security, welfare funds, check-offs, strike notices, etc., must meet detailed Taft-Hartley specifications.

Even worse, Taft-Hartley's infamous Section 14(b) is an open invitation to the States to pass so-called "right-to-work" laws. In disregard of the need for a uniform national labor relations code, which Taft-Hartley itself recognizes except as regards union security, and in disregard of the normal constitutional principle that federal law prevails over conflicting state regulation, Section 14(b) authorizes the States to pass laws more restrictive of union security than Taft-

Hartley. In disregard of the principle of fairness, it at the same time forbids the States to be more liberal than Taft-Hartley. This one-sided invitation to the States to be anti-union must be repealed; nor are we impressed with the position of a Secretary of Labor who while purporting to oppose "right-to-work" laws maintains a timid silence on Section 14 (b).

In the important field of union security, Taft-Hartley permits only a restricted form of union shop, under which a union is not permitted to seek the discharge of any employee who pays his dues, even if he is a Communist or a racketeer or a Shefferman labor spy bent on destroying the union. This statutory provision makes it sometimes difficult or impossible for unions to meet the responsibilities which should be theirs, and which the public expects them to meet. When a Communist or a racketeer turns up in a plant, it is not the employer who hired him that is blamed, but the union which is forbidden by law to have any voice in the hiring or to seek discharge thereafter.

The many anti-union provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act do their destructive work well, but the anti-union interpretation put on these and other provisions of the Act by the members of the current Labor Board have added to the annihilating impact of the Act. For ten years the language of the Taft-Hartley Act has remained unchanged, except for the 1951 amendment abolishing the union shop authorization election, but the meaning given the Act by the Labor Board has constantly changed. As appointees of the current Administration have come more and more to predominate on the Board, the Board's reading of the Act has reflected ever more strongly an anti-union bias. Changes which Congress has repeatedly refused to make in the Act have now been written into it by decisions of the Labor Board.

Among the anti-union amendments of the statute which the Board has presumed to enact are the following:

1. Jurisdiction — The Board has sharply reduced its own jurisdiction. The statute provides that the Board "shall" determine union representation questions "affecting commerce", and that it is "empowered" to prevent unfair labor practices "affecting commerce". Although the term "commerce" is broadly defined in the Act, and although the Board for many years exercised the jurisdiction Congress gave it, the present Board has adopted "jurisdictional standards" under which it now takes jurisdiction over only the Nation's larger employers.

The result is to deny whatever protections the Act affords to millions of workers who are covered by the Act's terms. These employees no longer are protected by Federal law against discriminatory discharge or other unfair employer labor practices. They cannot obtain Labor Board elections—even though the statute directs the Board to take representation cases. Few states, unfortunately, have laws which protect the rights of labor even to the limited extent that Taft-Hartley does, and few provide any sort of election machinery.

The Board took this action depriving millions of workers of the protection of the Federal Act only after Congress had in 1954 refused to curtail the jurisdiction of the Federal Board. What Congress would not do, the Board did itself.

2. New Restrictions on Picketing — Very recently the present Board has rewritten the Act to place new and onerous restrictions on

the right to picket—restrictions which Congress considered imposing in 1947, but decided were not warranted.

Up until now it has been settled law that even though union loses an election in a plant, such as an election in which only the scabs vote, during a strike, the union is nevertheless free to continue to picket the plant. It might, for example, desire to picket for the purpose of trying to induce the new employees—the scabs—to join the union, or for the purpose of informing customers of the facts and of appealing to them not to trade with a union busting employer. In 1947 Congress specifically considered this situation, and decided that unions should not be prohibited from picketing after loss of an election.

Now the Board has ruled that a union which loses an election may not continue to picket—on the theory that the picketing would cause economic loss to the employer, and thereby “coerce” the scabs to join the union. The Board has gone even farther and has on the same theory prohibited a union which has lost an election from placing the union busting employer on an unfair list.

This outrageous arrogation by the Board of authority to rewrite the statute will, of course, be challenged in the Courts.

3. Employer “Free Speech” — Under the pretext of protecting the employees’ right of free speech, the Board has opened the gates to employer anti-union statements of plainly coercive character. An employer pre-election statement that if the union won the company “would be forced to move the plant” has been held not to warrant setting aside the election; the Board said the statement was merely a “prophecy”, not a “threat”, and so was “not coercive”. Similarly, a statement by a company lawyer that the company would not recognize the union even if it won the election has been held to be simply a legitimate “expression of the employer’s legal position”.

4. Captive Audience — It is no longer an unfair labor practice for an employer to force workers to listen to anti-union tirades on company time and property, without affording the union an opportunity to reply. Moreover, an election will be upset only if the employer addressed the captive audience within 24 hours before the election.

5. Hot Cargo Clauses Outlawed — Various unions, and particularly the Teamsters, have long sought to have included in collective bargaining agreements provisions permitting their members to refuse to handle “hot goods”—as, for example, cargo shipped from or to a firm engaged in a labor dispute. Absent such a provision, an employee’s refusal to do work assigned to him might permit his discharge; hence these “hot cargo” or “unfair goods” clauses are necessary to enable workers to assist striking fellow workers, and to refrain from aiding the struck employer. As far back as 1949, the Board held that these clauses were valid and enforceable by strike or by picketing, and the Board’s decisions were sustained by the Courts.

In 1953, however, after the Board acquired a majority of Republican appointees, it reversed this doctrine and held that while “hot cargo” clauses were legal it was illegal for a union to enforce them by asking its members to refuse to handle “hot goods”. Under this preposterous doctrine, it was an unfair labor practice for a union to insist on the performance of a collective bargaining agreement which the Board said was valid.

Quite recently the Board has gone all the way in overturning its former doctrine, and it has now ruled that "hot cargo" clauses are not only unenforceable but themselves illegal.

Here again the Board has rewritten the Act.

The examples could be multiplied indefinitely. The anti-union nature of these Board policies is obvious on their face, and they are a part of a pattern. The present Board not only decides against unions every issue that might be regarded as doubtful, but has deprived unions and workers of rights clearly conferred upon them by the Act.

All of this is bad enough. But reactionary employers, not content with having the law and the Board stacked in their favor, want to go even farther. Using the Senate Committee's disclosures of the grossly improper activities of a few union officials as their pretext, reactionary employer groups, and their allies in Congress, are seeking to put on the statute books various anti-union schemes not at all related to the abuses disclosed by the Senate Committee. They seek to use the Senate Committee disclosures to secure the enactment of the various anti-union devices they have thought up in the last ten years, and of some even older which not even the 80th Congress could be induced to write into the Taft-Hartley Act. The proposal for a national "right-to-work" law put forward by the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce falls squarely in this category.

We favor, and have long favored, legislation to make the Taft-Hartley Act fair to unions, management and the public alike, and to eliminate the unfair union busting provisions which were inserted in 1947. Further, we will support sound labor legislation tailored to meet existing evils that cannot otherwise adequately be dealt with; so long, and only so long, as such legislation is honestly designed to deal with disclosed abuses and is not made a cover for attacking the legitimate activities and objectives of the trade union movement. We will oppose every measure which seeks to weaken or hamstring or destroy honestly led, legitimate unions. To successfully combat racketeers, and for that matter, unscrupulous employers, unions need to be stronger—not weaker; Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to press for the removal from the Taft-Hartley law of its unfair anti-union provisions; and for the enactment of a sound and fair labor relations law fair to unions, management and the public alike.

The AFL-CIO condemns the manner in which the majority of the National Labor Relations Board is administering the Act. We express our resentment at both the anti-union bias repeatedly displayed by that Board, and at the Board's usurpation of authority to rewrite the National Labor Relations Act.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of Resolution No. 149.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

ADEQUATE EMPLOYEE-MANAGEMENT LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Neil C. Sherburne, Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is necessary that legislation be set up directing the manner in which management must insure the adequate consideration of employee problems, and

WHEREAS, It will continue to be necessary to secure passage and amendments to clearly direct management as to the procedures whereby employees will be adequately permitted to share in those phases of management in which it is advisable to share; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in Convention assembled, support legislation (or amendments to existing legislation) to secure passage of an adequate Employee-Management Bill and to secure passage of adequate amendments and changes making any future such bill more effective.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, we feel Resolution No. 30 was completely dealt with in Resolutions Nos. 148 and 149, and the Committee therefore feels that no further action is required.

CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: It is so ordered.

ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, enemies of the organized labor movement are continually seeking to weaken or destroy unions as effective instruments for the protection of the American worker.

WHEREAS, they exploit any situation in order to restrict the activities of unions in every area in which they have a right to function as free American institutions. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That we must vigorously oppose any and all legislative attempts on national and local levels to invade the rights of free working men and women to participate in and enjoy the rights of trade union membership and collective bargaining process.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The subject matter of this resolution is dealt with in two other resolutions adopted by this Convention: Resolution No. 149 on Taft-Hartley Act and Resolution No. 148 on State Anti-Labor Security Laws.

No further action is therefore required.

CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: If there is no objection, it shall so be done.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Resolution No. 150: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The International Crisis

The intensity of the basic conflict between the free nations and communist expansionism increases as the Soviet dictators, using the launching of the first satellite as a blackmail weapon abroad, step up military threats, diplomatic pressure and economic penetration in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia.

The launching of the sputniks shocked the American people and pointed up the fact that current American foreign policy has forfeited the initiative to communist imperialism. Again and again,

the Soviet adventurers have acted and the free world has reacted; again and again the U. S. A., although the strongest nation in the free world, has been too late with too little in military defense, in international economic aid and in other phases of the continuing total cold war.

The orbiting of the sputniks and our inability thus far to duplicate that feat have revealed obvious deficiencies in our defense organization, our educational system and our scientific research and development work. This is not cause for panic but for calm reevaluation and sound action to replace weakness with strength wherever weakness is found.

The sputniks represent for us a bloodless Pearl Harbor. If we respond by mobilizing all our moral, material and technological resources, as we did after December 7, 1941, and if we coordinate our efforts closely with those of other free nations, we can move ahead with calm confidence in the ultimate outcome of the world struggle between freedom and tyranny. There can be no victory for either side in that struggle if it is waged with the absolute weapons now available and becoming available to both sides. In today's world the only effective defense is the preservation of peace, and the establishment of social and economic justice. We must therefore actively seek social justice throughout the world in order to maintain adequate deterrent power to minimize the danger that the appearance of weakness on our side may encourage the forces of tyranny to engage in actions which will turn the cold war into a hot war.

But we must recognize that hot wars are not prevented and cold wars are not won by arms alone, vital as these are. In this light, the forthcoming top-level NATO Conference is an opportunity to strengthen the foundations for free world unity in aspiration and action. It can do so by uniting the western democracies in the economic, social, educational, scientific and technological fields, as well as in the military sphere.

The preservation of world peace and the promotion of freedom require the marshalling and pooling of resources on all fronts. The common danger demands that every free nation greatly enlarge and speed up its contribution to the common pool of strength for peace and freedom. The increased strength must be military; it must be scientific; it must be technological; it must be at full production levels. Above all, it must go beyond the defensive fight for survival to take the initiative as quickly as possible in a massive global offensive against the poverty, hunger, disease, ignorance, exploitation, fear and hatred on which communism feeds, breeds, and grows to power.

The Fight Against Colonialism

American labor, today as always, supports the aspirations of all colonial and oppressed peoples to national independence and human freedom.

In line with the democratic traditions of the American people, we have consistently opposed all colonial oppression and exploitation—on both sides of the Iron Curtain. We have not hesitated to criticize our own government when, in the realm of power politics, it did

not disassociate itself from or failed to oppose colonialist policies pursued by our allies in Africa, Asia or elsewhere.

Neither have we of the American trade union movement failed to recognize features of our own internal race relations that all too disturbingly resemble some of the practices of colonial powers. We have fought and we will continue to fight to correct and eliminate these conditions. We are making headway but not fast enough. We must move more rapidly, more thoroughly and more effectively to cleanse and revalidate our moral credentials. We must see to it that here at home our practices in the fields of civil liberties and civil rights do not contradict but reinforce our support of principles of human freedom and equal opportunity in those vast areas where the world contest between freedom and totalitarianism will be decided.

Particularly since the close of World War II, the old style colonialism of western powers has been on the wane. Hundreds of millions of people have attained their right to full nationhood in the Far East, Middle East and in Africa. But the struggle for national independence and against the declining western colonialism has been seriously complicated and hampered by the emergency of the new and infinitely more dangerous Soviet colonialism. Under the pretext of fighting against colonialism, Communist imperialism has been utterly inhuman in its stamping out of the national sovereignty and democratic liberties of weaker nations.

Consequently, when democratic powers cling to colonialist policies, they play into the hands of Soviet imperialism, help its worldwide subversive Communist conspiracy, and hurt human freedom and world peace. This is the effect of British colonial policy opposing self-determination for Cyprus and the French policy opposing self-determination for Algeria.

We appeal to the British to grant self determination to Cyprus and appeal to France to begin negotiations immediately for the granting of independence to and the withdrawal of French troops from Algeria. We call upon the French government to support and encourage the establishment of a North African democratic federation (consisting of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria) in close and friendly association with the people of France and with full protection of the rights and equities of all minority groups including the French residents in North Africa.

Definite and reasonable time limits should be set for the non-self-governing people (Trust Territories and colonies) obtaining their national freedom. During the interim, effective measures should be taken to further economic, social, and cultural progress and training in self-government. Every effort should be made to develop an efficient civil service system and a free and compulsory public school system. The workers should be encouraged to establish their own free trade unions to further their interests.

The U. N. Trusteeship Council, supervising the various Trust Territories, should set time limits for the termination of its supervision. Under the U. N. Charter, the Powers which control dependent areas are obligated to report to the United Nations on social, education, and economic conditions in their territories. This obligation should be extended to include reports on political conditions and the development of institutions of self-government. The U. N. should likewise take greater interest in those dependent territories which

are not subject to supervision by the Trusteeship Council, with a view to promoting their progress toward national independence.

The ICFTU has shown that it can contribute greatly to the democratic development of peoples under and emerging from colonial rule. By aiding them in the building of strong free unions, the ICFTU fosters their progress toward independence and equips them to achieve and safeguard fundamental human rights. We commend the ICFTU for what it has done to date. We pledge our cooperation and support in its future efforts to assist the democratic independence movements in the non-self-governing territories and to help in the building and strengthening of free trade unions devoted to the economic, social and cultural progress of peoples now under colonial rule. We endorse and support the UN activities of the ICFTU designed to hasten the independence of such peoples.

We urge the free trade unions in the countries which govern dependent territories to (1) exert vigorous pressure on their governments to grant their colonial peoples freedom and independence; (2) enter into fraternal alliance with and give generous aid and support to the labor unions in their countries' colonies; where such unions do not exist, help organize them.

The longer western colonialism continues, the greater is the danger of Communist penetration of dependent countries. In spite of Moscow's discrimination against national minorities in the Soviet Union, in spite of its brutal suppression of the Hungarian revolution, the Communists continue to pose as the most determined fighters against race prejudice and champions of national independence. Moreover, the manifesto of the recent international Communist meeting in Moscow shows that the Kremlin has ordered a stepped-up campaign of infiltration of trade unions in colonial countries.

To counter these Communist maneuvers, an energetic campaign must be carried on in all colonial countries designed both to lay bare the true nature of communism and to demonstrate the positive advantages and enormous possibilities of democracy and free trade unionism as the means for the fulfillment of workers' aspirations for economic progress, security and dignity. To this end we call upon the ICFTU to step up its educational work in colonial and underdeveloped countries and we pledge our aid and support for such work.

American labor's help to the workers and trade unions of the colonial countries is based upon winning new and strengthening established support for ICFTU policies. We have but one aim in rendering such assistance—to help them in achieving for themselves the same goals of bread, peace and freedom that we seek for our own members. We ask nothing of them in return except that they work with us to strengthen the international free trade union movement as a bulwark of human rights, democracy and peace for all workers everywhere.

Middle East Crisis

Soviet penetration of the Middle East threatens the national existence and territorial integrity of the countries in this pivotal region, but it is also a challenge to the security of the free world. Through subversion and aggression, the Moscow-Cairo axis seeks to dominate this area, to control its resources, so vital to the free world, and to place the countries of Europe, Asia and Africa at the mercy of the Soviet Union.

Existing strains in the Middle East, Africa and Asia are symptoms of the deep convulsions which earlier contributed to communist victories in China and Viet-Nam.

To meet this challenge, the free world must have more than a firm military posture; we must have first of all a clear understanding of our own aims and objectives. They constitute a reliable ally in this common effort. Shifting from appeasement of Nasser to the appeasement of King Saud hardly constitutes an adequate policy for the Middle East. There are elements in this region more vital and more combustible than oil.

What must be taken into account are the genuine aspirations of the mass of people in that entire area for self fulfillment, rather than selfish demands of anti-democratic, anti-labor, feudalistic regimes. An anxious and naive search for makeshift alliances with fair weather friends among foreign governments is no substitute for alliance with people built upon long term commitments to aid down-trodden and restive peoples themselves to find a democratic alternative to communist threats and communist temptations.

The critical nature of the present Soviet threat and accompanying grave developments in the Middle East call for quick action to mobilize the economic, political and mutual security forces required to insure peace and independence and to lay the base for economic well-being of all the countries in this crucial area.

Under the Eisenhower doctrine our government is pledged to use its armed forces to assist those countries in this region which have associated themselves with that policy against armed aggression by any Communist controlled country. Current Soviet maneuvers are aimed at inducing others in the area to pull Soviet chestnuts out of the fire. This requires that the United States government and the United Nations issue clear warnings against aggressive acts from any source and unequivocal assurance that all countries in this explosive area who associate themselves with a non-aggression policy will be given guarantees of territorial integrity and the safeguarding of their national independence against aggressive acts.

A Program for World Peace and Freedom

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in convention assembled, conscious of the grave dangers that today threaten to destroy man's hopes for freedom and lasting peace, adopts and calls for implementation of the following programs:

Re-examine, revise and strengthen our foreign policy so as to capture the initiative for the free world in the struggle to make peace secure and to promote freedom for all men.

Mobilize our human and material resources in co-ordination with other free nations to meet the challenge of growing Soviet scientific, industrial and military power dramatized by the Sputniks and their immediate use for international blackmail. Specifically, we must move swiftly to pool our resources and step up our efforts in the military, economic, educational, scientific and technological fields.

Mobilize our moral resources and strengthen our moral position in the world by seeing to it that our practices within our own borders in

the fields of civil liberties and civil rights match our beliefs in and our championship of such rights outside our borders. In Communist imperialism's unceasing effort to win over the uncommitted third of the people of the world, most of the colored, the shame of Little Rock is worth more than the Sputniks. We must never again put such a weapon in Soviet hands.

Launch a bold global attack aimed at wiping out the source of Communist power in industrially and agriculturally under-developed countries through a program of technical, cultural and economic aid channeling such assistance whenever possible through the United Nations and its specialized agencies, including ILO, UNESCO, FAO, IAEA, Technical Assistance and the proposed SUNFED (Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development.)

Support with all vigor the just demands of the colonial peoples for national freedom, self-determination and full partnership in the family of nations. Aid submerged peoples in preparing for self-government.

Urge our government to propose within the United Nations the convening of an emergency conference of all countries in the Middle East for the purpose of eliminating the disputes in this explosive area that now threaten the peace of the entire world.

Seek immediate establishment by the United Nations of an initial fund of \$500 million to be expended for the solution of the Arab refugee problem.

Urge our government and its allies in concert with the United Nations to take immediate and positive steps to prevent outbreaks of aggression in the Middle East and to lay the basis for peaceful relations among the countries of that area based upon the following principles:

- (a) Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- (b) Non-aggression;
- (c) Non-interference in internal affairs;
- (d) Equality in relationships with one another;
- (e) Regional economic cooperation and development.

Strengthen and extend the influence and effectiveness of the United Nations as a force for peace and human progress in the world.

Promote economic co-operation and freer trade with safeguards looking towards the establishment of an international system of fair labor standards and minimizing possible economic dislocation and hardship.

We value the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions as the instrument through which the world's free workers can assist each other and make their contributions to the preservation of peace and the advancement of freedom and human dignity in the world.

We take great satisfaction in what we and our fellow trade unionists in other lands, working through the ICFTU, have thus far been able to accomplish in (1) promoting the economic interests as well as the larger aspirations of labor, regardless of race, nationality, color or creed; (2) defeating Communist and other totalitarian attempts to subvert and destroy free trade unions; (3) aiding the working people of the economically under-developed countries to establish strong free trade

unions able to improve conditions of life and labor and advance the cause of a national freedom and democratic rights; (4) playing a responsible and constructive part in building a better world.

We are proud that, as it continues to grow, the ICFTU is becoming an ever more effective means for the protection and advancement of workers' rights and interests. Its country representation has increased from 51 in 1950 to 88 in 1956 and now embraces 56 million free trade unionists in 134 affiliates operating in 94 countries throughout the free world.

We pledge our full support to the further strengthening and development of the ICFTU, its services and its influence. To this end we urge unions affiliated with AFL-CIO to join and participate actively in the Trade Secretariats associated with the ICFTU so that American trade unionists can act in concert with trade unionists in similar employments in other lands to advance their common interests.

We emphasize the urgency of strengthening the organization and enhancing the prestige and influence of the regional organizations of the ICFTU. We pledge ourselves to do our full share in the further development of ORIT, the regional ICFTU organization to which we belong, so that it may speak and act with maximum effectiveness on behalf of all workers in the Western Hemisphere.

We commend the recent decision of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to support the efforts of the ICFTU to establish a trade union training center in Africa. Realizing the urgency of making adequate resources available to the ICFTU in order to enlarge and extend vital trade union work in the critical areas of the world, we call upon all AFL-CIO affiliates and subordinate bodies to support the AFL-CIO's efforts to meet its obligation to the ICFTU's International Solidarity Fund by meeting its pledge of \$1 million in the period 1958-60.

By making the organizational family of ICFTU stronger in its fight against all forms of political dictatorship and tyranny and in the positive work of extending democracy in political life and on the job, we shall strengthen political and trade union democracy everywhere.

That, in the spirit of this Resolution, we shall encourage a greater interest, knowledge and participation in international affairs among our members and their families to the end that the wage earners' great stake in our country's foreign policy and in world peace and prosperity will be more clearly recognized and reflected in the formulation of that foreign policy and its day by day implementation.

Above all, we must unceasingly and untiringly advocate that the United States, both through the United Nations and in direct relations with other governments and peoples, pursue every honorable means of achieving peace without compromising the basic principles that characterize the free world.

The pursuit of peace through every honorable means is not a mere pious aspiration but a prime condition of survival. Members of the labor movement, and we hope all other citizens, are aware that foreign policy is no longer a matter of a treaty signed or a conference held.

The H-bomb, the intercontinental ballistic missile, and the space rocket and satellites have brought the issues and events of foreign policy into every household. The stakes are as high as our physical existence and the existence and further flowering of the free way of life.

The labor movement rededicates itself to the preservation of peace and freedom throughout the world.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution 150.

. . . The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: The motion is to adopt the resolution, and the Chair recognizes Vice President Carey, President of the IUE.

VICE PRESIDENT CAREY: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I rise to support enthusiastically the splendid resolution on international affairs. The work of the Resolutions Committee, composed of all the members of the Executive Council and nineteen presidents of unions has produced a superb expression of our position as well as a program of action.

We seek to emphasize the importance of the role of the United States in rendering greater economic aid to the undeveloped areas throughout the world. We would like to increase our programs but we would not like to sacrifice the economic programs for military purposes.

It is made clear in this resolution that the American labor movement that contributed so much to build the ICFTU works with the ICFTU to carry out our common purposes.

I would like, if I may, to cite one example. In December of 1955 a very serious complaint was presented to the Executive Board of the ICFTU with respect to the manner in which the military authorities were administering the civilian affairs in Okinawa. The General Secretary of the ICFTU established a commission to look into the important matter. A commission composed of two American trade unionists, two Japanese labor leaders, and a Philippine labor leader were selected for this commission. They had to deal with an area that is under the security regulations of the American military authorities. They went to Okinawa and prepared a report. The report was presented to the ICFTU Executive Board and approved. It was transmitted to the AFL-CIO and President Meany, in a meeting with Secretary of the Army Brucker, made possible the accomplishment of many of the objectives contained in that report.

I point out that the efforts of the President of the AFL-CIO brought about much needed relief to those 600,000 Okinawans.

Let me cite, if I may, three accomplishments. One, 120,000 employees of the United States military government received wage increases approximating 17 per cent. Don't let that frighten you. Their wages now become, with that tremendous increase of an average of 17 per cent, about \$18 to \$39 a month. Perhaps through continuation of our efforts the people on this island working for the military authorities of our government may get as much as a dollar a day.

But in addition to the gain of 17 per cent through the efforts of the AFL-CIO officers and staff and the ICFTU, they also had applied to them the social security provisions that were denied to the employees of the United States Government authorities in Okinawa.

Thirdly a commission was established to study the regulations that apply to the people, the civilian population of Okinawa.

We seek to have the ordinary rights of forming labor organizations recognized and we want our government to be at least a decent employer.

These increases given to the directly employed people of the United States Government resulted in raises for those indirectly employed. For the first time the people on those islands are getting consideration in improving their living standards.

Now, we would like to see the ICFTU, working in conjunction with the AFL-CIO, continue the efforts that President Meany and other officers have initiated so successfully. We can show them that this nation will engage in democratic, humanitarian programs and policies, as we did in the Philippine Islands, as we do wherever the American influence is brought to bear throughout the world.

I think this is a splendid example. It's true that in applying security regulations there has been opposition to free organization of the workers in that zone, that part of the world, where the American influence is great. I would hope we would continue those efforts and the AFL-CIO continues to eliminate some of the artificial restrictions that are imposed upon labor people to see to it that this report and the conditions it recommends are carried out.

Here is one splendid example of how the American labor movement can even influence Government authorities who, I assure you, have the minds of business men. They have the military concept and they are not particularly fitted to engage in civilian administration of civilian people. But with labor's program in action we can look forward to a better arrangement by which all the people, regardless of where they may be, may taste some of the benefits that we enjoy here in our democracy.

I support wholeheartedly the entire resolution presented to this Convention.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Are there further remarks?

The Chair recognizes Vice President Randolph.

VICE PRESIDENT RANDOLPH: Brother Chairman, and delegates: I want to say a few words on this resolution. But before I do, I think it proper that I make a few remarks concerning the African scholarship program which the AFL-CIO has sponsored, but recently abandoned.

May I say that I was largely responsible for this program, having submitted it to the Executive Council following my visit to Kenya. I was surprised and greatly disappointed when the program was abandoned.

For the record, I want it to show that I did not participate in the meeting in which the program was discussed and where the decision was made to abandon it. I did participate in a subsequent meeting, but in that meeting the decision concerning the program was a fait accompli. It had been decided.

A substitute program has been initiated to provide for the establishment of a school in Tanganyika. I am not offering any criticism of that program. As a matter of fact, I naturally would not oppose any program to establish a school for the training and education of African workers. However, I do think that the abandonment of the scholarship program was a mistake. I do not claim complete knowledgeability of the African problem, and certainly I have the highest respect for those who handled the program and I know that they handled the program in good faith. I have no criticism to make of those who handled the program.

I want to say a word about the resolution, that part of the resolution dealing with colonialism. I think the reason for different approaches to this question probably stems from a difference in emphasis upon the relationship of the AFL-CIO to the International free trade union movement. I am of the opinion that the same revolution which was responsible for the transition of world power from Europe to the North American continent is the revolution which is responsible also for a transition of power and leadership from the British Trades Union Congress to the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. In other words, in my opinion history has changed the relationship of America to the free world. America today is the leader of the free world. America must accept the responsibility of leadership. Just as America is the leader of the free world, in my opinion the AFL-CIO is the leader of the free world of labor. As the leader of the free world of labor, I believe that there is a basic challenge and that challenge may be divided into two parts. One is to halt the march and expansion of Russian communism in the world. The second is to tear down and break up and throw into the ash can of history African colonialism.

Africa today is the last stronghold of colonialism in the world. Ninety percent of the land and over 80 percent of the people are still under the yoke of colonialism. Colonialism is an abomination; it is a sin; it is an evil. It brings about the degradation and the demoralization of the human spirit, of the personality of the people who are the victims of it.

No one can countenance colonialism who believes in the principle of the solidarity of the human family. No one can support colonialism who believes in the dignity of the human personality. Consequently, the hope of the free world lies in the abolition of colonialism in Africa, because Africa today is the battleground between the forces of justice and the forces of injustice.

May I say in this connection, fellow delegates, that in my opinion the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in many ways has a comparability of relationship to the free world such as the United States has to the free world. In other words, the United States of America does not always function through the United Nations. At the same time, it is dedicated to the United Nations. The Marshall Plan did not emanate through the United Nations. The Truman Doctrine in the interest of Turkey and Greece did not emanate from the United Nations. The Eisenhower Doctrine in the interests of the Middle East did not originate in the United Nations. Nevertheless, the United States is committed to the principle of the United Nations, and the United States is one of the big forces for the stabilization and consolidation of the United Nations.

It would be a mistake were the United States to take the position that all of its international activities should be channeled through the United Nations, and in my opinion the same position must be taken by the AFL-CIO. I do not believe that an international activity of the AFL-CIO is ipso facto and per se incompatible with the philosophy, the program and progress of the ICFTU. The AFL-CIO has been the means of bringing about conditions that have given strength to the ICFTU. I have only to point to the time when the AFL led the fight against the World Federation of Trade Unions. The fight of the AFL against the World Federation of Trade Unions was the foundation for the building of the ICFTU. When that fight was carried on it was led by George Meany, Matthew Woll, and Dave Dubinsky, with the cooperation of Irving Brown in the field and others here at home who were giving technical and theoretical advice with respect to this question.

Following that, the AFL was responsible for the exposure of forced labor by the Soviet Union. This was an initiative taken by the AFL. Following that, the AFL-CIO led the van in a rousing world opinion against the horrors of the crushing of the freedom fighters of Hungary in blood and tears and death. I say that in order that you might understand that world leadership requires initiative. It requires vision. It requires dynamism. It requires faith. The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, being a part of a nation which was born in a revolt against colonialism, being a part of a nation which is itself committed against colonialism, is spiritually and morally and psychologically more prepared to lead the fight against world colonialism than any other trade union in the world.

I hope what I am about to say will not be of any offense to any of our foreign brothers. I have the highest respect and admiration for our British trade union leaders, because the British Trades Union Congress is the oldest national trade union center, perhaps, in the world. Be it said to the credit of the British Trades Union Congress that its leader, Sir Vincent Tewson, was largely responsible for bringing together the AFL and CIO in the international field in order that the AFL and CIO might participate in world conferences together. They were not together on the international field before that.

But in my opinion, it is just as impossible to expect the British Trades Union Congress, which is a part of the British Empire, to lead the fight against colonialism as it is impossible to expect the State of Mississippi to lead the fight for civil rights. In other words, though the question before us of making a drive against colonialism is basic, I do not believe we can arrest the drive of world communism until we arrest and destroy colonialism in Africa.

Africa is the battleground of three great struggles. One is the coming struggle for power between democracy and communism. We have Ghana, a new state, following the democratic creed. Then we have the beginning of forces that will bring Nigeria into the community of free peoples. But at the present time Africa has a living yoke of colonialism and is the victim of the most uncivilized persecution mankind has ever known.

Look at Kenya. In the Legislature of Kenya there are 16 white settlers. They represent 55,000 people, white settlers of Kenya. There are 6 representatives of the Asians. The Asians represent 500,000 people in Kenya. There are 8 representatives of Africans. These are Africans, and they represent 7 million Africans.

Here you have an inequity which cannot be explained by reason, and consequently no ordinary drive can be made to destroy colonialism. It must be an organized, systematic drive of world proportions in order that we may be rid of this stigma upon mankind.

Look at the Central African Federation, covering northern Rhodesia and southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Ninety-seven percent of the people are Africans, and yet 3 percent dominate the Legislature and control the life of the people.

The same thing is true in South Africa. Ten million Africans are under the domination of two and a half million white settlers.

Here, my friends, you have a land where these three struggles are going to take place—the coming struggle for power between democracy and communism, and the coming struggle for power between the races. You may, my friends, be shaken by the fact that unquestionably the thunder and the lightning of conflict in Africa is going to come between the races unless there is some basic concession of rights and power and responsibility to the Africans—as a matter of fact, not only a concession of power, but a recognition of the rights of these Africans to rule in their own land.

Finally, the third crisis as a result of a struggle for power will come on the basis of difference in religion. Moslemism and Christianity are in conflict in Africa. The Cairo radio is beaming its voice to the Moslems of Africa.

And, of course, Christianity is at a disadvantage because it is associated with colonialism. Christianity, however, has this advantage, and that is it has established mission schools and out of these mission schools the leaders of Africa are coming. Nkrumah of Ghana came of the Catholic Mission schools of West Africa; then we have Mboya of Kenya coming out of the mission schools. But in addition to coming out of the mission schools they came over to the United States of America and entered the universities and colleges here, and Mboya went to London to Ruskin College.

In other words, here you have in Africa the scene of three great world conflicts, and that is the reason why I am greatly concerned and interested in not only leadership but the nature of the leadership of the African trade union workers.

I hope, my friends, that we will recognize the great position of Africa in the world crises, because if Africa goes down the path of China, if Africa goes down the path of Red Communism, the free world is doomed. Therefore, the hope of the free world is the hope of keeping Africa in the free world, and the hope of keeping Africa in the free world lies in the building of strong trade union organizations by the Africans themselves who know the difference between communism and democracy and who are dedicated to the dignity of every human being who believes in the worth and the value and who will give respect and reverence to the life of every man, whether he be white or black or brown or yellow. And with this concept of humanity I believe that Africa is a wave of the future and means much more to the free world than our being able to compete with Russia on the basis of a Sputnik or on the basis of science and technology, although we must not permit them to surpass us in any field.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now, I would like to say a few words about this resolution. Before doing so I think that I should clear up in the minds of the delegates and eliminate the impression that Brother Randolph left with you that the AFL-CIO embarked on a program and then abandoned that program. That is not true, and I am very sorry to say that Brother Randolph knows that it is not true. Of course, I can understand his emotional attitude toward these problems, but I feel that that should not lead him into straying away from the facts.

And the facts are these: After Phil Randolph returned from Ghana, where he attended the inauguration of the new President of that newly-established state some months ago, he came up with the idea that the AFL-CIO should make some contribution directly to building up trade unions in that area of the world. There was no disagreement among the members of our Executive Council in regard to that project. We felt that this was certainly an important area of the world, that trade unions could play a very important part in building up the standards of life of the people that would be necessary in order that they could aspire to all the things that go with democracy and self-government. We, of course, are members of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It is the feeling of the International Confederation, through its ruling bodies, that work in the field should be channeled, through the International Confederation, and that none of the affiliates should engage in what is called independent work.

We have had some differences over this because of the fact that work in the field, helping other labor organizations, helping workers in various parts of the world can take many forms, many plans, many roads. For instance, there is a Philip Murray Building in Eliat in the southernmost seaport of Israel donated by the Philip Murray Foundation for the workers of that area of the world. It is a social hall, I understand, a meeting hall, with library and things like that.

In the alto plano of Bolivia and Peru, in this part of the world where people work in an altitude of 16,000 and 17,000 feet, where the normal life expectancy is about 31 years, where people are old and emaciated at the age of 22 and 23, the ILO had a project to help those people. The American Federation of Labor, through the William Green Memorial Committee, sent \$50,000 to establish workshops, vocational schools, so that these people could learn some other way to provide for themselves outside of going down into the tin mines at an altitude of almost 3 miles. The Machinists Union helped. They sent machine tools. The Electrical Workers and other people helped to set up these schools.

Then in Italy the International Ladies' Garment Workers have a project and one of their locals has another project.

In another part of the world you will find a sports stadium named after one of the delegates to this Convention, a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers.

We find the British going into Nigeria to do the very same thing we set out to do in our plan in Africa. We find the Israelis now reaching out to help the workers of Ghana develop their trade unions. There are all of these various activities.

As I say, there was a difference of opinion. We have been trying to work this out with the ICFTU. We were impatient. We felt that the ICFTU moved too slowly, that it did too much investigating and

too much filling up of filing cases with reports of investigating missions and too little action.

We decided in August of this year that we would engage in this project, that we would appropriate \$50,000 to train a small number of African workers whom we would bring to this country. But we made a definite provision that we wanted to share this work with the ICFTU. If they would agree to immediately proceed we would make it a joint venture. We would allow them to put an ICFTU label on it. We didn't care whether it had the AFL-CIO label. We would put in our money and our staff and we would work with the ICFTU. This was a definite commitment in writing to the ICFTU.

Late in August, at the time of our Council meeting, we did not have a decision from the ICFTU, so we decided that when our fraternal delegates went to Great Britain for the British Trades Union Congress they would put this up to the ICFTU and say to them in effect, "We want you to join with us. If you don't want to join with us we are going ahead on our own." That was the decision.

Walter Reuther was one of the delegates and he was taken sick on the way back with the Asian flu and was laid up for three or four weeks. We did not get the information that we should have received and were of the opinion that this matter was not discussed. We found out later, however, that it was discussed; and while no agreement was reached, the ICFTU officers said very definitely that they wanted to come in on this project with us.

When we received that information early in October—October 9th was the date—the young lady we were sending to Africa to screen these students and bring them here was ready to leave. She had her plans made. She was a trade unionist representing us, Miss Maida Springer. She had her plans to meet people in London the next morning. She was flying over on the night of the 11th and she had plans to meet people in Africa.

So, although some said, "Let's hold back," I said, "No. Let her go ahead because we can still work on the plan with the ICFTU people when they come over at the time of our convention."

So, the ICFTU people were here. You saw them. We had long conferences here on this problem and other problems.

Phil said he was not called into the conference. No, he was not called into the conference. We have an eight-man committee, an Executive Committee, and we felt that that was the committee to handle this. So, there were twenty-one other Vice President that were not called into the conference.

We reached an agreement not to abandon the project but to expand the project. One of these students is already here. I introduced him to you the other day. Another will be here in a very short time.

Our program called for 13 weeks at Harvard, 26 weeks traveling around the various trade unions. I think it was a good program.

However, our friends from the ICFTU said that they felt it was a much more practical idea, rather than bringing the student to the United States, to send the teachers to Africa, and instead of training in this period of time eight students, which was all we planned to train, that we could possibly train fifty, seventy-five or one hundred students by having a school in Africa.

Now, the matter of establishing the school in Africa presents some difficulties. After all, these are foreign countries. We couldn't contemplate setting up an AFL-CIO school in British territory of Africa. But the British Trades Union Congress, giving backing to the ICFTU and through the ICFTU, possibly could do that.

So we agreed at this meeting last Saturday afternoon—in fact, we spent the entire day on this problem—that we would continue our program for the two young men, the one who is here and the one who is to come in a few weeks; that they would get the full 39 weeks that we had planned for them; that insofar as the planning for the six others was concerned, that we would transfer that to the school to be set up in Tanganyika.

So what we actually did last Saturday, we said, "We will carry the load for these two and we will appropriate the \$50,000 for the school in Tanganyika over and above the expenses of keeping these two people here for nine months and supporting their families in Africa at the same time.

So, we expect that this school will be established. The British have given us a commitment that they are going to do all that they can to see that it is established; that there will be no interference on the part of the colonial authorities.

We have agreed to staff this school with American teachers. We are not being shut out. Our people are going to be there.

The head of our International Department has an appointment in Brussels right after January 1st to go into the layout of the school, into the physical aspects of it and also into the curriculum and the staff, and so on and so forth. So, what we are doing is not abandoning our project.

Of course, I know Phil's disappointment. This is his pet, and he thought it was a wonderful idea that these boys should see Harvard. I, of course, don't go as strong on Harvard stuff as he does.

But we had the experience of the British in Nigeria to think about. They trained a dozen of these boys in Nigeria by bringing them up to Great Britain, sending them through school, a year or two ago, giving them quite a training in the trade union movement, and they went back to Africa and went to work for the employers or in the government. They don't work for the trade unions.

So, we would like to avoid that, and we thought that maybe sparing them the influence and atmosphere of Harvard might be helpful in that direction.

I am sorry to have to make this explanation, but Phil, in his address to you, three times used the word "abandoned." We did not abandon our program. We expanded our program in regard to these students.

In regard to the resolution before you, which I think covers the world situation in a very comprehensive way and indicates the attitude of American labor, indicates what we think our own nation should do and what we are going to try to do, I feel that the Committee has presented a very fine program and a very fine statement of policy.

I think that in considering this resolution and this subject we must realize the nature of the opposition that we have, the nature of the opposition which comes from the Soviet Union. I have had some close contact and experience with these people in the little more than two months that I sat on the Third Committee of the United Nations as a representative of our Government.

It is almost unbelievable on that Committee, which is dedicated to the humanitarian, cultural and educational problems throughout the world, a Committee where there is no political discussion, where the question of political differences should never be entered, to see the sentiments and hear the sentiments expressed by the nations from all over the world on these humanitarian, social questions, and then to look into the faces of the Soviet delegates and listen to their bitter, vicious, almost inhuman words in applying their ideas to the human problems that come before that Committee.

For instance, there are no Hungarian refugees, according to the Soviet Union representatives. There are a lot of thieves, criminals, and worse, who should be driven back home.

Every nation in the world, in the free world, even the smallest nations with very little to give, are giving at least a little to alleviate the suffering of these refugees and trying to bring about a better life for them. I heard one representative of a Latin-American country say, "To me a refugee is a human being in trouble." But not to our Soviet friends. Refugees to them are thieves, criminals of all types.

The interest, if you please, of the United States of America, despite the millions of dollars we spent, despite the spontaneous outpouring from the hearts of our people to help the Hungarian refugees, despite the fact that we brought 30,000 of them here and distributed them among the various towns of our country, despite the fact that our trade unions opened their arms to these people, helped them get homes, helped them get jobs, the interest of the American people and the American nation, according to the Soviet delegates, is that we want to exploit this refugee situation so that we can get espionage agents and spies to spy on the Soviet Union.

This is the attitude and this is the type of people that we are facing. This is the type of people who have built up a system where a concentration of power resides in the hands of one man, the man who attempted to de-emphasize Stalin, the man who convicted and murdered Stalin years after he was dead. This is the man who holds the reins in this gigantic world power that we face. It is a power that will use open aggression, subversion or any other method. It is the power that denied its own proclaimed policy of coexistence when the Hungarian people desired merely to live in freedom and to coexist peacefully with their neighbors; when the Hungarian people presented no threat, economic, military or any other kind to the Soviet Union.

Their answer to coexistence was to ride them down with Soviet steel and force tens of thousands of them into cattle cars bound for Siberia and the salt mines and more tens of thousands into exile.

These are the people we must meet and these are the people this resolution is directed to. Yes, these are the people who use the propaganda of a situation like Little Rock. They proclaimed it all over the world and tried to equate it with the actions of colonial powers against other peoples.

No, they gave us no credit for the fact that the troops in Little Rock were there to protect the little people and their right to go to school. Nor did they give us any credit for the fact that the troops were there to try to uphold the policy proclaimed by our Supreme Court against race segregation in the nation's educational institutions. No, they pointed to Little Rock and tried to make it appear that it was a policy of our government to kick the black people around.

So, expect no reason, expect no logic, expect no decency from this enemy. Let us do what we can to carry out the spirit of this resolution. Let us see what we can do to mobilize, as the resolution says, the material resources of our country in coordination with all the free nations of the world. Let us see if we can't get the free nations to coordinate their efforts to build up the under developed areas, to build up the economic status of all those who are threatened with this aggression by the despots in Moscow.

This is our job, the job of the American people and of our nation. If our nation is going to do this job, then labor must be heard and its thinking and its attitude must be reflected in the foreign policy of our nation.

Thank you.

I am sorry I had to make a speech, but I guess that is part of the business.

Is there further discussion on this report? Hearing none, all those who favor the resolution will signify by saying aye; contrary, no. It is carried and so ordered.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD continued the report of the Committee as follows:

GENOCIDE

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Neil C. Sherburne, Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The most fundamental of all human rights is the right to life itself, and

WHEREAS, Dictators and tyrants throughout ancient and modern civilization have wantonly engaged in genocide—the mass destruction of whole groups of human beings because of their race, religion or ethnic origin, and

WHEREAS, Genocide has become a matter of world-wide concern resulting in the unanimous adoption of the Genocide Convention by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, and

WHEREAS, The Genocide Convention which makes genocide an international crime has already been adopted by the governments of forty-one nations but as yet remains unratified by the United States despite the fact that our government was one of its original sponsors in the United Nations, and

WHEREAS, Representatives of more than fifty national organizations comprising millions of citizens of every faith, and including the AFL and CIO, have urged ratification by the United States, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has consistently led the fight to defend human rights and the security and dignity of the individual, and

WHEREAS, The continued failure on the part of the United States to ratify the Genocide Convention weakens the moral leadership of our country and undermines the unity of action so desperately needed to protect the peoples of the world from mass murder; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations calls upon President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles and the Senate to take immediate affirmative action to help wipe out this crime by ratifying the Genocide Convention without further delay.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Your Committee recommends approval, and I so move.

Genocide is the mass destruction of whole groups of human beings because of their race, religion or ethnic origin. The United Nations General Assembly in 1948 unanimously adopted the Genocide Convention condemning these practices. Resolution No. 34 calls for the immediate ratification by the United States Senate of the Genocide Convention.

Your Committee recommends approval.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

SAFEGUARDING PUBLIC HEALTH BY STOPPING A-BOMB AND H-BOMB TESTS

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates Michael J. Quill, Matthew Guinan, Ellis F. Van Riper, James F. Horst, Gustav Faber, Eugene Attreed, and Frank Sheehan, Transport Workers Union of America.

WHEREAS, During the last six years nuclear weapons have been tested by the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Scientists and governments alike are agreed:

- (1) That these tests release radioactive materials into the atmosphere, and that gradually these materials fall to the earth and are spread through all parts of the world;
- (2) That some of these materials, such as Strontium 90, retain their radioactivity for many years;
- (3) That Strontium 90 finds its way into milk and other foods;
- (4) That these radioactive materials cause leukemia and bone cancer, shorten life, and produce biological changes (genetic mutations) which are passed from one generation to another, and

WHEREAS, Scientists have estimated that tests already held will cause, during the next thirty years, more than 100,000 additional cases of leukemia and bone cancer, and a like number of genetic mutations, and

WHEREAS, As yet, all efforts to reach an international agreement to stop the tests have fallen short of success, and

WHEREAS, It has been announced that additional tests are planned by the United States for 1958, and it is assumed that other nations are also planning future tests, and

WHEREAS, the injury to life and health will increase proportionately to the quantities of radioactive materials released into the atmosphere from future tests, therefore be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO Convention, urges the United States propose to the United Nations Assembly, that, apart from the issues of disarmament, nuclear weapons tests be abandoned immediately by all countries as a safeguard to world health, and be it further

RESOLVED, That if early agreement for an immediate stopping of nuclear tests cannot be reached, the United States, as a token of good faith and a proof of sincere concern for the health of peoples, pledges not to resume testing so long as other nations also refrain from nuclear weapons tests, and be it finally

RESOLVED, Copies of this resolution be sent to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, Ambassador Lodge and the members of the U. S. delegation to the United Nations Assembly.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The subject matter of this resolution is dealt with in Resolution No. 150, International Relations, already approved by this committee.

No further action is therefore required.

PRESIDENT MEANY: If there is no objection the Convention will consider the matter as having been disposed by Resolution 150.

ITF AND ICFTU

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department, AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, The economic wellbeing of maritime workers throughout the free world as properly the concern of the American maritime worker as well as his brother overseas; and

WHEREAS, great strides in advancing the interests of all maritime workers has been made through the medium of the International Transportworkers Federation, with whom our member unions are affiliated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO salutes the ITF and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions as a democratic bulwark, and as an instrumentality for the protection of the economic rights of maritime workers everywhere. And be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge continued cooperation be given the ITF and the ICFTU.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This subject matter has been covered by Resolution No. 150 and the Committee is of the opinion that no further action is necessary.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report and recommendation of the Committee that no action is necessary on 107.

RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Resolution No. 78—By the Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, the American Labor Movement played an important part in the development of the International Labor Organization and,

WHEREAS, the International Labor Organization was founded on the principle that lasting peace can be assured only if based on social justice and,

WHEREAS, the International Labor Organization has for the past 40 years, through its efforts improved the standards of working people throughout the world and,

WHEREAS, the International Labor Organization has greatly assisted in eliminating abuses in the field of human rights and,

WHEREAS, the social and economic well being of the people of the United States are dependent upon the welfare of the workers of all other countries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED that the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in Convention assembled, reaffirms its faith in the International Labor Organization and dedicates itself to continued active support of the International Labor Organization in its efforts to assist the peoples of the world and especially the people of the lesser developed countries and, be it further

RESOLVED that the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations call upon the Congress of the United States to make available adequate funds to enable the International Labor Organization to continue and to expand its work toward the economic and social betterment of the peoples of the world.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Your committee recommends approval of this resolution. Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, the AFL-CIO is cognizant of the valuable work that is performed by the International Labor Organization; and

WHEREAS, we are proud of the constructive contributions made by the AFL-CIO representatives in promoting the interests of the workers throughout the world, despite the efforts of reactionary employer members to cripple the essential functions of ILO; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That we strongly urge that our Government provide sufficient funds to enable the ILO to meet the basic requirements of the important job it has to perform.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: We have another resolution, No. 104 also entitled "International Labor Organization." Inasmuch as we have already adopted Resolution No. 78 the Committee feels that no further action is required.

PRESIDENT MEANY: If there is no objection, Resolution No. 104 will be considered to have been disposed of by your action on Resolution No. 78.

At this time the Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Constitution, Vice President Buckmaster.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BUCKMASTER: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this Convention: It is quite apparent that the convention gave to the Committee on Resolutions a much greater job to be done than they have given to the Committee on Constitution, for which I suppose the members of the Committee on Constitution should be thankful.

Two years ago this newly-merged organization adopted a full set of basic laws which we refer to as the Constitution of the AFL-CIO. It seems to me that the fact that only five proposals to change those basic laws have been offered to this convention is a very clear indication that the framers of this set of laws two years ago must have done a very satisfactory job.

The members of the Committee on Constitution held two meetings, which, by the way, were not too well attended. But the Committee reached conclusions as to what should be done with these five proposals which had been submitted to it, and in order to inform you of the actions taken by the Committee I now call upon the Secretary of the Committee, Gordon M. Freeman of the IBEW.

... **COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREEMAN** submitted the following report on behalf of the Committee:

The Committee on the Constitution had two Resolutions referred to it and two items from the Supplemental Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to the Second Convention of the AFL-CIO.

We shall consider the two resolutions first.

AFFILIATION WITH STATE CENTRAL BODIES

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Victor Bussie, Louisiana State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and Delegate Raymond B. Oliver, Shreveport Central Trades and Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, There are more than 15,000,000 workers in the United States of America that are members of National and International Unions which are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, and

WHEREAS, It is the responsibility of each National and International Union to represent the workers that are members of that particular National or International Union in all matters pertaining to wages, working conditions, social benefits, etc. and

WHEREAS, These National and International Unions have performed an outstanding service for the workers who are members of their respective unions by securing for them the highest possible standards of living and social benefits, and

WHEREAS, The responsible officials of the National and International Unions, realize that each National and International Union could very ably represent its members in matters dealing with wages, working conditions, etc. but that some other means must be found whereby the strength and prestige of all National and International Unions could be combined in a single organization that would be responsible for representing Labor before the National Congress and the various State Legislatures in order to secure freedom from restrictive anti-labor legislation and to insure passage of favorable legislation guaranteeing labor freedom and social benefits, and

WHEREAS, In order to obtain these objectives, a federation of labor was formed that today is known as the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; this federation being responsible for representing Labor before the Congress of the United States and also responsible for chartering State Central Bodies in each state to represent Labor before the State Legislatures of the various states, and

WHEREAS, It is the responsibility of the State Central Bodies to provide the same representation for Labor in the various states as does the AFL-CIO on a National basis, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations is composed of approximately one hundred thirty-nine (139) National and International Unions, all of which must pay per-capita tax on its full membership to the AFL-CIO in order to enjoy the benefits of the Federation; and

WHEREAS, The National and International Unions that comprise the AFL-CIO have chartered local unions in all of the various states: some requiring that locals chartered by them must affiliate with State Central Bodies, while others do not have such requirements, and

WHEREAS, In the absence of specific regulations from National and International Unions requiring all local unions to affiliate with State Central Bodies in each state, large numbers of locals have declined to affiliate, thereby causing affiliated local unions to bear the full cost of operation of State Central Bodies, and

WHEREAS, This "free-riding" by some local unions is causing an undue burden on locals that do affiliate and is also preventing State Central Bodies from securing sufficient funds to properly carry out the responsibilities assigned to them, and

WHEREAS, One of the reasons the AFL-CIO and all affiliated National and International Unions are opposed to labor restricting legislation such as the so-called "Right-to-Work" Laws is because they encourage and make possible "free-riders" among those workers who are not members of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations give consideration to changing the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to require that all affiliated National and International Unions shall make it mandatory that all local unions, affiliated with them, shall affiliate with State Central Bodies in each state.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREEMAN: Following is Article XIV, Section 2 of the AFL-CIO Constitution:

"It shall be the duty of all national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation to instruct their local unions to join affiliated central labor bodies in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the Federation to all local unions affiliated directly to it."

Your Committee feels that the above section from our Constitution should be sufficient to cover the requirement set forth in Resolution 8 above.

Therefore, the Committee non-concurs. It does, however, desire to call the attention of all affiliated unions to this section of our Constitution, and urge them to insist on the affiliation of their local unions with State and City Central Labor Bodies.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREEMAN: I move that the report of the Committee be adopted.

. . . The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

STATE BODIES REPRESENTATION AT CONVENTIONS OF THE AFL-CIO

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate William S. Holly, Kansas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, State labor organizations play a most important role in protecting and promoting the interests of all unions in the State Legislatures, and

WHEREAS, The present constitution fails to accord representation at national conventions of the AFL-CIO commensurate with the important functions that State Federations and other State labor bodies perform; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Article IV, Section 4, of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO be amended to provide that each state central body be entitled to two (2) delegates at national conventions.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREEMAN: Your Committee non-concurs in this resolution. I move that the recommendation of the Committee be adopted.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREEMAN: We shall now consider the two items from the Supplemental Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to the Second Convention of the AFL-CIO.

Item 1 refers to Per Capita Tax and was submitted as follows:

PER CAPITA TAX

Article XVI, Section 2 of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO provides that each National or International Union and Organizing Committee shall pay to the Federation a per capita tax of 4 cents per member per month.

Article XV, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution provides that the per capita tax payment to the Federation by Directly Affiliated Local Unions shall be determined by the Executive Council but shall not be less than 80 cents per month.

The first sentence of Article XVI, Section 3 of the AFL-CIO Constitution provides that each Directly Affiliated Local Union shall pay, on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of not less than 80 cents per member per month as provided for in the rules governing the organization and activities of Directly Affiliated Local Unions.

During the period from December 5, 1955, the date of the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, to the end of June, 1956, the expenses of the AFL-CIO exceeded normal income in an amount in excess of \$700,000, or approximately \$100,000 per month. Fortunately, however, the Federation received during that period, as excess per capita taxes from former CIO National and International Unions, non-recurring income in the amount of \$546,640.72 which reduced the operating deficit of the Federation to approximately \$157,000.

Because of this operating deficit it became necessary for the AFL-CIO Executive Council, acting pursuant to Article XVI, Section 4 of the Federation's Constitution, to declare a per capita tax assessment effective July 1, 1956 which had the effect of increasing the per capita tax assessments of National and International Unions and Directly Affiliated Local Unions by one cent per member per month for fifteen months. Subsequently the period of this assessment was extended through December, 1957. Because of this assessment the income of the Federation, during the fiscal year from July 1, 1956 through June 30, 1957, exceeded expenditures, resulting in a recovery of approximately \$900,000. Had this assessment not been in effect, however, the Federation's expenses during the fiscal year mentioned would have exceeded income by approximately \$80,000 per month, or a total of \$960,000.

This experience demonstrates that if the Federation is to fully carry out the purpose for which it was created, it is necessary that the per capita tax to be paid by National and International Unions and by Directly Affiliated Local unions be increased.

After full consideration and discussion of this problem, the Executive Council has concluded it is necessary to the proper functioning of the AFL-CIO that, effective January 1, 1958, the per capita tax to be paid to the Federation by National and International Unions be 5 cents per member per month and that effective January 1, 1958 the per capita tax to be paid to the Federation by Directly Affiliated Local Unions be \$1.00 per member per month.

Because of this determination, the Executive Council, action pursuant to the authority vested in it by the AFL-CIO Constitution, has amended the Rules Governing Directly Affiliated Local Unions so as to require each Directly Affiliated Local Union to pay to the Federa-

tion a per capita tax of \$1.00 per member per month effective January 1, 1958, and recommends to this Convention that Article XV, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution be amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 4. The per capita payment to the Federation by local unions directly affiliated to it shall be determined by the Executive Council but shall not be less than one dollar per month.";

and that the first sentence of Article XVI, Section 3 of the AFL-CIO Constitution be amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 3. Each directly affiliated local union shall pay on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of not less than one dollar per member per month, as provided for in the rules governing the organization and activities of such directly affiliated local unions."

The Executive Council further recommends to this Convention that Article XVI, Section 2 of the AFL-CIO Constitution be amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 2. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall pay on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of 5 cents per member per month."

It is the recommendation of the Executive Council that these amendments to the Constitution of the AFL-CIO be made effective as of January 1, 1958.

Your Committee on the Constitution concurs in this proposal of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and recommends that Article XV, Section 4, Article XVI, Section 3 and Article XVI, Section 2 be changed accordingly.

. . . COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREEMAN moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the recommendation of the Committee regarding the amendment to the Constitution on the subject of per capita tax. The motion is to adopt the recommendation. Is there discussion?

DELEGATE KOZAK, Federal Local 18267: Mr. Chairman, we of the Federal locals agree with the decision of the Executive Board raising the per capita tax of the directly affiliated locals to one dollar, but it seems to leave a question as to how we would go about, in our own locals, informing our membership as to this additional per capita, seeing that our dues are only two dollars. To compensate for that we would have to raise our dues at least 50 cents.

Now, I am just wondering whether the Executive Board has considered that fact and whether they could have included in their decision that the dues should automatically be brought up to \$2.50 as a minimum, to compensate for that increase in per capita tax, rather than to leave it up to the officers of each local to inform their members. I know darned well it will be met with much argument.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Well, Brother, the problem before the Convention, of course, is these specific amendments. I would like to

point out, though, in regard to the local union dues, that the two dollars is a minimum, that their members are required to pay not less than two dollars. Naturally, I would assume that, with a raise in per capita, the local union would accordingly raise their dues, unless their finances were such that they didn't feel that that was necessary.

Is there further discussion?

DELEGATE KOZAK: Mr. Chairman, our finances at this present time cannot take care of that extra 20 cents. That's why I bring the question up.

PRESIDENT MEANY: If this Convention adopts this proposal, I will be glad to write a letter that you can show to your members, telling them it is necessary that they pay a little more money.

DELEGATE KOZAK: Well, I would appreciate it if you would do so.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion?

... The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREEMAN: Item 2 from the Supplemental Report, refers to the General Board and reads as follows:

GENERAL BOARD

Article X of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO creates a General Board of the Federation consisting of all of the members of the Executive Council of the Federation and the President or other principal officer of each of the affiliated National or International Unions and each trade or industrial department and provides that this General Board shall decide all policy questions referred to it by the Executive Officers or by the Executive Council. Section 2 of this Article provides that the General Board shall meet upon the call of the President of Federation, but such meeting shall be called at least once each year.

The Executive Council believes that the inherent intent in the Constitutional provision governing meetings of the General Board was that this Board should not be required to meet in any year in which a Convention is held, but that a meeting of such Board should be held at least once during the year intervening between the conventions of the AFL-CIO. This appears to be so because of the function of the General Board is to decide such policy questions as may be referred to it by the Executive Officers or by the Executive Council and the requirement to hold such a meeting of the General Executive Board for such a purpose in a year in which a Convention is held may create an unnecessary demand upon the time of the principal officers of affiliated National and International Unions and trade and industrial departments and may constitute an unnecessary expense to such affiliates and departments. For this reason, and because Section 2 of Article X of the AFL-CIO Constitution does require a meeting of the General Board to be held at least once each year, the Executive Council recommends to this Convention that Section 2 of Article X of the AFL-CIO Constitution be amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 2. The General Board shall meet upon the call of the President of the Federation, but such meeting shall be called at least once in any year in which a Convention is not held."

After careful consideration, your Committee on Constitution agrees that the General Board should convene at least once every year in order to provide opportunity for affiliated organizations to express their views on the many important questions affecting their organizations and the AFL-CIO in general.

Therefore, your Committee non-concurs in this recommendation.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREEMAN: I move the report of the Committee be adopted.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY FREEMAN: This concludes the report of the Committee on Constitution. We move its adoption as a whole. It is signed by:

L. S. BUCKMASTER
Chairman
GORDON M. FREEMAN
Secretary
PATRICK E. GORMAN
RALPH HELSTEIN
T. C. CARROLL
MICHAEL J. QUILL
WILLIAM TRACY
LEWIS McCracken
WILFRID T. CONNELL
ANTHONY E. MATZ
JOHN P. REDMOND
FRANK ROSENBLUM
JOSEPH DENNY
SAL B. HOFFMAN
LEONARD WOODCOCK
PAUL HALL
WALTER L. MITCHEL
HARRY BLOCK
C. W. SICKLES
W. P. KENNEDY
WILLIAM A. CALVIN

COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION

PRESIDENT MEANY: The motion is to receive the report of the Committee on Constitution and adopt it as a whole. Those who favor the motion will signify by saying aye; contrary, no. It is carried and so ordered. The Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

We will now hear a report from the Committee on Appeals. The Chair recognizes the Acting Chairman of the Committee on Appeals, the Chairman of the Committee not having participated in the case now to be reported. Brother Hartnett, Acting Chairman.

REPORT OF THE APPEALS COMMITTEE ON THE APPEAL OF PAUL DORFMAN

ACTING CHAIRMAN HARTNETT: I will call upon the Secretary of the Committee, John Rollings, to read the report and submit the recommendations of the Committee.

. . . Acting Secretary John Rollings read the following report:

IN RE: APPEAL OF PAUL DORFMAN

This is an appeal by Paul Dorfman arising from an order of President George Meany, dated July 30, 1957, removing him from office as Financial Secretary-Treasurer and expelling him from membership in a Federal Labor Union, Local 20467. The Executive Council unanimously rejected Dorfman's appeal and approved the President's decision.

Further appeal was taken to the Convention. In accordance with the Constitution, this appeal was referred to the Committee on Appeals.

Upon due notice to Paul Dorfman, the Committee held a hearing on the appeal on Monday, December 9, at which time there were presented to the Committee the entire record in this matter as well as the appeal and arguments of Paul Dorfman.

Upon the basis of the entire record, your Committee on Appeals makes the following findings and recommendations to the Convention.

I. The Charges and Proceedings Against Paul Dorfman

On December 27, 1956, President Meany filed charges that Paul Dorfman, Financial Secretary-Treasurer of the Waste Materials Handlers Union, Federal Labor Union No. 20467, had failed to comply with the principles and provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution and the Rules Governing Directly Affiliated Local Unions and was engaged in activities contrary to the welfare and best interests of the AFL-CIO. Among other things, it was charged that Paul Dorfman had failed to comply with the resolutions on health and welfare plan administration and ethical practices adopted by the AFL-CIO in December, 1955, and had failed properly to carry out the functions of his office in Federal Labor Union No. 20467. President Meany designated Joseph A. Beirne, Vice President of the AFL-CIO, as a Hearing Officer to hold hearings on the matter and make recommendations, and, in accordance with the Rules, established a trusteeship over the Local Union.

Upon notice to Dorfman, hearings were held in this matter by Vice President Beirne in Washington on January 7, 1957, in Chicago on February 14 and 15, 1957, and in Washington again on March 1, 1957. An extensive record was made and much evidence taken. A comprehensive brief was filed on Dorfman's behalf by his attorneys.

On July 30, 1957, Vice President Beirne submitted his report and recommendations to President Meany. It is contained verbatim on pages 160-182 of the Supplemental Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Ethical Practices Cases, which has been submitted to each delegate.

The report found that Dorfman was the dominant and controlling figure in Local 20467 and that there had been clear and outright violations of AFL-CIO rules and policy in his conduct of the Union's affairs. Among these violations were: failure to observe the terms of the AFL-CIO Rules Governing Directly Affiliated Local Unions as to the terms of local union office, the drawing of a salary both from Federal Labor Union No. 20467 and from the welfare fund covering its members, in violation of the AFL Executive Council resolution of May, 1955, and of the AFL-CIO December, 1955, Convention resolution dealing with health

and welfare plan administration, failure to provide for adequate audits of the welfare fund, in violation of the same resolutions, and other violations with respect to welfare plan administration.

Dorfman's principal defence against his failure to correct these matters more promptly was that he had no time to read his mail and that he was not aware, until a year later, of the provisions of the 1955 Convention resolutions.

In addition to these violations, Vice-President Beirne also found that Paul Dorfman had compromising personal ties with a company doing business with the Local's welfare plan. This company was the Union Casualty and Life Insurance Company.

Union Casualty in 1949 and 1950 obtained, at the insistence of James Hoffa, the insurance contracts of the welfare funds of the Central States, Southeast and Southwest Areas Welfare Fund and of the Michigan Conference of Teamsters. It obtained these contracts even though it was not the lowest bidder. The Union Insurance Agency of Illinois was "instrumental" in having this insurance, and other union business of the Company in the Chicago area, placed with Union Casualty. The agency made, in the first three years of its operations, almost a quarter million dollars out of excessive commissions paid on these policies.

Union Insurance Agency was Paul Dorfman's wife and Paul Dorfman's son. Three-quarters of the profits, at first, and then one-half went to Paul Dorfman's wife, even though she contributed only \$5,000 in capital and no substantial services. Dorfman's son had no prior knowledge of the insurance business and, indeed, was still learning about the business when one of the contracts was negotiated. By 1953, Dorfman's wife and son were each netting more than \$100,000 per year from this Agency. Dorfman conceded that he was a friend of Hoffa's and that he had solicited business for the Union Insurance Agency. He did not deny that he had shared, through his wife, the benefits of the profits made out of these agreements with Union welfare funds.

On the basis of Dorfman's violations of AFL-CIO rules and policy and, independently, because of his finding of improper relationships with the Union Casualty Company, Vice President Beirne recommended that the charges against Dorfman be sustained and that he be removed from office in the Federal Labor Union and be expelled from it. He also recommended that since the local union was completely under the domination of Dorfman, the trusteeship over the affairs of the Local be continued until such time as it became clear that the Local was capable of independently conducting its affairs. He further recommended that the officers of Federal Labor Union 20467, except Paul Dorfman, should continue to serve as temporary officers under the supervision of the trustee.

President Meany adopted the recommendations of Vice President Beirne and, on appeal from his decision, it was sustained by the Executive Council.

II. The Appeal

Dorfman's appeal is based on three principal contentions:

(1) That the violations of the Rules Governing Directly Affiliated Local Unions and the AFL-CIO resolutions regarding health and welfare plan administration were inadvertant and had been corrected;

(2) That the relationship with the Union Casualty Company was not improper and did not constitute a violation of any codes of ethical practices since the profits which his wife and son derived from the relationship with the Union Casualty Company did not come from the business of that Company with Federal Labor Union 20467, but from its contracts with other union welfare funds;

(3) That the penalty against him is not commensurate with the violations found and that, in view of his long history in the labor movement, he should have been reprimanded not expelled from the Federal Labor Union.

III. Conclusions and Recommendations

This is not an appeal by an autonomous national or international union. It is an appeal by an individual from action taken by President Meany with respect to a directly affiliated local union, the affairs of which are supervised by the AFL-CIO in the same manner as the affairs of a local union are supervised by an international union. It is the view of the Committee that the AFL-CIO must require that local unions directly subordinate to it and their officers comply strictly with the highest standards of ethical conduct and with the strict terms of all of the rules governing such local unions. Upon review of the entire record in this matter, the Committee concludes that the President of the AFL-CIO was fully justified in concluding that: Paul Dorfman did not meet this standard.

The AFL-CIO cannot afford to have, as officers of its local unions, individuals who ignore its rules and claim, as Dorfman did, as a defense to their violation of the rules, that they did not have time to read them. Nor, the Committee believes, can the AFL-CIO afford to have as officers of its federal labor unions individuals who solicit and receive the benefit of huge and unjustified profits improperly derived from the welfare funds of other unions. The fact that these profits did not come from the pockets of the members of Dorfman's local but came, instead, from the pockets of members of the Teamsters Union does not, the Committee believes, make the relationship proper or demonstrate that Dorfman is a fit person to conduct the local's affairs.

Accordingly, your Committee recommends that the appeal of Paul Dorfman from the decision of President Meany be rejected and that the decision of President Meany with respect to Paul Dorfman and with respect to the affairs of Federal Labor Union 20467 be confirmed.

Respectfully submitted,

COMMITTEE ON APPEALS

Al Hartnett,

Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers,

Acting Chairman

John I. Rollings,
President, Missouri State Labor Council,
Acting Secretary

John J. Murphy,
General Secretary, Bricklayers, Masons and
Plasterers International Union of America

I. W. Abel,
Secretary-Treasurer, United Steelworkers of
America

A. J. Bernhardt,
General President, Brotherhood of Railway
Carmen of America

Felix C. Jones,
General President, United Cement, Lime and
Gypsum Workers International Union

Edward J. Leonard,
First Vice President, Operative Plasterers and
Cement Mason's International Association of
the United States and Canada

Harry Sayre,
Executive Vice President, United Paper-
makers and Paperworkers

Chairman Alex Rose, President, United Hatters,
Cap and Millinery Workers International
Union did not participate in the consideration
of this appeal.

Atlantic City, New Jersey
December 10, 1957

ACTING COMMITTEE SECRETARY ROLLINGS: I submit the
report, Mr. Chairman, and move its adoption.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Com-
mittee on Appeals and the motion is to adopt that report.

I would like to point out that under the rules established by the
Executive Council in accordance with the authority granted to it by
the Constitution, and the instructions of the Convention, an appellant
has a right to appear before any Appeals Committee of the Conven-
tion and, except in the case of an individual appellant, shall have the
right to appear before the Convention itself. An individual appellant
shall have the right to appear before the Convention itself only with
the Convention's consent.

Under this rule, therefore, in order for Brother Dorfman to make
his appeal to the Convention it would be necessary for the Convention
to consent to his appearance. And I would suggest that the Conven-
tion give that consent.

Is there any objection?

Hearing none, the Chair recognizes Brother Dorfman.

MR. PAUL DORFMAN: Mr. President, I was informed that
Brother Schnitzler was going to read my report and I was not to
appear here.

PRESIDENT MEANY: All right. I have asked the Convention to give you permission to appear and you can read it yourself or I will have Brother Schnitzler read it for you.

MR. DORFMAN: Well, he has it now; I haven't it.

PRESIDENT MEANY: All right, Brother Schnitzler will read it.

Statement of Mr. Paul Dorfman

... Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler read the following statement:

I appreciate this chance to speak to the delegates of this convention about my case. I wish that every delegate here could read the record of the charges and evidence which I produced to prove that I was not guilty of the charges and that I was not guilty of any wrongdoing during the 17 years I spent as an officer of Local 20467.

On the basis of that record I was found not guilty of most of the original charges. On the basis of that record, all the charges should have been dismissed and I should have been permitted to continue as secretary-treasurer of Local 20467.

I now say to you that I have always complied with the highest standards of ethical conduct in conducting the affairs of my Union and its Welfare Fund. I have always believed in compliance with the rules of this Federation. My record clearly shows that to be true. On many occasions I have been commended for my activities in behalf of the local union and the entire labor movement, including Labor's League for Political Education.

For four years, I was chairman of the Labor Day banquets conducted on behalf of the League. They were highly successful, including the banquet at which President Harry Truman was our guest of honor.

I want to challenge the statement that my principal defense as to my dual salary and term of office was that I had no time to read my mail. That statement is unfair and untrue. The record will vindicate me on this. In any event, the salary and term of office items were completely remedied before any charges in this case were brought.

The parts of the report concerning the Teamsters' insurance program and the alleged excessive commissions and profits resulting from that program were never raised as issues in this case until today. There is not one word of evidence in the record of my case of any excessive Teamster commissions, and it was never even charged that I was a party to anything the Teamsters might have done.

The Executive Council of this Federation agreed that I did not, at any time, receive any benefit or advantage or profit from the insurance programs maintained by my Local 20467. There was never any benefit, advantage or profit from that program for my wife or son or the agency which they ran.

Now, one of the reasons for which I am being thrown out of the labor movement is that there are other unions or trust funds, including the Teamsters, which have purchased insurance policies from an insurance company for which my son is an agent in an agency owned by my son and my wife.

The report refers to my son as not experienced when he negotiated an insurance policy. This is unfair to him. As a father, you will understand my telling you that he was experienced enough to lead his men in action during World War II as a captain of the Marines in the Pacific campaign, and he earned the Presidential Citation, two Purple Hearts and a Silver Star. I am found guilty of a violation of the code because my wife and son receive an income from insurance policies purchased through their agency by the welfare funds of various other unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO. I am not an officer in any of those other unions. I do not have the authority to exercise any responsibility or influence in the administration of any of their welfare programs. In this case, and throughout the hearings, no one ever officially charged that the sale of insurance to other unions through an agency operated by my wife and son would be considered a violation of any ethical practice code, and the code itself refers only to profit from any insurance program of the union of which the charged person is an officer. There are many officers in this labor movement who have sons or wives or relatives engaged in various businesses. Under this new rule, none of these officers could attempt to help these relatives in their business, even though the help came from sources separate and apart from their own local unions.

If I committed a sin in asking my friends, but not my own union, to help out my wife and son's separate business, then so have countless other fathers and husbands. I have never neglected any of my own union business in doing this, and I have not been so charged.

I have served my local union and the labor movement with honor and integrity for 17 years. I have faithfully performed all of my duties and I have always fulfilled my obligations on every occasion and in every respect, and have built up my local from nothing, and along with it have come tremendous improvements in wages and working conditions.

I am not guilty of any of the charges against me. I have never engaged in any act which is contrary to the welfare or best interests of Local 20467 or the labor movement. I now urge that the charges be dismissed and that I be restored to my position in Local 20467. I can assure all of the delegates to this convention that my future conduct will be, at all times, in accordance with the ethical principles adopted and maintained by the AFL-CIO.

/s/ PAUL DORFMAN

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes the Acting Chairman Brother Hartnett.

ACTING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARTNETT: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I think it not terribly important to take a great deal of time to discuss all of the facts in this case. It would be well, however, to keep in mind that we deal here with a local union officer of a federal labor union. This federal labor union area is the area within which the delegates to this Convention and the AFL-CIO exercise the maximum of control and responsibility for good order.

It might be well, too, to keep in mind that the findings of the hearing officer appointed by President Meany were upheld by President Meany; that the Executive Council by unanimous vote upheld the action of President Meany in suspending this man from office, in suspending the officers of the local union, and in appointing a trustee over the affairs of the local union.

We should keep in mind, too, that the report made to you by the Appeals Committee is a unanimous report of that committee, with only the chairman, Alex Rose, not participating in the deliberations of the committee.

Now, indication is given in the presentation of Paul Dorfman that he has not said to the committee or to anyone else that it is because he didn't open his mail that he was unfamiliar with the requirements of the AFL-CIO Code of Ethical Practices. I think within that little statement there lies ample indication of the kind of double dealing and double talking the hearing officer and the Ethical Practices Committee and your committee has apparently received.

I would like to read to you from earlier testimony offered by Paul Dorfman, and I quote from page 168 of the Supplemental Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Ethical Practices cases booklet which is before you. Said Paul Dorfman:

"I am going to tell you something. When you walk in an office today, between all the organizations asking for contributions, asking for donations, you have got a stack of mail like this. Half of the time you just glance through things and you actually don't read them and digest them. I figure that if there was anything coming up, he (pointing to Jacobs) knows the operation of my local and how I have been running it and if there is anything that has to be taken up and changed, it is his duty to tell me if I am doing something wrong or something that should be changed."

I believe, and your Committee believes that no one can discharge their responsibilities in such a carefree manner as to indicate they don't open and read their mail in a thorough manner.

Now, we are asked to look upon the business ventures of Paul Dorfman's wife and his son with something of a paternalistic attitude; we ought to think of them as being merely the business ventures of a son and a wife trying to make a little bit of a living.

Well, a little bit of a look into the affairs of that organization, that insurance corporation, would be of utmost interest to you. With an initial investment of approximately \$5,000, there was earned by that company in a period of a little less than three years almost a quarter of a million dollars. This is no small family business.

You might well take a look into how that was accomplished. There were some insurance policies obtained from the Central Conference of Teamsters upon the insistence of Jimmy Hoffa, and those insurance policies were handled by the firm headed by Dorfman's wife and son. These policies were obtained by that firm, placed by that firm, handled by that firm, despite the fact there were six other companies which offered lower bids and which could have saved substantially in the amount of administrative expenses, which could easily have been plowed back into better benefits for the people covered by this insurance program. There is a great deal more that could be recited about the machinations of Dorfman.

Then another little item that might be worthy of your thought for a moment is that here is a man who handles a local union of about 900 people working in a terribly low-wage industry with a wage rate running, according to the contract and according to his testimony, somewhere in the neighborhood of \$1.35 up to the very large figure of about \$1.75. These people pay dues of \$3.50 to \$4.50 a month.

Out of these 900 people with these relatively low wages, Dorfman draws a salary of \$13,000 a year. This is in addition, of course, to the little business in which his wife and his son engage.

You hear about these wage rates of \$1.35 and \$1.75 about which he testifies, but there is obvious evidence that these wage rates are not the solely prevailing wage rates, that there are indeed wage rates of \$1.25 an hour. There are job classifications in existence by oral agreement with the employer which are not even mentioned in the agreement and, as a matter of fact, the true fact seems to be that the wage rates in the industry average less than the minimum called for by the terms of the collective bargaining agreement.

Your Committee felt it could go along at great length in describing to you these machinations. We believe there to be sufficient evidence before you when we point out that he drew salaries totaling \$13,000, not only from the local union's treasury but part of it from the Welfare Fund, that he did solicit business for his son and his wife which deprived members of other organizations from all of the benefits they should have obtained from their insurance policies, and that he is, as a result of this and his other machinations, unqualified to represent the AFL-CIO or its federal labor unions. We therefore recommend unanimously sustaining the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee and the Executive Council.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Are there any further remarks? Hearing no further remarks, all those who favor the motion to adopt the Committee's report signify by saying aye; contrary, no.

The Committee's report is adopted and it is so ordered.

Presentation of Mementos to Fraternal Delegates

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I am going to interrupt the work of this Committee. We have one more report from this Committee that we can submit tonight and it will not take too long. I want to perform the very pleasant duty of calling Brother Beard up here, together with Brother O'Hagan and our friend Donald MacDonald.

For a number of years it has been a custom for visiting fraternal delegates to receive a watch to take home with them, and we have found out that they had to pay a duty, when they got home, almost as much as the watch cost. Being somewhat stingy, let us say, we didn't like the idea of putting that burden on them. We have found, with the cooperation of our good friends in the glass industry, a very appropriate gift which we feel will be appreciated not only by the fraternal delegates themselves but by their families. We have arranged to ship to them a very fine set of what is known as Steuben glass. According to historical records, flint glass was first produced in America in 1608, almost 350 years ago. It was one of the first industries in America.

The art and craftsmanship that go into this work are very much appreciated and have been recognized for many years. Today Steuben glass is used for presentations of mementos of various kinds to Presidents and Kings and Queens throughout the world.

We have arranged this gift of Steuben glass to be presented to the fraternal delegates from England and Canada, gifts that were manufactured by the Corning Glass Works in Corning, New York, the employees of which company are all members of the American Flint Glass Workers Union of North America, one of our oldest unions, with headquarters in Toledo, Ohio, and which was established in Pittsburgh in the year 1878.

We have a vase made of this beautiful glass and suitably inscribed as a memento of this Convention. It reads: "AFL-CIO Second Constitutional Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey, December 1957."

With this beautiful vase goes a dozen of these wine glasses and these very beautiful drinking glasses.

This is the finest glass, I believe, that the world has ever seen. We are very happy to present them to our good friends from Great Britain and to our good friend, Donald MacDonald, from Canada as a memento of their visit spent here with us at this very, very important Convention of our organization.

I present these to them with the best wishes of the AFL-CIO, its officers, the Executive Council and all the delegates to this Convention.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to call upon Brother Beard and the others just for a moment because they are going to leave here early in the morning, and I am sure that they want to say a few words before leaving.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE BEARD: President Meany, Executive Council Members and fellow delegates: I want to thank you all on my own behalf and on behalf of my wife, who is in the gallery looking down, for that magnificent gift. I also want to thank you all for the wonderful kindnesses which have been extended to us both during our stay among you. I have enjoyed your convention. It has been different to what I have been used to in Great Britain, but let me assure you it has been an exhilarating experience for me.

And with that experience and the magnificent gift I will always have something to remind me of the AFL-CIO Convention in Atlantic City.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Brother Beard. To you and Mrs. Beard the best wishes of this convention for a safe return home.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE O'HAGAN: Mr. President and friends: I don't know how to express my thanks and feelings to you, every one of you, for the beautiful gift that I am going to take home to England with me; not only for the beautiful gift, but for the very happy memories that I shall carry back with me of the many friends I have made at this Convention. I knew quite a few Americans before I came over to your great country, but the wonderful time, the wonderful reception and the kindnesses that you have shown to us during this visit will live in my memory forever.

I thank you all sincerely and I hope that if any of you ever visit Britain that you will always call on Joe O'Hagan in order to say "how do you do."

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I have been advised that I'd better remind Joe that this is the glass for beer and this larger one is for flowers.

Now, I would like to present our good friend Donald MacDonald from Canada for just a few words.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE MacDONALD: President Meany and fellow delegates, First of all I want to extend to you, on behalf of my wife and myself, our deepest gratitude and appreciation for not only the marvelous gesture that President Meany has made to us in your behalf this afternoon, but also as a gesture of thanks for the tremendous hospitality that you have extended to us throughout the entire week that it has been our privilege to visit here with you.

I want to say that my vocabulary doesn't contain an appropriate word in the English language to truly express the spirit, the feelings that well up in my heart at this moment. I can only say in the simplest form, thank you. I hope when the occasion arises that any of my old friends in the American labor movement or any of the ones that I have made this week have occasion to visit Ottawa that they will accept this as an indication of our hospitality, that they will come to visit us and we can assure you that the hospitality will be in form of something by which we can make use of your gift.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, Donald.

Now, at this time the Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Appeals, Brother Alec Rose.

REPORT OF APPEALS COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROSE: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: The Committee now stands ready to report on the appeal of the United Textile Workers of America. The Secretary of the Committee, John J. Murphy, will read the report:

... Committee Secretary Murphy submitted the following report on behalf of the committee:

IN RE: APPEAL OF THE UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA

Basis of Appeal

Pursuant to Article VIII, Section 7 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, the Executive Council, on December 4, 1957, suspended the United Textile Workers of America from the AFL-CIO. The Executive Council directed that the United Textile Workers be notified immediately of this action and advised that it may appeal the Council's action to the present Convention. The United Textile Workers indicated a desire to make such an appeal and pursuant to Article IV, Sections 9 and 10 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, this appeal was referred to the Appeals Committee of the Convention appointed by President George Meany.

Upon due notice to the United Textile Workers of America, the Appeals Committee held a hearing on December 10, 1957. At this hearing, there were submitted to the Committee, on behalf of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, the resolutions adopted by the Executive Council with respect to this Union, and the report of the Ethical Prac-

tices Committee to the Council. The representatives of the United Textile Workers Union were given a full opportunity to, and did, present materials and arguments which they thought appropriate in support of the Union's appeal.

This report is submitted by the Appeals Committee to the Convention of the AFL-CIO on the basis of all of the materials presented to it and the arguments made before it.

Background of Appeal

On September 16, 1957, the Ethical Practices Committee submitted a report on the United Textile Workers of America to the Executive Council in which it concluded that "the United Textile Workers of America does not meet the standards for ethical union practices set forth in the AFL-CIO Constitution." (The report is contained on Pages 144-158 of the Supplemental Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Ethical Practices Cases which has been distributed to the delegates to the AFL-CIO Convention.) The Ethical Practices Committee supported this conclusion with the following findings:

(a) President Anthony Valente and Secretary-Treasurer Lloyd A. Klenert attempted to perpetrate a fraud on the AFL in 1952 by submitting a false report for the purpose of obtaining a loan for the Union from the AFL.

(b) Secretary-Treasurer Klenert and President Valente used Union funds to purchase their homes and, were it not for the intervention in 1952 of the then Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL, George Meany, the Union might well have sustained a loss from that transaction.

(c) Devious means were used in an attempt to cover up that transaction, including the falsification of Union records.

(d) Secretary-Treasurer Klenert and President Valente had financial dealings with employers who had collective bargaining agreements with the Union, and with a printer who did business with the Union.

(e) Secretary-Treasurer Klenert used substantial amounts of Union funds for personal purposes and none of this money has been repaid to the Union.

(f) Joseph Jacobs, the Union's attorney and Southern Regional Director, engaged in a business transaction clearly conflicting with his Union position.

The Ethical Practices Committee further found that the practices and procedures of the Union were so loose as to permit these and other irregularities to develop and that President Valente and Secretary-Treasurer Klenert, as the Union's principal officers, must be held responsible for such practices.

On September 24, 1957, the Executive Council, after having considered the report of the Ethical Practices Committee and heard the representatives of the Union, adopted a resolution in which it approved and adopted the report of the Ethical Practices Committee, and found and concluded that the United Textile Workers of America is "dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by corrupt influences in violation of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO." The Executive Council directed the Union to correct the abuses set forth in

the report of the Ethical Practices Committee, to eliminate corrupt influences and to remove and bar from any position or office in the International Union or in any of its subordinate bodies those who are responsible for these abuses.

On October 25, 1957, the Executive Council, after having heard a report from the officers of the United Textile Workers as to the steps taken by that Union to comply with the Council's directives, adopted a resolution stating that the Council was "not satisfied that the United Textile Workers of America has fully complied with the Council's directives and has satisfactorily cleaned house."

The Executive Council directed that the United Textile Workers shall stand suspended as of November 15, 1957 from the AFL-CIO unless the Union agreed before that date to remove and bar from office in the International Union those named by the Ethical Practices Committee as being responsible for the abuses referred to in that report. The Council further directed:

"That a special representative appointed by the President shall be given authority to direct such further actions, including the calling of a special convention, the cancellation of the financial arrangement calling for the payment of \$104,000 to former Secretary-Treasurer Klenert and such other actions and steps as may be appropriate to correct the abuses set forth in the report of the Ethical Practices Committee to eliminate all other corrupt influences from the United Textile Workers of America and to ensure compliance by the International Union with the AFL-CIO Constitution, the Codes of Ethical Practices adopted by the Executive Council, and the directives of the Executive Council in this matter."

On November 6, 1957, the Union reported to the special representative of President Meany that the Union had determined to take all steps necessary to bring the Union into full compliance with the directives of the Executive Council.

At the December 4, 1957, meeting of the Executive Council, the special representative of the President reported to the Council on the steps taken by the United Textile Workers to comply with the past directives of the Council. The Council concluded that the United Textile Workers had not in good faith complied with the Council's directives, and the Council thereupon declared the United Textile Workers to be suspended from the AFL-CIO.

Compliance Agreement of United Textile Workers of America

Following the December 4, 1957 resolution of the Executive Council suspending the United Textile Workers of America, the officers of the Union met with the special representative of President Meany in order to determine what additional steps would be required in order to come into full compliance with the directives of the Executive Council. As a result of these meetings a Committee of the Executive Council of the United Textile Workers of America agreed to take the additional steps outlined by President Meany's special representative in order to preserve the affiliation of the Union with the AFL-CIO. The steps agreed to by the Union are set forth in the following statement which was presented to the Appeals Committee at the hearing on December 10, 1957.

We, a Committee of the Executive Council of the United Textile Workers of America, hereby express our sincere and honest desire on behalf of ourselves and the members of the UTW to continue our affiliation with the AFL-CIO, and declare the following:

(1) We reaffirm our acceptance of and consent to the directive of October 25, 1957 of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, in which the UTW was directed to take all steps necessary to cleanse the organization of all corrupt influences.

(2) We agree that the UTW shall call a Special Convention not less than 90 days from this date, which Convention shall be conducted under the supervision of the Special Representative of the President of the AFL-CIO. At this Special Convention, all present officers of the UTW shall stand for election.

(3) Neither Klenert, Valente nor Jacobs shall be eligible for election to any office in the UTW or any of its locals. We assert that neither Valente nor Klenert has any connection with the UTW in any capacity on an International or local level, and that their connections with the UTW have been severed unequivocally. There are not now and there shall not be in the future any financial relations between the UTW and Valente and Klenert. We further state that Joseph Jacobs is no longer the Southern Director of the UTW and that he does not now and will not hereafter hold or occupy any position with the UTW.

(4) At the Special Convention above referred to, the Report of the Ethical Practices Committee of the AFL-CIO with respect to the UTW will be presented to the Convention, read into the record and each delegate shall receive a printed copy of it. The Report shall be printed in the official newspaper of the UTW. The UTW shall adopt the Ethical Practices Codes of the AFL-CIO at the Special Convention.

(5) We state further that the delegates to the Special Convention shall be elected by secret ballot and that the election of officers at the Special Convention shall be by secret ballot.

(6) After the elections of officers of the UTW at the Special Convention, they shall conduct the affairs of the UTW and shall make periodic reports of the progress achieved by the UTW to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

We repeat that it is our sincere desire to remain affiliated with the AFL-CIO as an affiliate in good standing and respectfully request the Executive Council to reconsider its recent action and restore the UTW to good standing in the AFL-CIO, entitled to the full benefits and privileges of such membership.

(s) Francis Schaufenbil
(s) Burton Hyman
(s) Roy S. Whitmire
(s) Louis Rubino
(s) Roger Provost
(s) Frank Sgambato

December 10, 1957

Your Appeals Committee has been informed by the special representative of President Meany that the foregoing agreement on the

part of the United Textile Workers of America constitutes compliance with the steps required by the October 25, 1957 directive of the Executive Council in order to correct the abuses set forth in the report of the Ethical Practices Committee and to eliminate corrupt influences from this Union.

Recommendations

On the basis of the foregoing, your Committee on Appeals recommends to the Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO:

1. That the Convention affirm the findings of the Executive Council resolution of September 24, 1957, that the United Textile Workers of America was dominated or substantially influenced by corrupt influences;

2. That the Convention affirms the Executive Council resolutions of September 24, 1957, and October 25, 1957, relative to United Textile Workers of America, and affirms the Executive Council's suspension of the Union from the AFL-CIO;

3. That in view of the steps taken and the steps agreed to be taken by the Union to eliminate corrupt influences and fully to comply with all of the directives of the Executive Council, the suspension of the United Textile Workers of America should be lifted and the Union restored to good standing in the AFL-CIO. We make this recommendation fully confident that the Executive Council will take all measures necessary to ensure that all the steps agreed upon by the Union will be fully complied with in good faith.

Respectfully submitted,

COMMITTEE ON APPEALS

Alex Rose,

President, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery
Workers International Union, **Chairman**

John J. Murphy,

General Secretary, Bricklayers, Masons and
Plasterers International Union of America,
Secretary

I. W. Abel,

Secretary-Treasurer, United Steelworkers of
America

A. J. Bernhardt,

General President, Brotherhood of Railway
Carmen of America

Al Hartnett,

Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers

Felix C. Jones,

General President, United Cement, Lime and
Gypsum Workers International Union

Edward J. Leonard,

First Vice President, Operative Plasterers and
Cement Mason's International Association of
the United States and Canada

John I. Rollings,
President, Missouri State Labor Council

Harry Sayre,
Executive Vice President, United Paper-
makers and Paperworkers

Atlantic City, New Jersey
December 10, 1957

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MURPHY: Your Committee recommends adoption of the report.

. . . The motion was seconded.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROSE: I want to say on behalf of our Committee how happy we are to be able to report the compliance and the lifting of suspension of the United Textile Workers. We are happy that in this instance there was no need for major surgery and that the patient responded to antibiotics. We trust that this cooperation will continue and will result in full recovery by the patient under the watchful eye of Dr. George Meany.

The case of the United Textile Workers before this Convention is also dramatic proof that the road that leads to suspension and expulsion is also the same road that leads back to compliance and to the rejoining of the ranks of the AFL-CIO.

I second the motion to adopt the report of the Committee.

. . . The motion was carried.

. . . President Meany announced a meeting of the Executive Council at 9:00 A.M., Thursday, December 12, 1957.

. . . The Convention recessed at 5:45 o'clock, P.M. to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock, A.M., Thursday, December 12, 1957.

PROCEEDINGS

Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

SIXTH DAY — MORNING SESSION
THURSDAY, DEC. 12, 1957

President Meany called the Convention to order at 9:45 o'clock a.m.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The invocation this morning will be delivered by Rabbi Lipman, Director, Commission on Social Action, Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

INVOCATION

Almighty God, we praise Thee, Creator of the world, who renewest daily Thy work of creation. We stand in awe before Thee, limitless spirit, whose world is one in harmony and beauty. We bow in humility before Thy law of truth.

We would live Thy law in our lives, even as the universe follows Thy will. We acknowledge our shortcomings. We act often for our benefit and not for the fulfillment of Thy purposes. We lead often, not for Thy glory but for our own selfish, material ends.

We need Thy help, O Father. We would come near Thee in our thoughts; let Thy presence be manifest to us. We would follow Thy law in our daily acts; let Thy way be clearly engraved on our minds and hearts. We would work to bring all men closer to Thy Kingdom; let Thy vision of universal peace and security ever shine before us, driving us and guiding us. Praised be Thou, O Lord, who hearest our prayer.

Amen.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Rabbi Lipman.

The Chair recognizes at this time the Acting Chairman of the Committee on Appeals, Brother Felix Jones.

REPORT OF APPEALS COMMITTEE

Appeal of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers International Union

ACTING CHAIRMAN JONES: President Meany and delegates to the Convention, the Committee on Appeals is prepared to report on the appeal by the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers International Union. The report will be presented by the Acting Secretary, John I. Rollings.

ACTING SECRETARY ROLLINGS: The first day's Convention proceedings carried the appeal as it was presented to the Committee. The following is our report:

This is an appeal by the Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers International Union from a decision of the Executive Council in November 1956, which, in turn, rejected the appeal by the Lathers Union from the Building and Construction Trades Department's action. The action of the Department from which the Lathers Union appealed was its adoption of Resolution No. 2 on November 30, 1955. That resolution, it is said, made binding upon all affiliates of the Building and Construction Trades Department the provisions of the Plan for the Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes which was adopted in 1948.

The Executive Council, after receiving briefs from the Lathers Union and the Building Trades Department, denied the appeal. On December 14, 1956, the Lathers Union appealed to the Convention. The materials which had been presented before the Executive Council were again presented to your Appeals Committee and on Wednesday, December 11, your Committee, on due notice, heard argument by the Lathers Union in support of their appeal. On the basis of the entire record before it and the argument of the Lathers Union, your Committee on Appeals makes the following recommendation.

In view of the existence of long established machinery within the Building and Construction Trades Department for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes, and in view of your Committee's feeling that these matters may best be resolved to the satisfaction of all parties within the machinery established by the Building and Construction Trades Department, the Committee recommends to the Convention that the appeal of the Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers International Union be rejected.

ACTING COMMITTEE SECRETARY ROLLINGS: I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the recommendation of the Appeals Committee on the appeal of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers International Union from the decision of the Executive Council. The motion is to adopt the report which rejects the appeal. Is there any discussion? Is there any objection?

DELEGATE LLOYD MASHBURN, Lathers: I would like to be recorded as voting no.

PRESIDENT MEANY: All right. Those in favor of the motion signify by saying aye; contrary minded no. The Lathers ask to be recorded as voting no. It is so decided.

The motion is carried.

ACTING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN JONES: The Acting Secretary of the Appeals Committee will now present the report of the Committee on Resolution No. 24, submitted to this Convention, which is found on page 20 of the first pamphlet of resolutions. The subject of that resolution is "Jurisdictional Problems between the Firefighters and Steam and Operating Engineers."

... Acting Committee Secretary Rollings submitted the following report:

JURISDICTIONAL PROBLEM BETWEEN FIRE FIGHTERS AND STEAM AND OPERATING ENGINEERS

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates John P. Redmond, Wm. D. Buck, Howard P. Barry, James T. McGuire, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters was chartered by the American Federation of Labor on February 28, 1918, and

WHEREAS, The report of the committee on report of Executive Committee to the Buffalo Convention is fully quoted herein:

"Your committee having carefully considered Resolutions No. 17 and 106 and protests filed against the issuance of a charter to Fire Fighters by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, is of the opinion that the occupation of Fire Fighting involves a community interest, the life and property of the public and that of the Fire Fighters themselves, which cannot be overlooked or disregarded.

"Your committee finds that this community interest demands the greatest possible degree of fraternity, association and cooperation between all men engaged in Fire Fighting. This community and collective interest requires unification and concentration of responsibility and discipline. A division of the Fire Fighters into several distinctive groups of workers will weaken the essential discipline and responsibility necessary for the public welfare.

"The essential and predominating character of employment of these workers is fire fighting. Their employment is not competitive and can in no way influence working conditions of men engaged in similar work in other public or private employment, their status as workers differ fundamentally in the nature of their employment and the public interests and welfare depends on legislative methods for the improvement of their conditions of work.

"Your committee also finds that while part of the work of Fire Fighters may be similar to that of some of the organizations at present affiliated with the AFL, Fire Fighters are not employed with any degree of absolute permanency at any particular branch of work but are subject to sudden and continual change and that a division of the Fire Fighters into separate and distinctive organizations is made impracticable by the rules of seniority which generally, if not universally, governs the employment and promotion of the Fire Fighters from one brand of work to another.

"Your committee finds too that if the claims of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Helpers of America and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers are recognized as valid, that then other affiliated organizations of the AFL under like interpretation may claim jurisdiction over other branches of a Fire Department, and thereby render organization of the Fire Fighters ineffective, impracticable and impossible. The employment of the Fire Fighter is essentially and fundamentally a composite occupation and requires a distinctive organization.

"Your committee, therefore, recommends concurrence in both resolutions and the granting of a charter of an International Union

of Fire Fighters, with full and complete jurisdiction over all men actually and permanently employed at Fire Fighting."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted at the Buffalo Convention, and

WHEREAS, In August, 1919, it was called to the attention of the AFL officers that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers was violating the jurisdiction of the International Association of Fire Fighters as set up at the Buffalo Convention, attention was directed to the fact that in Chicago, Illinois, the local known as Local 577 of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers was composed exclusively of men employed in the Chicago Fire Department and that in accordance with the action of the AFL Convention, such employees rightfully belonged to Fire Fighter's Local 2, Chicago, Illinois.

During the next three years as a result of the introduction of resolutions at the AFL Conventions, negotiations were carried on to adjust this jurisdiction. Finally at the Cincinnati Convention in 1922, the following report was made to the convention by the Committee on Adjustment:

Your committee heard both parties to this controversy and recommends that the presidents of both International Unions arrange to jointly address a meeting of the local referred to in the resolution, for the purpose of arranging for a transfer of the membership of this union from the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to the International Association of Fire Fighters within sixty days.

Should the membership of this local refuse to transfer to the latter organization, it is the sense of your committee that it becomes the plain duty of the officers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to revoke the charter of this particular local union and thereby comply with the mandates of the previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

The convention adopted the committee's report. On the following dates, Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor and Mr. Fred W. Baer, president of the International Association of Fire Fighters, received the following letters from President A. M. Huddell of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

Chicago, Illinois
January 16, 1923

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President
American Federation of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

You wrote me under date of November 20th in reference to the action of the Cincinnati Convention regarding a local union of engineers employed in the Fire Department, and which charter the Fire Fighters requested that we revoke in the event these men do not join the Fire Fighters.

This matter was brought to the attention of our General Executive Board and they voted that the charter should be revoked in compliance with the wish of the Cincinnati Convention of the American

Federation of Labor and I am enclosing a copy of letter sent to this local union by General Secretary-Treasurer Evans. These men are no longer attached to our International Union.

Fraternally yours,
A. M. Huddell,
General President.

Also on January 16, 1923, President A. M. Huddell directed the following letter to Fred W. Baer, president of our International Association of Fire Fighters.

Chicago, Illinois
January 16, 1923

Mr. Fred W. Baer,
International Association of Fire Fighters
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This is to notify you that on December 19, 1922, the General Secretary-Treasurer of our organization notified Local 577, which was known as the Local of Fire Department Engineers attached to our International Union, that our General Executive Board voted to revoke their charter in compliance with the instructions of the Cincinnati Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and this local union is no longer attached to our International Union. I am sending this as an official notice of the action of our General Executive Board.

Fraternally yours,
A. M. Huddell,
General President.

This settlement of this jurisdiction in 1923 seemed to settle for all time the question of jurisdiction of the International Association of Fire Fighters, and seldom have there ever come up questions of jurisdiction of our organization during the past 34 years, in such cases as were raised, they were settled without difficulty.

Strange as it may seem, however, during the last six years, the situation previously settled 34 years ago has again developed in Chicago with the same organizations involved, except that now the local of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers is known as Local 587.

The facts in the present case are essentially the same as in the previous case. The membership of the Engineers Local 587 is composed of engineers employed in the Chicago Fire Department and it is our contention that they come under the jurisdiction given our International in 1917, which was later upheld in Cincinnati in 1922; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO in convention assembled at Atlantic City, New Jersey, December 5, 1957, do hereby instruct the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to revoke the charter of the Chicago Fire Department Engineers Local 587 whose member engineers rightfully belong in the International Association of Fire Fighters.

ACTING COMMITTEE SECRETARY ROLLINGS: This resolution, submitted by the International Association of Fire Fighters, AFL-CIO, recites the history of a jurisdictional dispute between the Fire Fighters and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, and proposes that the Convention determine that the Operating Engineers are in violation of jurisdictional determinations made by the American Federation of Labor in 1918, 1919 and 1922. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Appeals.

Your Committee on Appeals heard the parties and considered the matter. It recommends that Resolution No. 24, and the jurisdictional controversy between the International Association of Fire Fighters and the International Union of Operating Engineers, be referred to the incoming Executive Board.

I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The recommendation of the Appeals Committee is that the appeal which is contained in Resolution 24 shall be referred to the incoming Executive Council. Is there any discussion of that motion? Is there any objection?

Hearing none, the motion is carried and it is so ordered.

ACTING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN JONES: The further report of the Committee on Appeals relates to an appeal by the Switchmen's Union, and the report of the Committee will be presented by Brother Rollings.

... Acting Committee Secretary Rollings submitted the following report on behalf of the Committee:

**In Re: Report of the Appeal of the Switchmen's Union of
North America**

This is an appeal by the Switchmen's Union of North America from a decision of the Executive Council, admitting to affiliation with the AFL-CIO the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Upon due notice a hearing was held before the Committee on Wednesday, December 11. At that hearing the appeal was withdrawn and the Committee therefore makes no recommendation thereon.

ACTING COMMITTEE SECRETARY ROLLINGS: I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The appeal in the case of the Switchmen's Union has been withdrawn, and the Committee therefore has no recommendation to make. This report will be received if there is no objection.

That ends the work of the Appeals Committee for the moment. There is another case coming up later on.

At this time the Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, Brother McDonald.

**REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE
(Resumed)**

... Committee Secretary McDonald submitted the following report on behalf of the Committee:

... Vice President Reuther presiding.

RESOLUTIONS Nos. 16 and 17

COMMENDATION OF PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY AND EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates Carl Griepentrog, Gilbert E. Jewell, Bert Backinger, V. Q. LaPage, Frank Evans, Carl Smigel, International Union Allied Industrial Workers of America.

WHEREAS, George Meany, as President of the AFL-CIO, and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO have: (1) Given support to aid those who would free an affiliate of domination, control, or substantial control of its affairs by corrupt influences, and, have (2) Shown beyond a shadow of a doubt that there is no place in the AFL-CIO for those officers who betray their trust for their own selfish interests, and, have (3) By their actions served notice on all members of affiliated unions that corruption, either direct or indirect, will not be tolerated in the AFL-CIO, and

WHEREAS, These actions have given hope to rank and file members and to honest, decent trade unionists everywhere; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in convention assembled, commend President Meany and the Executive Council for their forthright action and leadership in fighting this small cancerous element of corruption which foisted itself on the Labor Movement.

COMMENDATION OF PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates John E. Rooney, Edward J. Leonard, John J. Hauck, Benedict Tantillo, James L. McDevitt, James J. Doyle, Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons International Association of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations has demonstrated throughout the years of existence before separation, during separation and after merger that it was founded on democratic principles and is dedicated to the economic and social advancement of all peoples, making it worthy of our support and cooperation, and

WHEREAS, President George Meany of the AFL-CIO, has throughout many crises and public appearances as well as appearances before Congressional Committees, shown a high type of leadership, judgment, honesty and faithfulness to his duties; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in Atlantic City, New Jersey, go on record as expressing their confidence in the efforts of President George Meany to divorce the labor movement from corrupt influences and to enforce the code of ethics adopted by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Your committee recommends that these two resolutions be combined by taking the two Whereas clauses of Resolution No. 17 and adding them to the Whereas clauses of Resolution No. 16; and that the Resolve clause of Resolution No. 17 be revised to read:

We express our confidence in the efforts of President George Meany to divorce the labor movement from corrupt influences and to enforce the code of ethics adopted by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

and that this revised Resolve be added to the existing Resolve of Resolution No. 16.

Your Committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 16 as combined with Resolution No. 17.

. . . Committee Secretary McDonald moved adoption of Resolution No. 16 as combined with Resolution No. 17, as follows:

COMMENDATION OF PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY AND THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Resolution 16 & 17—Submitted by Resolutions Committee.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations has demonstrated throughout the years of existence before separation, during separation and after merger that it was founded on democratic principles and is dedicated to the economic and social advancement of all peoples, making it worthy of our support and cooperation, and

WHEREAS, President George Meany of the AFL-CIO, has throughout many crises and public appearances as well as appearances before Congressional Committees, shown as high type of leadership, judgment, honesty and faithfulness to his duties; and

WHEREAS, George Meany, as President of the AFL-CIO, and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO have: (1) Given support to aid those who would free an affiliate of domination, control, or substantial control of its affairs by corrupt influences; and, (2) have shown beyond a shadow of a doubt that there is no place in the AFL-CIO for those officers who betray their trust for their own selfish interests; and, (3) have by their actions served notice on all members of affiliated unions that corruption, either direct or indirect, will not be tolerated in the AFL-CIO, and

WHEREAS, These actions have given hope to rank-and-file members and to honest, decent trade unionists everywhere; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in convention assembled, commend President Meany and the Executive Council for their forthright action and leadership in fighting this small cancerous element of corruption which foisted itself on the Labor Movement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we express our confidence in the efforts of President George Meany to divorce the labor movement from corrupt influences and to enforce the code of ethics adopted by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

ETHICAL PRACTICES

I. IMPLEMENTATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

Resolution No. 141: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

I

The agreement for the merger of the AFL and the CIO provided as one of the stated "Principles of Merger" that the merged federation "shall constitutionally affirm its determination to protect the American trade union movement from any and all corrupt influences. . . ." It also provided that "the merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery with authority effectively to implement this constitutional determination. . ."

In accordance with this agreement, the Constitution which the AFL-CIO adopted at its first Constitutional Convention in December, 1955, contained both a statement of general principles with respect to communism and corrupt unionism and internal machinery to deal with this question. Article II, Section 10, of the Constitution provides that one of the objects and principles of the Federation shall be "to protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism."

Article VIII, Section 7, reiterated this statement of principle and provided that the Executive Council should have the power to conduct an investigation, either directly or through an appropriate committee, into any situation "in which there is reason to believe that any affiliated is dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influence. . ." The Council was further given the authority "to make recommendations or give directions to the affiliate involved and shall have further authority, upon a two-thirds vote, to suspend any affiliate found guilty of a violation of this section."

The AFL-CIO Constitution also provided for a Committee on Ethical Practices which should, in the words of the Constitution, "be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council in carrying out the Constitutional determination of the Federation to keep Federation free from any taint of corruption or communism. . ."

These constitutional provisions, adopted unanimously by the founding Convention of the AFL-CIO, established firmly that the AFL-CIO would assume the obligation of implementing the historical dedication of the American labor movement to free, honest and democratic trade unionism and its irrevocable opposition to corrupt influences in the labor movement.

The AFL-CIO Constitution also reaffirmed the principle of national and international union autonomy which has historically been one of the cornerstones of the American labor movement. But, by its provisions with respect to corruption and communism, agreed to at the founding Convention by all affiliates, the Constitution made it clear that the rights of autonomy do not include the right of a corrupt or communist-dominated union to remain in affiliation with the American labor movement.

By accepting the AFL-CIO Constitution and joining with their fellow trade unionists in affiliation with the AFL-CIO, each national and international union in the AFL-CIO necessarily assumed the obligation to accept the principles above set forth. They are a part of the basic charter upon which this Federation rests.

In addition to affirming its constitutional determination to keep the trade union movement free from corruption and communism, the founding Convention of the AFL-CIO also adopted, by unanimous vote, a resolution on ethical practices. That resolution called upon "all affiliated national and international unions to take whatever steps are necessary within their own organizations to effect the policies and ethical standards set forth in the Constitution of the AFL-CIO." It further called upon the affiliated unions to make such constitutional amendments or changes in internal procedures as might appear necessary to carry out the responsibility incumbent upon autonomous organizations under the principles established by the AFL-CIO Constitution.

In the past two years the AFL-CIO has moved steadfastly forward to implement those basic documents. This has not been an easy or a pleasant task. It is never pleasant, in any family, to face up to the fact that a member of that family has violated basic principles of morality and good conscience. It is never easy to take action against members of a family who have transgressed.

The task of the AFL-CIO has been made particularly difficult by the fact that some of the disclosures of corruption within the family of the AFL-CIO were made by persons whose interest is not in strengthening labor by correcting corrupt practices, but in weakening labor by creating the impression that all labor is corrupt, that all unions must be restrained. Despite its recognition of that fact, the AFL-CIO is determined to keep its own house in order. Whenever facts are disclosed which indicate that there is a need for action to maintain and safeguard the AFL-CIO from corrupt influences, the AFL-CIO will act. Indeed, only by such action can the AFL-CIO defeat the purposes of those who would use the corruption of a few to weaken and place restrictions upon the successful operation of honest trade unions.

Let there be no mistake as to our purpose in proceeding against those unions which we have found to be false to their constitutional obligations. Our objective is not to punish. Our purpose is not to exile from the American trade union movement any group of union members. Our basic purpose is to achieve the correction of abuses and to help the members of unions with dishonest leadership.

To achieve this purpose the AFL-CIO Executive Council in the two years which have passed since our founding Convention has initiated investigations into charges of corruption respect to six national or international unions. Four of these investigations—those involving the Allied Industrial Workers, the Distillery Workers, the Laundry Workers and the Bakery and Confectionery Workers—were initiated by the Council prior to any hearings or disclosures by the McClellan Committee. Two of the investigations—those involving the United Textile Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters—were initiated following disclosures by the McClellan Committee.

In none of these cases did the AFL-CIO Executive Council say to the Union involved "You are corrupt and must be banished from the American labor movement." In each case the Council asked the union

involved, after it had been found to be substantially influenced by corrupt elements, to take affirmative action to clean its own house. Of the six unions, one—the Allied Industrial Workers of America—accepted in full the recommendations of the Executive Council and took action to eliminate completely the corrupt influences which the Council had found. Today, as a result of its vigorous enforcement of the AFL-CIO's constitutional principles, the Allied Industrial Workers Union is an affiliate in good standing, with a new leadership which can proudly take its place in the family of labor and which can honestly represent the interests of its membership.

In other cases, such a result has not yet been effectuated. And in some cases it has been necessary to use the ultimate step of expulsion from the AFL-CIO when the union involved defied the Executive Council and refused to agree to initiate steps to clean its own house.

But even in those cases, the AFL-CIO has not yet finished its task. We are confident that in the areas of each of these unions the Executive Council will, pursuant to the authority vested in it, take all measures necessary or appropriate to safeguard the interests of the workers in the industry, to protect the good name and reputation of the AFL-CIO and to bring about the elimination of corrupt influences.

Nor can we be sure that there will not be further disclosures and the requirement for further action by the AFL-CIO. Should such action be necessary it will be taken in accordance with the same principles and with the same objective which has motivated the AFL-CIO, during the past two years, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms our firm dedication to the principles set forth in the AFL-CIO Constitution and our determination to implement those constitutional principles without fear or favor.

We again call upon our national and international unions to take within their own organizations whatever steps are necessary to effectuate the policies and ethical standards embodied in the Constitution of the AFL-CIO.

We pledge our full support and good offices to each affiliated national and international union which accepts this mandate and attempts to carry out and put into practice the principle that our "organization must be free from any taint of corruption or communism."

We call upon other segments of the community and other organizations to similarly dedicate themselves to the elimination of corruption. The labor movement will act in its own interest to clean its own house. In the national interest, we call upon business organizations, community groups and others to similarly show their devotion to the basic ethical principles which must guide our American democracy.

. . . COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded.

VICE-PRESIDENT REUTHER: Is there any discussion?

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, International Typographical Union: The International Typographical Union has attempted heretofore to indicate a line of demarcation between the authority which the AFL-

CIO may exercise over international unions' internal affairs. We were compelled to do so under very adverse circumstances about two appeals that were before the Convention. This resolution takes away those adverse circumstances and makes possible a dispassionate discussion of the principle involved. I will be very brief about it.

The resolution bases its substance upon the agreement for merger and that portion of it called "Principles of Merger," from which is quoted these words:

"The merged Federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery with authority effectively to implement this constitutional determination."

I submit to you that this merged Federation has not done so, but this Convention has been asked, through a dozen resolutions and in a dozen different ways, to approve and adopt what is called an implementation of a principle by way of codes adopted by the Ethical Practices Committee, approved by the Executive Council and enforced by them. We state first that such implementation is not constitutional.

Second, we state that such implementation might be without limit in centralized control over international unions.

Third, we state that it is already indicated that there will be no limit to the implementation as it may be deemed necessary to the Executive Council.

The resolve itself is short, but its first paragraph states that they are determined to implement those constitutional principles without fear or favor

Relative to this resolution, Mr. President, the International Typographical Union presents the following:

"The International Typographical Union hereby places on record its unalterable attitude with regard to this resolution, or any resolution, law, regulation, mandate or directive which may issue from the AFL-CIO as follows:

"The International Typographical Union will be guided only by its own Book of Laws and will flatly reject any resolution, law, rule, regulation, mandate or directive of the AFL-CIO which is contrary thereto. The International Typographical Union will exercise full and complete autonomy in all phases of its relationship to the AFL-CIO or any other labor organization. This is a restatement of the historical position of the International Typographical Union first stated to the AFL in 1886."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to add this, that in the event that we have not recorded any adverse votes to certain resolutions or appeals in this Convention, that does not indicate in any degree whatsoever that the International Typographical Union will act or accept other than has been indicated in the quoted statement I have just read.

As proposition No. 142 comes before the Convention, I desire to say a few words about it, also.

VICE PRESIDENT REUTHER: Is there any further discussion?

The Chair would like to point out, just so you will know the procedure that we are going to follow, Resolution 141, as you see, deals

with our reaffirming our continuing dedication to the basic ethical and moral principles, and calls upon affiliated unions to cooperate in the implementation of the Constitution as it relates to these principles. This resolution will be followed by Resolution 142, which deals with the ethical codes—specifically, the six ethical codes.

Following that, Resolution 143 will be presented, which deals with the Fifth Amendment, which is an internal procedural matter.

Following that, Resolution 144, which deals with the attitude of the AFL-CIO as it relates to the work of the McClellan Committee, will be presented.

Is there any further discussion on Resolution 141?

... The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

The report of the Committee was continued, as follows:

ETHICAL PRACTICES

II. ETHICAL PRACTICES CODES

Resolution No. 142: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The AFL-CIO, as one of its specific objectives, has a constitutional mandate "to protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences . . ."

The Committee on Ethical Practices has been vested by the AFL-CIO constitution with the "duty and responsibility" to assist the Executive Council in its determination to keep the AFL-CIO "free from any taint of corruption . . ."

The Statement on Ethical Practices adopted unanimously by our First Constitutional Convention specifically called upon our affiliated national and international unions "to take whatever steps are necessary within their own organizations to effect the policies and ethical standards set forth in the constitution of the AFL-CIO." The same resolution pledged the "full support, good offices and staff facilities" of the Ethical Practices Committee to our affiliated national and international unions in "their efforts to carry out and put into practice the constitutional mandate" to keep our organization free of corruption.

At its June, 1956, meeting the Executive Council directed the Committee on Ethical Practices "to develop a set of principles and guides for adoption by the AFL-CIO in order to implement the constitutional determination that the AFL-CIO shall be and remain free from all corrupt influences" and directed that such recommended guides and principles be submitted to the Council. Thereafter, and in accordance with this directive, the Ethical Practices Committee developed six Codes of Ethical Practices which were submitted to the Executive Council and adopted. These Codes are set forth in full text in the Executive Council Report, pages 77 to 94.

These codes were not and are not intended to be all-inclusive. Certain practices are so obviously incompatible with free and honest trade unionism that it is unnecessary to prescribe them in an ethical practices code. There is no code, for example, which provides that union officers should not steal money from their union treasury.

This is so plainly an elementary requirement of honest trade unionism that it does not require statement in a code of ethical practices.

The fact that a specific action is not forbidden by the Ethical Practices Codes does not establish that it is consistent with honest trade unionism. The codes are intended to be illustrative rather than all-inclusive in their scope.

Nor were these Codes applied retroactively in the cases of the six unions to which investigations were conducted by the Ethical Practices Committee into charges that they were dominated or substantially influenced by corrupt elements. In those cases, the question was not whether a code of ethical practices had been violated but whether the union involved was guilty of a violation of the provisions of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO.

For the future, however, compliance with the terms of the Ethical Practices Codes is, we believe, a minimum requirement for the conduct of honest and clean unionism. Such compliance will not guarantee freedom from corruption. Only the existence of a leadership truly dedicated to the principles of the trade union movement can provide such a guarantee. But the existence of specific illustrations, in the form of codes, of the minimum requirements for the conduct of clean and democratic unions will serve to strengthen the ability of the unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO to maintain the highest principles of ethical conduct. Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the Codes of Ethical Practices adopted by the Executive Council are hereby confirmed and adopted.

Each affiliate national and international union is called upon to take whatever steps are necessary within its own organization to comply with the provisions of the Codes of Ethical Practices.

If any further codes are deemed by it to be required, the Executive Council is authorized and directed to continue its practice of adopting such codes to guide the unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO in their determination to maintain the principles of clean and democratic unionism.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Woodruff Randolph, at the meeting of the Resolutions Committee, asked us to advise the Convention that he was opposed to Resolution No. 142.

. . . Committee Secretary McDonald moved adoption of Resolution No. 142.

. . . The motion was seconded.

VICE PRESIDENT REUTHER: Is there any discussion?

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, International Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman, without going into the same things discussed heretofore but re-emphasizing them, I want to point out that in the last part of the resolution it refers to the six cases handled by this Convention and says, "In those cases the question was not whether a Code of Ethical Practices had been violated but whether the Union involved was guilty of a violation of the provisions of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO."

The next paragraph says, "For the future, however, compliance

with the terms of the Ethical Practices Codes is, we believe, a minimum requirement for the conduct of honest and clean unionism."

Then the paragraph goes on to indicate in the last part that these Codes will "serve to strengthen the ability of the unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO to maintain the highest principles of ethical conduct."

That part is not too bad if it isn't hooked up with the thought that is embodied in the resolve itself. The resolve itself provides for the confirmation and adoption of these six Codes of Ethical Practice.

The second paragraph provides that each affiliated national or international union is called upon to take those steps. Then the climax of the thing which I indicated a while ago runs into unlimited and unrestricted control of international unions.

"If any further codes are deemed by it to be required, the Executive Council is authorized and directed to continue its practice of adopting such codes to guide the unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO in their determination to maintain the principles of clean and democratic unionism."

We state unequivocally that the codes are an invasion of the autonomy of international unions and so far as the International Typographical Union is concerned they are flatly rejected. That concludes all that we have to say about any of the codes.

Thank you.

VICE-PRESIDENT REUTHER: Is there further discussion?

DELEGATE HOFFMAN, Upholsterers Union: So far the Convention of our Union has only voted upon one of our codes. While we agree with practically 90 per cent of its provisions, we do not agree with the remaining 10 per cent. I should be more specific. Two are the provisions of the Code on Health and Welfare Funds. The Convention voted against two provisions. It is my duty as the President and delegates to this Convention to advise you that while we accept most of the code we do not accept all of the Code of Ethical Practices or Health and Welfare Funds, and I ought to make that position clear insofar as my Union is concerned, so we won't be told some time in the future that we voted for it. We have not.

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: Is there any further discussion?

It should be fully understood that in adopting this resolution the Convention is adopting the six codes drafted by the Executive Council, and you are authorizing the Council to adopt further codes as required and it calls on affiliated unions to cooperate in implementing within their own organizations these codes and these basic principles.

Are you ready to vote? The question has been called for. All those in favor of adopting Resolution 142 signify by saying aye; those in opposition, no. The Ayes have it and the resolution is adopted.

The Committee will continue its report.

ADOPTION OF AFL-CIO ETHICAL PRACTICES CODES

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Carl Griepentrog, Gilbert E. Jewell, Bert Backinger, V. Q. LaPage, Frank Evans, Carl Smigel, International Union Allied Industrial Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The promotion of the best interests of our membership rests on the fundamental principles of the Trade Union Movement of brotherhood, honesty, and integrity, and

WHEREAS, Only a labor organization, which is free from corrupt influences, and free from the undermining efforts of Communist, Fascist, and other agencies which are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy, can protect the interests of all its members to the fullest extent, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Executive Council has heretofore adopted certain codes of Ethical Practices and has called upon its affiliated national and international unions to take steps to effect the policies and ethical standards of the AFL-CIO; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, beginning December 5, 1957, hereby adopts and approves the Codes of Ethical Practices heretofore adopted and approved by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, and instructs its national and international officers to carry out such Codes of Ethical Practices to the fullest extent.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The subject matter of this resolution is dealt with in Resolution 142 entitled Ethical Practices, I. Ethical Practices Codes, already approved by this Committee.

No further action is therefore required.

Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

ETHICAL PRACTICES

III. UNION RESPONSIBILITY IN FIFTH AMENDMENT CASES

Resolution No. 143: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The Executive Council adopted, on January 28, 1957, a statement with respect to the use of the Fifth Amendment by trade union officials. In that statement the Council recognized "that any person is entitled, in the exercise of his individual conscience, to the protection afforded by the Fifth Amendment" and reaffirms the conviction "that this historical right must not be abridge." At the same time, the Council declared that if, however, a trade union official "decides to invoke the Fifth Amendment for his personal protection and to avoid scrutiny . . . into alleged corruption on his part, he has no right to continue to hold office in his union." Otherwise, the Council declared, an individual guilty of corruption would be able to use the Fifth Amendment not only as a personal protection against possible criminal punishment but as a shield against proper scrutiny into corrupt influences in the labor movement.

This statement of policy by the Executive Council has been misinterpreted by some as requiring "automatic" expulsion of any trade union leader who invokes the Fifth Amendment. It has been attacked by others as an attempt to wipe out the Fifth Amendment from the Constitution of the United States. Neither is true. Those who make such attacks either fail to understand the meaning of the Executive

Council's statement or are attempting to defeat the proper inquiry by the trade union movement into the question of whether one of its officers is corrupt.

Every honest trade union should be concerned if serious charges of corruption and misuse of office for personal gain are made against its officers. The AFL-CIO Constitution, indeed, commits each union affiliated with the AFL-CIO to take appropriate steps to keep the movement free of corrupt influences. That necessarily includes investigation by a trade union of one of its officials against whom serious and apparently well-founded charges of corruption are placed. The fact that such charges are made before a legislative committee or other public agency and the union official invokes the Fifth Amendment, cannot give immunity to him from trade union investigation and appropriate action, if the investigation indicates this is required.

The Executive Council statement of January 28, 1957, made clear what was already implicit in the basic constitutional provisions and resolutions of the AFL-CIO—any trade union official against whom serious charges of corruption are leveled should be removed from office if those charges are true. If that official invokes the Fifth Amendment and refuses to state whether or not these charges are true, an investigation is required by the affiliate involved into the fitness of the official to continue to hold office. If it is found that the Fifth Amendment was in fact invoked as a shield to avoid discovery of corruption on his part, he has no right to continue to hold trade union office.

The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States does not confer immunity upon a union against its duty to determine whether an official who invokes that Amendment is guilty of malfeasance in office. The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States does not mean that the labor movement must see no evil or hear no evil merely because an individual union official, to avoid giving testimony which may send him to jail, refuses to answer questions before a public body. Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That, this Convention affirms the principles herein above stated with respect to the duties of trade unions concerning officials who invoke the Fifth Amendment to conceal their personal corruption.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution No. 143.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

INVESTIGATIONS OF IMPROPER ACTIVITIES IN THE LABOR AND MANAGEMENT FIELDS

Resolution No. 144: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

In a statement adopted at its meeting in Miami, Florida, in January 1957, the Executive Council set forth the basic principles underlying the position of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations toward investigations of improper activities in the labor and management fields.

The AFL-CIO, the statement made clear, "is pledged both by its Constitution and by fundamental principles of trade union morality

to keep the labor movement free from any taint of corruption." The forthright action of the AFL-CIO Convention in expelling several of its largest affiliates because of corruption is a clear and tangible demonstration of our determination to effectively implement this pledge. The Executive Council statement, while recognizing the prime responsibility of the labor movement to deal with this problem, also recognizes "that appropriate agencies of government and the public have rights, obligations and responsibilities in eliminating racketeering and corruption from all segments of American life." Their investigations must, of course, be conducted "fairly and objectively, without fear or favor and in keeping with due process concepts firmly imbedded in the tradition and constitution of our great country."

Accordingly, the Executive Council pledged:

"It is the firm policy of the AFL-CIO to cooperate fully with all proper legislative committees, law enforcement agencies and other public bodies seeking fairly and objectively to keep the labor movement or any other segment of our society free from any and all corrupt influences."

After the issuance of this statement by the Executive Council, the United States Senate established the Senate Select Committee (McClellan Committee) to Investigate Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Fields. This Committee has held a number of hearings which have served to bring to light certain criminal and corrupt influences that have fastened themselves upon a segment of the labor movement and some sections of management in America. The existence of these criminal and corrupt influences in unions has brought damage to our movement. Where the Committee has conducted its investigations with objectivity, the Committee has served a useful purpose and has performed a necessary task.

In saying this, we do not, of course, thereby endorse either the procedures of the Committee or the apparent anti-labor bias of some of its members. In order to perform its function properly the Committee must exercise a high degree of objectivity and fairness. The Committee we regret has not met this standard.

We view with concern the practice which the Committee has indulged in of trying individuals in the press and by television; we deplore the practice of repeating questions for publicity purposes to which it is known that no answer will be made; we do not condone the issuance of announcements to the press, in advance of hearings, of the conclusions to be drawn from testimony not yet heard; we do not approve the publication of evidence obtained in violation of Federal law.

We believe that it is possible for a legislative Committee to conduct an effective investigation without hunting for headlines. A striking demonstration of this was afforded by the methods and procedures followed by the Subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committee to Investigate Welfare and Pension Funds, headed by Senator Paul H. Douglas, during the 84th Congress. The operations of this Committee were carried on in an atmosphere of objectivity and fairness. The facts the Douglas Subcommittee brought to light have been the basis of actions taken by the AFL-CIO in four of its eight recent ethical practices cases. Its legislative proposals, based on the result of its investigations, were constructive and germane to the purposes

of the Committee. As embodied in the Douglas bill, they have had and continue to have the full and wholehearted support of the AFL-CIO.

In addition to the defects in its procedures, the Senate Select Committee has permitted public faith and confidence in its fairness to be undermined by allowing several members to use the Committee as a public platform to serve their own anti-labor and political purposes.

For example, some members of the Senate Committee, notably Senators Goldwater of Arizona, Curtis of Nebraska and Mundt of South Dakota, have demonstrated repeatedly in their public statements their incapability of discharging their duties and responsibilities as Committee members fairly and impartially. These Senators have sought to use the processes of the Committee for anti-labor propaganda, to harass clean and honest unions, and to aid anti-labor employers who have been found guilty of unfair labor practices through the due processes of the National Labor Relations Board.

The labor movement does not intend to be intimidated by these tactics. We challenge the objectivity of these Senators, who by their words and their deeds have demonstrated their anti-labor bias and have forfeited any claim of being interested or capable of conducting themselves in a spirit of fairness or objectivity.

The Committee has also tended to become a forum for Committee members to expound and develop pet anti-labor legislative proposals having little or nothing to do with the legitimate purposes or interests of the Committee. For example, the Chairman of the Committee, Senator McClellan of Arkansas, has suggested a national "right-to-work" law. Other members have suggested consideration of proposals to subject unions to the anti-trust laws or to impose further restrictions on political activities of labor unions. Certain of these proposals raise questions of broad national policy having implications which relate to basic democratic rights of citizenship and free speech and which are therefore not properly within the jurisdiction of this committee. These proposals are unrelated to the problem of labor or management corruption but are designed to weaken responsible unions and thereby render them less capable of keeping their own house in order.

Also, a disproportionately small amount of the Committee's time and interest has been devoted to the study of improper practices in management. Serious instances of improper and corrupt influences in management by which management has sought to frustrate union organization or to obtain "sweetheart contracts" denying justice to the employees, have already been revealed. Other manifold instances of management corruption and improper practices have not even been explored. But unfortunately the committee has not shown the same enthusiasm and determination to expose wrong doings in management. There is more than one Nathan Shefferman operating in the labor-management field, and not all of them have connections with the Teamsters Union. Their activities should be a matter of prime concern to the Committee, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its adherence to the principles set forth in the Executive Council's resolution of January 1957 and pledges to redouble its efforts to do everything possible to

eliminate all forces of crime, racketeering and corruption within the trade union movement. We must, however, call attention to the public and to Congress that corruption within the American labor movement is but a small part of the overall problem of corruption in the whole of our society. While acknowledging the wrongdoings of a small minority in the leadership of a few unions we believe that objectivity requires the recognition that in a society over-emphasizing material wealth more corruption will be found in business and in industry and that as a free people we must be concerned with this problem as well as corruption in the labor movement.

The trade union movement is devoted to human services and must of necessity be motivated by higher ideals and moral standards. We are therefore determined to meet the challenge of corruption within the labor movement in order to keep the labor movement dedicated to the ideals of human service.

We pledge our full cooperation with all proper investigations of criminal and corrupt influences in labor or management which are pursued with objectivity and fairness. We express deep concern that the Senate Select Committee may allow itself to be used for political retaliation, and as a forum for the display of anti-union propaganda. We deplore any effort by members of the Committee to use its investigations as a basis for legislative proposals designed to weaken all unions, rather than eliminate corruption. We alert the Committee against the lack of fairness and objectivity in its procedures.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of Resolution No. 144.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Resolutions on Resolution No. 144 and the motion to adopt. Is there discussion?

The Chair recognizes Brother Mazey, Secretary of the UAW.

DELEGATE MAZEY, UAW: Brother Chairman and fellow delegates, I rise to support this resolution and I want to specifically deal with two phases of the resolution. On Page 6 of the resolution we find the following words: "We view with concern the practice which the Committee has indulged in of trying individuals in the press and by television; we deplore the practice of repeating questions for publicity purposes to which it is known that no answer will be made; we do not condone the issuance of announcements to the press in advance of hearings of the conclusions to be drawn from testimony not yet heard. We do not approve the publication of evidence obtained in violation of Federal law."

Then the resolution continues in Page 7 to deal with the defects in procedures and it states: "For example, some members of the Senate Committee, notably Senators Goldwater of Arizona, Curtis of Nebraska and Mundt of South Dakota have demonstrated repeatedly in their public statements their incapability of discharging their duties and responsibilities as committee members fairly and impartially. These senators have sought to use the processes of the Committee for anti-labor propaganda, to harass clean and honest unions, and to aid anti-labor employers who have been found guilty of unfair labor practices through the due processes of the National Labor Relations Board."

I want to address myself to those two phases of this resolution. Our Union has been investigated by the McClellan Committee with relation to the long strike we have had with the Kohler Company. This investigation, in our opinion, was politically inspired. It first started with some remarks by the late Senator McCarthy in which he said that conditions in our Union would be much worse than those in the Teamsters organization. McCarthy's remarks were a part of the relationship that the Republican members of this Committee have with the President of the Kohler Company.

I have turned over to the McClellan Committee the financial records that they have requested in relationship to the more than ten million dollars that we have expended in the Kohler strike. There is nothing wrong with these records. We are able to account for every single penny of expenditures.

The investigators who are conducting the investigation of the Kohler situation happen to represent Goldwater, Mundt and Curtis on the Committee. They are really trying to carry on a witch hunt and a fishing expedition in our Union.

The man heading up this investigation for these reactionary Republicans on this Committee is named John J. McGovern. He was in Detroit on Monday and had a press conference. He made some statements to the press. One of the things that he said was that the Committee was inquiring into our Union's entire method of handling membership dues. This statement is absolutely untrue. There is no such inquiry. Yet we get headlines such as this: "U. S. Sifts UAW Funds." This is as a result of these irresponsible charges on the part of McGovern, and as a result the members of our Union and the general public are led to believe that the Senate Committee is investigating the financial aspects of our Union as a result of these politically inspired accusations by McGovern.

He goes on to say in this particular statement that they are also "scrutinizing educational and citizenship funds used in educating Auto Workers during political campaigns." This isn't being done, either. Here again we find that our Union on the question of political expenditures is being attacked for the third time by people in the Republican Administration. The political expenditures that we make both for federal, state and city candidates has been a matter of public record. President Reuther and I appeared before the Gore Committee some time ago. President Reuther and I answered all the questions that the Gore Committee asked regarding expenditures that our Union made on the matter of supporting candidates seeking public office.

The Attorney General, Brownell, brought legal action against our Union, charging us with violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act. You will recall this was an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act passed in 1947. Our Union was charged with spending \$5,980 improperly in nine television broadcasts in which we had people seeking federal office appearing on our program. We were found not guilty of violation of this law by a federal judge. The Government appealed this matter to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court ordered that a trial be held on the merits of the Federal Corrupt Practices portion of this law. We were tried in front of a jury, and the jury was out for one hour and 55 minutes and found that our Union was not guilty. Yet, in spite of our willingness to testify before committees, in spite of the fact that we have twice been found not guilty of violating the

Federal Corrupt Practices Act, we find irresponsible charges on the part of McGovern once again accusing our Union of doing something improper on the question of handling our political expenditures.

He goes on in his statement to say: "We have made some astounding findings, but we are in no position to disclose them now. The results will be reported to the full Committee in Washington and brought out at the proper time."

I believe the astounding things that he has found are that there is nothing wrong with our Union, but he hasn't been able to put his finger on anything.

But I suggest that this statement saying that he has found astounding findings is really guilt by accusation and guilt by slander, and a demonstration of the worst type of McCarthyism that we have seen by a committee or people working for a committee for a long, long time.

Then the statement goes on to say that, "We have been astounded in what we found in the Kohler strike, the committee counsel said."

Here again McGovern is responsible for repeating the lies and the slander and the propaganda of the Kohler Company.

I would like to point out at this time that Senators Curtis and Mundt and Goldwater have been spreading the propaganda of the Kohler Company all over the country. In fact, Senator Mundt appeared on the same platform and spoke at the same meeting and made the same statements that Mr. Kohler did in a speech in Salt Lake City recently.

But I would like the record to show that we have had unfair labor practice charges pending against the Kohler Company for a long, long time. Hearings were conducted for over two years. There were over 350 witnesses who appeared at these hearings. There were over 20,000 pages of transcript taken by a trial examiner, and the trial examiner when he handed down his findings and his recommendations found that our charges were true, that the Kohler Company was guilty of unfair labor practices.

The matter has now been appealed by the company to the full National Labor Relations Board. But despite these lengthy hearings, despite this testimony by 350 witnesses, we have a statement by a man who has spent very little time in the Kohler situation talking about astounding facts that he has found in relation to this matter.

Here again, I charge that this is an improper way of conducting inquiries of labor unions, of managements or any other group in our society.

Then we really find an astounding statement, which shows the mental capabilities of this jerk McGovern. He goes on to say that, "He said not more than 1600 strikers have been on the UAW rolls at any one time. This would bring the cost of supporting each striker close to \$100,000, since those who left the Sheboygan, Wisconsin, plant to take other jobs did not receive benefits."

Now, take out your pencil for a moment and multiply 1600 by \$100,000 and you come up with the astounding figure of \$1,600,000,000. I wish we had that kind of money. We would probably be willing

to spend that in order to give the Kohler workers economic and social justice. But this computation shows that McGovern never has learned to divide and multiply.

His approach to the Kohler investigation, his self-serving publicity and his outright prejudice against labor shows that he can't add, either.

The members of the Committee and its counsel would do well to take a long, searching look at this investigator and see whether they really want him to represent the Committee in the eyes of labor and in the eyes of the country.

Our union has nothing to hide in either the Kohler investigation or anything else. We run a clean union. We have an aggressive union. We have got a fighting union. We fight for decent principles and we fight to make this a better world in which people can live.

But I suggest that this kind of loose accusation, this kind of trying to find us guilty in the press, accusation and guilt by slander, has to stop, and that we ought to tell the McClellan Committee that if they expect our full cooperation that we expect rules and regulations and conduct that will give the American labor movement and any other group they investigate fair play and honest play. It seems to me that this Committee has a responsibility to stop men like McGovern carrying on their conduct, because if they don't it will be a reflection on the work of this Committee and it can do a great deal of damage to our movement.

I say that we not only have to adopt this resolution, but that the officers of our organization ought to have a meeting with the McClellan Committee and tell them our attitude against this kind of nonsense, against this kind of attack, so that we can have honest and fair and decent investigations of matters that may belong in some labor unions.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion on the report of the Committee on Resolution 144?

. . . The motion was carried.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to interrupt the work of the Committee for a report of the Committee on Credentials.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BEIRNE: This is a supplemental report submitted by the Credentials Committee and is the last report of the Credentials Committee.

There are six additional delegates that the Committee found whose credentials are in order. Five of them are from the United Textile Workers of America, which this Convention acted on yesterday.

There are two substitutions, involving a number of people from a number of organizations.

The full record of the names and the changes will naturally be published in the record, and the Committee recommends adoption of its last supplemental report.

. . . The report as submitted for the record is as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials wishes to report that the United Textile Workers of America has been cleared by the Convention and we recommend that their delegates be seated as follows:

Francis Schaunfenbil with 8,656 votes.

Burton Hyman, with 8,656 votes.

Louis Rubino, with 8,656 votes.

Robert Cole, with 8,655 votes.

Frank Sgambato with 8,655 votes.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Credentials Committee and the motion is to adopt that report. Is there any discussion on the motion?

UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to say just a few words in regard to the United Textile Workers.

As you know, yesterday we acted upon the report of the Appeals Committee on the question of the United Textile Workers. The record in this Union, going back for some years, would make fantastic reading if somebody would compile it and get it together in a book or pamphlet. The condition which existed is almost unbelievable, due primarily to the action of the two top officers.

We succeeded in getting the resignation of these men on demand of their Board, and we have been trying to see that their influence did not prevail, and also trying to see that they didn't have some entry into the treasury.

Just for example, in October, when the Executive Council had a meeting and the Textile Workers group came in to explain how they were complying and the steps they were taking, of course we spoke of the resignation of the Secretary-Treasurer who, I might say embezzled—and I use that word advisedly—embezzled an amount of money going well above, I would say, a quarter of a million dollars, if not a great deal more, over the last four or five years by every device that was known—some of it just the most bare-faced type of stealing, other actions with a little more finesse—but, as I say, almost unbelievable thievery.

So we asked this Committee, headed by the man who was then president, if this man had now resigned. They said, "Oh, yes, he is out."

"Have there been any financial arrangements made with him?" This is the man, as I say, who has stolen everything he could possibly get his hands on—and that statement just can't be challenged. It is, as I say, almost unbelievable.

We asked, "Are there any financial arrangements with this man?"

They said, "Oh, yes, we are paying him \$100 a week."

"For how long," it was asked.

"Oh, for 20 years."

They made a very simple arrangement when he resigned to pay him \$100 a week for 20 years as a reward for stealing the Union's money to the extent of well over a quarter of a million dollars.

However, we had to get action on that. That action was rescinded. We got the resignation of the president and we have finally, I think, got this Union into shape where it is going to go ahead and do its job, and I am very happy to report progress in this situation so that we can get this Union going again, and doing its job for the members.

However, I want to make this comment. As you know, we have two unions in this field. Under the Constitution of the AFL-CIO every union that came in the merger has an absolute right under the Constitution to maintain itself as a union. There can be no compulsion in regard to mergers. There is no compulsion allowed in the Constitution and there is no disposition that I know of on the part of anyone to bring about compulsory amalgamation of unions in the same field. And there will be no disposition to make any move in this direction in the Textile Workers' case.

However, I want to point out that this Union and, of course, the competing union are an industry that is sick, an industry that is in a bad way for any number of reasons. It is a low-wage industry, a very low-wage industry, and it has the most vicious type of employer opposition.

In the southern part of our country, in the States of Alabama, Georgia, the Carolinas, Florida, Mississippi this industry employs the largest, single group of unorganized workers in this whole area. And it is my thought that with the constant migration of the industry from the North, from the New England section where textiles were concentrated for some years, into the southern part of the country where wages are low, with the terrific competition that this industry has from new developments in the field of science, it would be to the welfare of the unions themselves and the membership of these unions if an amalgamation could be brought about.

I repeat again there can be no compulsory mergers. There is going to be no pressure of any kind. However, now that we have the United Textile Workers into a position where we feel that they can function—and I am depending on the people who are at the head of this Union now to comply with the stipulations that they have agreed to—now that we have brought about that situation it would be the part of wisdom of the officers of the United Textile Workers, and the Textile Workers of America, to get together and at least explore the possibility of merger in this field. I think it would be for the benefit of everyone concerned. It would give us a better instrumentality to try to raise the wages of the people employed in this industry who have belonged to our unions, and to bring the fruits of trade union activity to the many, many, many thousands who are still unorganized.

If these unions will get together I can pledge to them the full cooperation of the National office of the AFL-CIO and of our Executive Council to assist them to bring about this voluntary amalgamation which, I repeat again, is certainly called for by the situation from any analysis that we can make of it in compliance with our trade union philosophy and tradition.

I thought I should make that announcement to you.

This report of the Committee, as the Chairman has indicated, seats the delegates from the United Textile Workers, along with a few other

delegates who checked in late. Is there any discussion on the motion to adopt the report of the Committee?

Hearing none, the report is adopted without objection.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Resolutions Committee will continue.

. . . Committee Secretary McDonald continued the report of the Committee as follows:

ISRAEL AND HISTADRUT

Resolution No. 130: Submitted by Resolutions Committee.

The AFL-CIO sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the Histadrut, whose pioneering achievements in building a free democratic society have won the admiration and respect of the free trade union movement of the world. As it approaches its tenth anniversary of independence, the democratic republic of Israel still finds itself beset with heavy problems of security, defense, economic development and absorption of immigrants. On this occasion American labor looks back with pride to the friendship and support which has marked the relationship between the United States and Israel; and it looks forward with confidence to an extension and deepening of this friendship so that Israel may continue its dynamic progress in peace and freedom. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That to this end American labor calls upon its government to take all measures to ensure the economic growth and the independence of Israel.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution No. 130.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Resolution No. 128: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The Second Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization extends fraternal greetings to the people of the other countries, members of the American family of nations. Our thoughts are especially directed to those who are engaged in the bitter and costly struggle to regain freedom and constitutional, democratic government.

We reaffirm our determination to continue active support through the ICFTU Regional Organization, the Inter-American Organization of Workers (ORIT), with which we are affiliated, of the organizational educational activities designed to extend the benefits of modern constructive trade-unionism to the workers and farm laborers of Latin America and the Caribbean. To those in the underdeveloped areas, now emerging from an oppressive social and economic status, and striving to achieve a higher standard of living, we wish to extend special assurance that our solidarity and cooperative assistance will continue in every possible way.

The increasing exchange of trade union visitors from the other countries of the Western Hemisphere with the United States, and vice versa, has greatly contributed to a better understanding of our

mutual problems and respective ways of life. In this connection, we urge the Government of the United States to continue and to intensify the programs of labor training and leaders exchange under ICA and Department of State agents.

Recently, a good number of our affiliates have actively assisted their respective International Trade Secretariats, in establishing contacts with corresponding unions in Latin America and have helped them in educational work and collective bargaining techniques. This form of activity has proven to be highly beneficial and has gained widespread approval among our brothers in Latin America. We recommend the extension of this activity to those of our affiliates that may find it beneficial to their members as well as to the Latin American workers engaged in their respective trade or industry.

Drawing from the experiences of our own labor movement and the economic development of our country, we have steadfastly urged for Latin America, as well as for the underdeveloped countries of the rest of the world, a policy of economic expansion based primarily on the increasing purchasing power of the people. The economic difficulties at present experienced by so many Latin American countries stem precisely from the failure to extend to the great mass of agricultural, mining and industrial workers a fair share of the benefits gained by the land owners, local industrial concerns and foreign investors.

On the other hand, Latin American countries—along with those in other underdeveloped areas—need capital and technical assistance from abroad for the modernization of their productive capacities and the diversification of their economies. While a great part of this needed capital can be furnished by private investors, in many fields the needs can only be supplied by loans from governmental sources, particularly the World Bank, the Export-Import Bank and similar public financing agencies. We therefore urge the Government of the United States to put into practice without delay—along with the necessary assurances and guarantees for a well-planned and efficient use of the eventual loans—the program for enlarged economic aid to Latin America announced at the recent Inter-American Economic Conference in Buenos Aires.

In this connection, we suggest to the governments of the American countries to give labor representatives a greater voice in the formulation and execution of their economic policies and programs; and we call upon the Organization of Workers (ORIT) the consultative status to which it is entitled by the terms of the OAS own charter.

The labor movement in Latin America and the Caribbean area has scored considerable gains during the last two years. In a number of countries, unions have been organized and have gained, for the first time, the right to bargain collectively. Although losses have been suffered, the overall picture indicates a steady gain on the part of the free democratic labor forces. However, the threat from the totalitarian Communists has not disappeared. On the contrary, in a number of countries it has never been as dangerous as it is now. Aided by the devastating effects of rampant inflation, which has plagued and continues to plague so many republics in Latin America, the Communists are exploiting legitimate economic grievances in order to infiltrate and gain control of the trade unions. Short-sighted repressive measures on the part of Governments, inexperienced in labor

relations procedures, have often resulted in aiding the aims of the Communists. The panorama is further muddled by the popular front tactics revived by the Communists, now parading under the cloak of democracy and progressivism. This latest device is particularly dangerous in those countries where the workers suffer under the yoke of military dictatorships and totalitarian police regimes.

We call upon our brother trade unionists in Latin America to be on guard against these renewed Communist infiltration tactics; to stand firm against attempts to be inveigled into united front maneuvers which would end in the destruction of the free trade union movement; and to assert with renewed vigor that a truly democratic labor movement must be uncompromisingly opposed to the Communists as well as to the fascists and every other brand of totalitarianism.

We urge the Government of the United States to give—within the limitations of diplomatic propriety and the accepted principle of non-intervention—moral, political and every other form of available support to those governments in Latin America that are based on the freely expressed support of the people and are intent on promoting and strengthening the democratic way of life. At the same time, we urge our government to refrain from giving any support—moral, political or otherwise—to the dictatorial regimes that still plague so many countries in Latin America. We demand that our Government cease giving or selling arms to these dictatorial governments—under the pretense that they will be used for the common military defense of the Western Hemisphere—because experience has proven beyond any doubt that these arms have been used and are now being used mainly against the people demanding liberty and free elections.

To the trade unionist in Latin America, who are still suffering under the yoke of military dictatorships and are struggling to regain freedom, not only for themselves but for all the people of their respective countries, we reiterate our expression of fraternal solidarity with the assurance that we will never feel happy and secure as long as freedom is suppressed in any country of the world.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution 128.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the reading of Resolution 128 on Inter-American Relations and the motion is to adopt the resolution.

The Chair recognizes Vice President Knight, who is the Chairman of the AFL-CIO International Labor Relations Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs.

VICE PRESIDENT KNIGHT: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I regret the necessity at this late moment in this convention of taking your time to discuss with you very briefly this particular resolution, to urge its adoption and to urge perhaps just a little more than that.

I think there is a grave danger today, as we are belabored with headlines pointing out the trouble spots in the world, that we might overlook what I consider to be the best friends that we have in the world—our good neighbors here in this hemisphere who with us make up the American family of nations.

I would like to remind you that they, too, have their problems; they have the problems of dictatorship, they, too, are having people killed because they oppose that dictatorship. And a person who is dead in the Dominion Republic at the hands of a dictator is just as dead as if he is killed in Hungary or in Russia itself.

These people have political problems, and if we are to have a world at peace we must assist them in solving their political problems.

They have grave economic problems as well. Only this morning myself, along with Serafino Romualdi, had an opportunity to meet with a delegation from the Republic of Chile. For a long time the laws of their country have provided for a freeze in wages and in prices.

But in actuality it has not worked, and we were told this morning in the brief period of one year the cost of living has increased 80 per cent in that country.

Here are peoples who have an abundance of resources. They have a real desire to move forward in the economic progress of the world.

I rise at this point to urge not only the delegates of this Convention, but the peoples of our country as well to realize that they, too, are in need of assistance in developing their political freedoms and in the development of their economy. I would urge the people of the AFL-CIO, those in our legislative group and those in contact with our Government, to do everything in their power to see that we do not overlook these good friends; that we give to them the aid and assistance so very badly needed in their countries in developing their economy to the point where they can become not only a continued source of support in the economic development of the world, but a continued source of support and of ambitious work in behalf of a free world at peace, where the people can live in comfort.

I thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Resolution 128. Is there further discussion?

. . . The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Resolution No. 129: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

From its very inception nearly 25 years ago, organized labor has been among the staunchest supporters of the Reciprocal Trade Program. The trade union movement has recognized that the fundamental principles of this program—expansion of international trade and gradual removal of restrictions upon the exchange of goods among nations—are fully consistent with and promote the national interest of the United States and the economic and political strength of the entire Free World.

Our international trade policy must be considered as an integral part of our overall foreign policy. Our economy, as well as our national defense, depend in part on a considerable number of materials and products which we must import from abroad. Likewise many of our industries export a sizeable proportion of their output to other countries. Therefore, expansion of foreign trade is essential for our national welfare.

Even more important, we must recognize that many nations of the free world depend for their very existence upon foreign trade. Our markets must remain open to them if they are not to turn in desperation to trade with the Soviet bloc. Thus continuance of the Reciprocal Trade Program and gradual reduction of tariff barriers are essential to the economic strength and welfare of the entire free world.

International trade is, to a considerable extent, dependent upon the level of economic activity in the various countries. A decline in full employment and general business activity in the United States certainly will affect the overall level of international trade. Conversely, prosperity in America will increase trade opportunities.

The Reciprocal Trade Program, now scheduled to expire in mid-1958, should be extended for a period long enough to assure a reasonable measure of stability in international trade. In extending the program, moreover, the Congress should reinforce the basic goal of the Reciprocal Trade Program, the gradual reduction of barriers to trade without undue hardship to American industries or American workers. The achievement of this goal must be sought, however, in the light of present day conditions in our own nation and in the nations allied with us in the common struggle for the preservation of freedom and democracy.

In order to facilitate this objective the President of the United States must be granted additional negotiating authority. However, such liberalizing steps must be accompanied by adequate protection of the interests of U. S. workers and firms that may be adversely affected by import competition. We therefore favor continuance of the basic principles of the peril point and escape clause procedures. The present authority of the President to pass on the Tariff Commission's recommendations in escape clause proceedings should not be altered.

We urge that positive programs be adopted directed toward the dual objective of expanding trade and safeguarding the welfare of American labor and industry.

Establishment of the principle of fair labor standards in international trade would afford one significant way of accomplishing this objective. In multilateral tariff negotiations, the United States should make every effort to seek effective action by exporting countries to establish and maintain fair labor standards in their exporting industries consistent with productivity levels in exporting industries and the economy at large of the exporting country. We should also seek to obtain acceptance of this principle in the ILO and among the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. (GATT) Our aim in these efforts should be not to provide an excuse for restricting trade, but to secure improvement of labor standards in exporting countries as a means of equalizing competition in international trade.

In addition, it is essential that an effective adjustment program be established to meet the problems resulting from import competition. The President should therefore be authorized to provide various measures of assistance to workers, industrial enterprises and communities to adjust to the problems created by increased imports. In certain instances, it may also be desirable to develop specific programs aimed at alleviating deteriorating conditions in specific industries.

The whole program of multilateral trade negotiations will be made more effective by establishment of the Organization for Trade Cooperation. This would provide a much needed permanent international organization for the administration of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. While it would not affect trade policies or tariff levels, it would provide necessary administrative machinery for multilateral trade negotiations as well as a forum for discussion of important international trade issues. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reiterates the traditional support of the labor movement of the Reciprocal Trade Program and urge the Congress to extend the Reciprocal Trade Act for a period of at least five years.

Consistent with both domestic and international economic requirements and within the framework of continued application of the peril point concept, the President should be given additional authority to negotiate changes in existing tariffs.

The escape clause procedures should also be retained and the President should be authorized to provide various types of assistance to workers, firms and communities adversely affected by increased imports. In addition, where necessary, consideration should be given to development of specific programs, tailored to the requirements of specific industries, to aid adjustment of affected industries.

It should be a fundamental part of our national trade policy to foster the principle of fair labor standards in international trade through multilateral trade negotiations and commercial agreements and in the ILO. In particular, the U. S. should seek to obtain efforts by exporting countries to establish and maintain fair labor standards in exporting industries consistent with productivity levels in such industries and the economy at large of the exporting country.

Congress should, at the earliest possible date, authorize United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation.

. . . COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

WOMEN WORKERS

Resolution No. 153: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

One out of every three American workers today is a woman. A great number of these women workers are employed in occupations and industries which thus far have not had the benefits of unionism. Increasingly, these women workers are recognizing that unions are essential for the advancement of economic conditions and human dignity. We welcome them to our ranks.

While the basic guarantee of economic security and equality of opportunity for women comes in the form of a union contract, there is a vital role in this area for protective legislation, both on national and state levels. AFL-CIO affiliates for decades have given strong support to legislation especially designed to safeguard women from such abuses as substandard wages, excessive hours, and unhealthy working conditions. Such laws must be strengthened and extended.

These protective labor laws are threatened by the miscalled "Equal Rights Amendment." Organized labor will continue to oppose this amendment because it would place in jeopardy not only many state laws providing needed protection for women workers but also such federal legislation as the Social Security amendment lowering the retirement age for women from 65 to 62.

The AFL-CIO will support positive legislation to eliminate restrictions on women's rights as citizens, property owners, and as workers. It endorses the principle of equal pay legislation, with proper safeguards to avoid interference with collective bargaining agreements. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO urge our officers and our affiliates to continue working to advance the conditions of working women through collective bargaining and by passage of federal and state legislation.

We oppose the so-called Equal Rights Amendment in its proposed form because it would endanger long-standing federal and state legislation enacted to establish minimum wages, hours, safety and other standards for women workers.

We endorse the principle of federal equal pay legislation to prevent second-class treatment of women workers.

We call upon our officers and affiliates to continue working through collective bargaining and through community action to overcome discrimination against women on the job or in the community.

We urge adequate support and appropriations for the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, so that it may properly carry out its mandate to advance the welfare of women in industry.

. . . COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

MARITIME RESOLUTIONS

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Committee had before it various resolutions as well as other proposals dealing with maritime affairs. It was decided that the substance of these resolutions and proposals should be combined, where possible, into a single comprehensive resolution. The following resolution is therefore offered in place of Resolutions No. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 105, 106, 108, and 109.

MARITIME PROGRAM

Resolution No. 154: Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

The AFL-CIO advocates and supports the development and maintenance of a strong merchant marine, owned and operated under the United States flag by citizens of the United States and composed of the best equipped, safest, and most suitable types of vessels, constructed in the United States and manned by competent citizen personnel, with wages and working conditions in keeping with American standards. The maritime industry is vital to our economy and essential

to national defense. The health of that industry requires a sound, long-range program for the development of a merchant marine sufficient to carry our domestic water-borne commerce and a substantial portion of our foreign commerce on all routes and an end to practices and conditions which today threaten its survival. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: We urge that the Federal government take steps to plan and bring into being a comprehensive long-range program for the future development of the maritime industry and, in the process, to provide for the participation and the full use of the contribution of organized labor in the maritime field.

We urge the elimination of the so-called "effective control" concept applied under the present policies of the government, which has the effect of encouraging the transfer of American-owned ships to foreign flags and the construction of American-owned ships in foreign yards, thus threatening the long-range survival of the American merchant marine.

We condemn the continuing transfer of American vessels to runaway flags as destructive of fair wage levels, working conditions and safety standards. We call upon the Congress to enact the remedial legislation necessary to halt the further transferring of American ships to foreign flags at the expense of the American maritime worker and the national defense and to bring under the American flag those foreign flag ships now owned by Americans.

We urge the development of a long-range ship replacement program designed to prevent block obsolescence of the merchant marine and to retain the vital skills of shipyard workers.

We advocate the rehabilitation of coastal and intercoastal shipping and a major concerted effort to promote the revival of the coastal trades. New methods of operation, such as "roll-on, roll-off," should be encouraged so as to give impetus to this revival. We further recommend that Congress amend the 1936 Merchant Marine Act to provide construction subsidies as an inducement to new enterprise in this field.

We urge that proper federal legislation be enacted to guarantee that the hiring hall is recognized as the proper medium for employment in all industries in which its use has been an accepted practice.

We urge the preservation and proper administration of Public Law 664, the so-called "50-50" law, and we oppose the attacks now being made upon this law by the U. S. State and Agriculture Departments and foreign ship-owners and all other efforts to weaken its application. We further urge the government to initiate a program designed to assure that at least 50% of our ore and oil imports are carried in American flag ships.

We oppose the continued operation of the Military Sea Transportation Service in competition with private United States shipping and the consequent deprivation of the benefits of trade union representation of the workers involved.

We favor an equitable program of subsidization, as necessary to a stronger and healthier American merchant marine and to its ability to compete effectively with low wage foreign competitors.

We urge an end to the construction of ships in foreign yards for American shipowners and the U. S. Government in the offshore procurement program. This work should be done in American shipyards.

We urge that an end be put to the constant threat to eliminate or decrease medical facilities for seamen, and that sufficient funds be made available annually for the continuation of the marine hospital program of the Public Health Service.

We favor action by the Federal government to encourage and assist tramp shipping companies operating under the U. S. flag.

We strongly support the efforts of the International Labor Organization to establish and improve decent minimum standards of wages, hours, and conditions of work in the maritime industry throughout the world.

We support the fight of our Canadian brothers to preserve trade union representation against the union-busting efforts of the government-owned Canadian National Steamship Co. We salute the maritime workers of the free trade union movement and the ITF and the ICFU for their stirring display of international trade union fraternity in joining to defeat the Canadian government-sponsored attempt at union busting.

We urge the enactment of adequate legislation to protect the fishermen and cannery workers against the competition of cheaply produced foreign imports, and an equitable and properly regulated quota on imports which threaten their work opportunities and income.

We favor the codification of shipping laws and the modernization of archaic maritime laws, in such manner, however, as to preserve the existing rights and standards of American seamen. We particularly urge the amendment of mutiny statutes so as to prevent their use in labor disputes, and amendments to the law so as to prevent the discharge of U. S. seamen and their replacement by foreign seamen in foreign ports.

We urge that the Federal law providing for absentee voting by seamen be made permanent.

We favor the development by the Maritime Administration of an adequate public relations program to promote the American Merchant marine.

We favor legislation to clearly define the specific authority and responsibilities of the Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administration and to remove these functions from the Department of Commerce and to make them direct arms of Congress.

We urge that Congressional maritime legislation committees approve programs authorizing legislation each session of Congress prior to the appropriating committee's consideration of the Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administration appropriation.

... COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD moved adoption of Resolution 154.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the reading of Resolution 154, which is a draft resolution of the Committee on Resolutions, and it embodies the substance of Resolutions 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 105, 106, 108 and 109.

SUBSIDIES

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, in the two years since our last Convention, no appreciable progress has been made by the Government in providing an equitable program of subsidy as a means of encouraging a stronger maritime industry, and

WHEREAS, subsidies are still granted only to a relatively small segment of U. S.-flag shipping companies.

WHEREAS, in an industry such as this, it is difficult to maintain smooth operations and stability when the majority of private companies must operate without subsidy in direct competition with the few who are sustained with the aid of taxpayers' money. This paradoxical situation, which in effect puts a premium on bad management, is a bar to a healthy and expanding industry and consequently affects the livelihoods of the many thousands of workers who are dependent upon the industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That we reaffirm our consistent position with respect to the subsidy problem, and we urge a reappraisal of the present governmental subsidy policy and its replacement with a more equitable, intelligent and efficient policy of subsidization which is necessary to a stronger and healthier American maritime industry.

LONG RANGE MARITIME PROGRAM

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department, AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, for too many years the Government of this nation has been allowing our vital maritime policy to proceed on an ineffectual, hit and miss basis. We attribute this condition to the lack of a broad, long-range maritime program.

WHEREAS, it is recognized that maritime is a vital part of our economy, and, as such requires maximum attention from the standpoint of the economy and national defense; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That we recommend that our Government take steps to effect a comprehensive long-range program for maritime, and in the process it recognize the contribution that organized labor can make. Consequently, we urge that in the initiation of the aforesaid program, the Government allow the member unions of the Maritime Trades Department to participate in its development.

MILITARY SEA TRANSPORTATION SERVICE

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, despite the fact that peacetime conditions prevail, the maritime industry is one of the few, if not the only, major American industry which is faced with the problem of Government competition. The Military Sea Transportation Service competes directly with private shipping in a service unnecessary and costly to the American taxpayer.

WHEREAS, moreover, the American maritime unions are responsible for the wage levels enjoyed by the workers employed by MSTs by virtue of the agency's practice of following the wage pattern established by the American maritime unions.

WHEREAS, this competition is at variance with the established concept of the American economic system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That we again protest its continued usurpation of the functions of private U. S. shipping, and the consequent deprivation of the benefits of trade union representation of the workers involved. And be it further.

RESOLVED: That we urge all affiliated member unions to exert every means possible to eliminate this unfair and costly Government enterprise.

'50-50' LAW

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, the provision of the federal law requiring that at least fifty per cent of Government-financed foreign aid cargoes be carried in American vessels was enacted to protect U. S.-flag shipping and thus the job opportunities of thousands upon thousands of American maritime workers and those in related industries.

WHEREAS, the Maritime Trades Department and member unions concerned with the health of the American maritime industry played a large role in securing and maintaining this very vital piece of legislation. However, since its original enactment almost a decade ago, the so-called "50-50" law has been under consistent attack by foreign shipowners and the U. S. State and Agriculture Departments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That since crippling of the law would result in the idling of thousands of American seamen and other marine workers, it is imperative that we continue the fight on all levels to preserve "50-50," and that wherever possible we enlist the aid of the trade union movement to achieve this objective.

FIGHT OF CANADIAN BROTHERS TO PRESERVE TRADE UNION REPRESENTATION

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, one of the most vicious attempts at the destruction of union wages, conditions, and representations is now being witnessed in Canada, where the Government-owned Canada steamship line has transferred eight vessels to Trinidad registry in the midst of wage negotiations with the Canadian District of the Seafarers' International Union of North America; and

WHEREAS, this union-busting attempt is being fought vigorously by the SIU, Canadian District, which has successfully blocked sailing of the vessels by non-union crews; and

WHEREAS, in its determined fight to protect the jobs of seamen involved, the SIU, Canadian District has received the effective, fra-

ternal support of workers throughout the world through the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress, the International Transport Workers Federation, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the Maritime Trades Department, AFL-CIO, endorses and supports the fight of our Canadian brothers to preserve trade union representation, and applauds its determined stand in the interest of the workers it represents; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the Department salutes the maritime workers of the free trade union movement, and the ITF and the ICFTU for their prompt efforts and stirring display of international trade union fraternity in joining to crush the Canadian Government-sponsored attempt at union busting.

MARINE HOSPITALS

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, the groundwork is presently being laid for another attack on the vital United States Public Health Service facilities for American seamen, and

WHEREAS, it is obvious that to an industry that ranks third in accident rates, and whose personnel are constantly exposed to pestilence and disease peculiar to the ports throughout the world at which they must call, the Public Health Service program is vital, and

WHEREAS, merchant seamen have benefited by this program and enjoyed the hospital treatment provided thereunder, virtually since the first Congress recognized the public health aspects of this calling; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That we urge that an end be put to the constant threat to eliminate or decrease medical facilities for seamen, and that sufficient funds be made available annually for the continuation of this service.

FOREIGN FLAG TRANSFERS

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, Transfers to runaway flag nations have been continuing; and

WHEREAS, Maritime workers throughout the free world have condemned transfers to runaway-flag nations as a nefarious escape from union wages and working conditions, and safety standards; and

WHEREAS, One of the chief victims of the runaway transfer is the American maritime worker whose welfare has been completely ignored by the Maritime Administration, which is the agency responsible for maintaining a strong U. S. merchant fleet; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the Maritime Trades Department and its affiliated unions to continue to expose the harmful nature of the transfer program, and to effect necessary remedial legislation to

halt further ship transfers at the expense of the American maritime worker and the national defense.

COASTAL AND INTERCOASTAL SHIPPING

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, Coastal and intercoastal shipping have suffered over the past several years with a consequent loss in employment opportunities for maritime workers; and

WHEREAS, Recently, new methods of operation have touched off a revival of activity in these services; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the interest of the workers represented by our member unions, we recommend maximum effort by the Maritime Trades Department to promote revival of these trades and Maritime Administration encouragement of all new methods of operation, such as "roll-on, roll-off" to give impetus to this revival. Be it further

RESOLVED, That we recommend Congressional amendment of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act to provide construction subsidies as an inducement to new enterprise in this field.

HIRING HALL

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, The hiring hall method of employment used in maritime and other industries marked by a constant job turnover is the most effective means of insuring fair and equitable distribution of work for the people involved, and to guard against abuses in these fields; and

WHEREAS, Efforts at regulations and restriction of this democratic procedure which the unions have struggled to build and maintain have been made by the Government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we urge that proper federal legislation be initiated and enacted to guarantee that the hiring hall be recognized as the proper medium for employment in all industries in which its use has been an accepted practice.

FOREIGN IMPORTS IN THE FISHING FIELD

Resolution 109—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, workers in the fishing field have long been plagued by the threat of foreign imports, which have been depressing their work opportunities and income; and

WHEREAS, only an equitable and properly regulated quota on imports can effectively protect the workers involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That we urge that the use of every resource available to effect enactment of adequate legislation to protect the fishermen and cannery workers against the competition of cheaply produced foreign imports.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Resolution No. 154 embraces the entire maritime program of the AFL-CIO. The motion is to adopt the report of the Committee. Is there discussion?

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to interrupt the work of the Committee for just a few moments in order to present to you the fraternal delegate from the International Labor Press Association, which, of course, you are all familiar with. This organization is doing a very good job and I am very happy to present to you the President of the International Labor Press Association, our good friend Gordon Cole, to bring the greetings of this group to the AFL-CIO. President Cole.

MR. GORDON COLE

President, International Labor Press Association

The International Labor Press Association is another product of merger. We now include in our membership more than 300 regularly printed labor publications. These union publications are trying to provide better and more effective channels of communications between union officers and union members. In those unions where every member does not show up for union meeting, the labor press has become the major means of communication. ILPA members are constantly trying to improve the quality, the readability of these publications.

We are also waging war against the racket press, publications that masquerade as labor papers but actually try to shake down employers under the pretense of selling advertising. This racket press does not only damage the bona fide labor press, it is doing serious damage to the reputation of the entire labor movement.

We are waging war against this vicious racket with the cooperation of local law enforcement agencies, the Federal Trade Commission in Washington and Better Business Bureaus. We have developed and we are enforcing a code of ethics on the sale and publication of advertising in bona fide union publications.

During the past year we have received substantial assistance from a number of state federations which have adopted our code of ethics on advertising in labor papers. During the next few weeks, our new President, Peter Terzick, editor of *The Carpenter*, will be writing to each international union supplying you with a copy of our code of ethics and asking your help in this war against racket papers.

You should know that our code includes a section prohibiting participation by any ILPA member in the publication of any yearbook or directory when such yearbook or directory or program has for its primary purpose the raising of money. We believe that the methods used in selling ads for some of these yearbooks and directories are only slightly less vicious than that of the racket press—and does the reputation of the labor movement serious damage.

In closing—on behalf of all labor editors, I want to say, "Thank you," to our great President George Meany, to Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler, to the AFL-CIO Department of Publications and to the AFL-CIO Department of Public Relations for the aid and support ILPA has received during the past two years.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to thank you with this comment, that I think the International Labor Press is doing a good job under your leadership.

EXPULSION OF BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to make a few announcements before the Committee on Resolutions proceeds. I want to announce that, in accordance with the action taken on Monday afternoon by this Convention expelling the Bakery and Confectionery Workers from the AFL-CIO, such expulsion to be effective on or before March 15, 1958, the date to be determined by the Executive Council unless the Union in good faith initiated immediate steps to the satisfaction of the Council to eliminate corrupt influences and correct the abuses set forth, and so on, the Bakery and Confectionery Workers were expelled from the AFL-CIO as of 9:30 this morning.

So there will be no misunderstanding, under the Constitution the Executive Council has directed the President to use his judgment in regard to the question of chartering a group in the bakery field.

It might be interesting to note that we had a telegram this morning from President Cross, setting forth in great detail that there was no intention of reprisals, and so on and so forth, and that they are going to give consideration to all of these problems at their convention. The telegram said there had been no such reprisals or intimidation and so on.

Just as a coincidence, the wires of the United Press a few minutes ago indicated that all six local unions of the Bakery Workers in the San Francisco Bay area have been put under trusteeship as of this morning by President Cross for the crime of *lese majeste*.

DISTILLERY, RECTIFYING AND WINE WORKERS UNION

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to make a report on the situation in the Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers Union which the Council has been handling for some time. This Union, as you know, was not suspended. It was placed on probation. We had been working with them and we had some difficulties. However, we have now a commitment and stipulation on the part of the officers of this Union that they will call a special convention to be chaired by someone designated by the AFL-CIO. They pledge full compliance with the Constitution of the AFL-CIO. They also pledge that at this special convention all of their delegates will be elected by secret ballot, that the delegates will be informed as to the full scope of the report of the Ethical Practices Committee and the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Under these circumstances the Council has decided to go along with this Union to see if they can straighten themselves out. We will withhold any further action at the present time except to carry out the terms of the stipulation of supervising their affairs and running their convention, auditing their books and doing all of the other things that this stipulation calls for. I want to announce and to indicate that we are hopeful that this Union can be straightened out. Certainly there is an indication that we will exhaust every possible avenue of remedy to bring about the establishment of a decent system for these unions before resorting to either suspension or to expulsion.

I think that covers all of the subjects that we have had before the Appeals Committee, with the exception of one which I will explain in a few minutes when we call upon them to report.

I now call on the Resolutions Committee, which has a few more resolutions which they can finish up in a short time.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE **(Continued)**

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The Resolutions Committee has given consideration to the resolution on new labor legislation referred to it by the AFL-CIO General Board; and has given consideration also to the proposal advanced by Secretary of Labor Mitchell in his speech before this Convention. The Committee recommends the following Resolution for adoption by this Convention:

NEW LABOR LAWS

Resolution No. 151—By Committee on Resolutions.

During the past two years and most recently and decisively at this Convention, the AFL-CIO has demonstrated its irrevocable determination to eradicate any and all corrupt influences from its ranks. This is a matter which must be handled by the labor movement itself, and we will handle it. It is likewise the responsibility of the labor movement to insure that union elections and internal procedures are fair and democratic, and that responsibility, too, we will discharge. Government intervention or supervision in either of these fields is unnecessary and unwarranted and undue reliance on government can only sap vitality and impair the sense of responsibility. We are further determined that the Senate Committee's disclosures of the grossly improper activities of officials of a few unions shall not be made the pretext for the enactment of broadside anti-union measures irrelevant to the disclosed abuses.

At the last session of Congress, the AFL-CIO supported the Douglas Bill S-2888 to require full disclosure of welfare fund finances, whether these funds are administered by unions alone or by unions and employers generally or by employers alone. Thus far this legislation has failed of enactment because some employers have declared themselves unwilling to reveal what they are now doing with the welfare funds they administer; but we shall continue to support such legislation.

Unions are now required by the Taft-Hartley Act to file annual reports with the Department of Labor on their finances; and the new reporting forms prescribed by that Department are so unnecessarily complex that this Convention has gone on record as urging their simplification. We would, however, have no objection to legislation making these reports public.

The AFL-CIO will also be prepared to support such other legislative measures as may be necessary to strengthen the ability of the American trade union movement to fulfill its responsibility and to achieve its proper and legitimate objectives. Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: This Convention reaffirms support for the Douglas Bill S-2888 and directs the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO to give continuing study to what legislation may be desirable to aid the labor

movement in achieving its legitimate aspirations, and authorizes the Executive Council to support any such measures as it finds to be necessary and appropriate.

The Convention directs the Executive Council strongly to oppose all proposals which under the pretext of protecting workers from corruption seek in reality to weaken unions or to undermine their ability to fulfill their proper responsibilities.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of Resolution No. 151.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the motion to adopt Resolution No. 151, which explains the attitude of this Convention toward the new labor laws.

DELEGATE SOL STETIN, Textile Workers Union: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this Convention:

It is ironic that, at this moment in our history when we are exerting our greatest efforts to enforce the highest standards of ethical practices adopted by our organization, the McClellans and the Goldwaters and the Curtises have finally been able to cloak their anti-union proposals in the respectability of the Secretary of Labor.

When the good Secretary paid lip service here to the labor movement, he told us that, and I quote:

"This administration will not permit those who have never approved of organized labor or collective bargaining to use labor's present difficulties as a club to suppress unionism." . . . "I promise you" . . . and the secretary continued . . . "that this Administration will vigorously oppose any legislation designed to bust unions."

Despite the sugar-coating of a few proposals which the labor movement has long sought, there can be no question that the substance of the proposals presented here have as their ultimate objective the weakening, if not the destruction of the trade union movement.

Among the items presented by Secretary Mitchell which all of us can support are the recommendations that:

1. Economic strikers no longer be prohibited from voting in NLRB elections; and
2. Collective bargaining rights should be permitted building trades unions without NLRB elections.

Both these proposals have been promised us many years ago, and it is our fervent hope that this statement of support by the Secretary of Labor will be implemented into immediate favorable action.

However, without intending to become personal, I fear that our good Secretary has unwittingly employed a few principles of salesmanship when he follows these proposals—which could have been used to lull us into a sense of false security—with recommendations that are unquestionably designed as clubs to strike at the head and heart of the American labor movement.

Let's analyze briefly the substance of the Eisenhower program.

- I. It is proposed by the Administration that restrictions be

placed upon the right of workers to use one of the few effective weapons they have in fighting the injustice of arbitrary and selfish employers, namely, the right to picket.

If the Secretary's recommendation were to be enacted into law, it would be illegal for workers to picket any plant which has a contract with another union. If the Administration is as truly concerned with ethical practices as they claim, this proposal would be withdrawn immediately. For under this restriction, it would be impossible for workers to strike back against an employer's sweetheart agreement in collusion with racketeers.

It would be hard to explain to these workers that the Eisenhower Administrations' answer to their fight for justice is to restrict their right to picket and thus immunize their unscrupulous employers and their racketeer pals against the attacks of decent trade unionists.

Invoking the advantage afforded him under this provision, the racketeering employer could fire any worker who had the guts to stand up and fight for a decent union.

II. It is further proposed that there be no picketing for one year at plants where an election has been lost. This provision would make it illegal for workers to strike even in those instances where conditions in the course of the year have so changed as to justify a protest strike by the workers. By taking advantage of this provision, an employer could set up a stooge union which could petition for and get an NLRB election, which it deliberately loses, thus barring the legitimate unionization of the plant for a year.

Naturally, this process could be repeated annually and the anti-labor racketeer could continue unabated in the exploitation of the workers.

III. It has also been proposed that picketing be restricted where a union does not represent a majority of the workers. It may be pertinent at this point to ask, a majority of which workers—the workers in an industry; a multi-plant corporation; a department; a plant; a craft?

And who will count and certify the union membership?

Obviously, the determination would have to be made by the reactionary Board and every delegate to this convention has experienced, either directly or indirectly, the frustration of waiting months and sometimes years, for an NLRB election, while the employer invokes all of the familiar stalling tactics available to him.

The proposals of the Administration would serve to deprive a union of the right to defend itself while its majority is being destroyed pending the arrival of the millenium—or, in this instance, at least an NLRB election.

Now, quite frankly, I find myself a little confused by the eloquence of our Secretary of Labor. I am an enthusiastic listener when he states that it is government policy to protect the rights of workers to organize into unions and bargain collectively.

But having said this, he then proceeds to propose further restrictive measures, such as taking out of the hands of the Supreme Court,

where the issue is now pending making it illegal for union members to seek an agreement from their employers that they would not be compelled to work or handle goods which are made under unfair labor conditions, known as the hot cargo clause.

Another provision proposed by the Secretary of Labor to be enacted into law, would deny the union the right to appeal to individual union members not to work on or handle scab products. It would make it illegal for unions to publish an "unfair list" and would probably lead to the outlawing of boycott appeals to the consuming public.

It appears that the Eisenhower Administration proposes to reserve the First Amendment to the Constitution of free speech and free press, for the exclusive use of employers.

This is as sensible as the fireman heaping coal on the blaze he is trying to extinguish. Labor relations as enacted and pursued under the present Eisenhower Administration is confusing enough without confusing it any further. We all know what happened when Taft-Hartley gave the States the authority to pass the so-called "right-to-work" laws. Bitter battles have been going on in many State capitals with this vicious law already in effect in 18 states.

The recommendation of Secretary Mitchell is the precise opposite of what a government should propose if it is truly dedicated to the principle of collective bargaining.

Finally, Mr. Mitchell proposes measures to combat corrupt influences. He suggests financial reporting and laws against bribery and embezzlement. To the extent that these proposals will help keep out racketeers, we in the Textile Workers Union of America are all for them, but we reserve the right to look at the specific bills which will be introduced when the Congress next meets.

If the Secretary is really interested in collective bargaining and the freedom of workers to form unions, why doesn't he propose something to curtail the employers' abuse of the free speech provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act?

Why doesn't he propose speeding up the time between the union's petitioning and the holding of an election? Delays of nine months or more are not uncommon!

Why doesn't he propose a change in the Taft-Hartley law which has encouraged reactionary elements to put over the so-called "right-to-work" laws, more properly known as the "right-to-wreck" laws, in 18 states.

Mr. Mitchell says: "This Administration will not permit the using of labor's present difficulties as a club to suppress unionism, and that this Administration will vigorously oppose any legislation designed to bust unions."

You delegates know the answer.

I say to you we can't accept his recommendation. Therefore, we support this resolution wholeheartedly.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion?

DELEGATE HERRMANN, Typographical Union: I just want to say a few words to straighten out, for the benefit of the press and the record of this Convention, the fact that this resolution, which deals with the general legislative process, particularly about welfare funds that are managed by unions, managed by unions and employers, and unilaterally by employers—when you read about it in the press you usually get the story across that the unions are the ones that have all the imperfections, that they commit all the sins insofar as welfare funds are concerned. Mr. President and delegates, I simply want to get into the record the fact that the overwhelming majority, about 92 per cent, are unilaterally managed by employers, who have shown the greatest resistance against any legislation on disclosure of those funds.

So labor is willing to share its responsibility, but don't let the press tell the world that these funds that are managed by unions are the sinners, while the employers who are now fighting against legislation to clean these things up and open them to the public are really the culprits that should be criticized in the press, and not the unions.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion?

I think the point made by Delegate Herrmann is an important point. The AFL-CIO has taken the position that this disclosure legislation should apply to all of these funds, whether they are under the supervision of trustees that come solely from the union's side, which represents a very, very small minority of these funds, or funds that are jointly administered by employer and union trustees, which represent a small percentage, or administered by employers alone— and those administered by employers alone represent the large majority of the funds in question.

Now, the idea of this legislation is quite simple. I point out that this resolution was called for by the CIO and the AFL separately some time prior to the merger. We took identical positions on this. The idea of the legislation is very simple, that by disclosing for the information of the beneficiaries of these programs and the public, by disclosing all the information—in other words, the cost of buying the coverage, the insurance companies' retention fee or retention level, the agency fee for placing the insurance, the agency fee where a servicing agency is used to service the welfare plan—that if this information were available to the potential beneficiaries of the plan and to the public it would go a long way toward helping to keep these plans properly operated.

That is the intent of the legislation, to protect the beneficiaries of the plan. And who are the beneficiaries? They are the people that earn the money that goes into the plan. Pension deductions from the payroll, whether by agreement or not, that are set aside into a fund are part of the wages of the man who works. They are deferred wages, they are wages held in escrow, they are wages laid aside,—but call it anything you like, it is for the protection of the beneficiary who earned the money.

So when you approach it from that angle and think in the terms of making the funds more secure, more properly run, it doesn't make any difference who the trustees are, the protection is needed.

The attitude of the employers is completely ridiculous, and that is that only funds that are trusted by unions need this sort of disclosure legislation.

Well, I don't recall—and I may be wrong on this—but my memory would indicate that in practically every case where we have had trouble there has been either employer administration solely or employer and union administration. But the need is to protect these funds, and it doesn't make any difference under whose administration they are, they should be protected.

I thought I might point that out so there will be no misunderstanding. All we say is that this should apply to all of the funds, no matter who is administering the fund.

The points in regard to picketing, and boycott, I want to point out, were covered in Resolution No. 149, which you have adopted. This resolution is a sort of general wrap-up and it sets forth the policy of the AFL-CIO. I am going to read the Resolve again just to make it completely clear what this resolution does.

It specifically reaffirms support for the Douglas Bill S.2888, which calls for disclosure legislation on all funds. It directs the Executive Council to give a continuing study as to what legislation may be desirable to aid the labor movement in achieving its legitimate aspirations, and it authorizes the Council to support such measures that will do this that it finds necessary and appropriate.

Then the convention directs the Executive Council very strongly to oppose all proposals which, under the pretext of protecting workers from corruption, seek in reality to weaken unions or to undermine their ability to fulfill their responsibilities.

That is the purpose of the resolution and the report of the Committee. I can say to you quite frankly that, as you have indicated, in the latter category which the convention directs the Council to strongly oppose, I am quite sure there will be a number of the proposals made to us by Secretary of Labor Mitchell.

Is there any further discussion on Resolution 151?

Those in favor of the motion to adopt the Committee's report signify by saying aye; contrary minded, no.

It is carried and so ordered.

... The report of the Committee was continued, as follows:

WELFARE AND PENSION PLANS DISCLOSURE ACT

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Congresswoman Edith Green has introduced in Congress a bill known as the "Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act" (H.R. 4653) referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and hearings are presently being held in this Committee on this and other bills having to do with pension and welfare funds, and

WHEREAS, H.R. 4653 provides for registration, reporting and disclosure of employe welfare and pension plans, a provision which organized labor has long advocated for the well-being and security of millions of laboring people and their dependents, and

WHEREAS, President Meany voiced the importance of the disclosure of all facts on welfare and pension plans to the Government as a safe-

guard against improper practices, especially among the "Management-run Plans" in his testimony before a Senate Labor subcommittee; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, go on record advocating the intent of H.R. 4653, known as the "Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act," which would cause a full disclosure of all welfare and pension plans both management and labor, such as the AFL-CIO has always advocated, to the Government, to safeguard against improper practices.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, there is Resolution No. 54 entitled Welfare and Pension Plan Disclosure Act. The subject matter of this resolution is dealt with in Resolution 151 entitled "New Labor Laws," which we have just adopted. Therefore, no further action is required on Resolution 54.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Resolutions Committee on Resolution 54 and the motion. Is there any discussion? If not, is there any objection?

Hearing none, the motion is carried and so ordered.

... Committee Secretary McDonald continued the report as follows:

OPPOSITION TO PAY TV

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate George W. Smith, National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians.

WHEREAS, The issue of paid TV from the viewpoint of its impact on the American public, in general, and the membership of organized labor in particular, and

WHEREAS, In the public interest free television must be maintained; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, unreservedly opposes pay TV and wired TV, and urges that the membership use its efforts to defeat those who are trying to penalize the public and destroy free TV, and that the AFL-CIO notify the Federal Communications Commission of organized labor's opposition to pay TV, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Federal Communications Commission, the Congress of the United States and all other authority having jurisdiction in the premises be urged to defeat the efforts of those private advocates of pay TV who seek to deprive the American public of its rights to unrestricted and free use of the public broadcasting privileges.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Your Committee, with the consent of the sponsor of this resolution, recommends the deletion of the words "and wired TV" from the first resolve of this resolution. With this amendment, your Committee recommends approval of this resolution.

OPPOSITION TO PAY TV

Resolution No. 58 (Amended)—By Delegate George W. Smith, National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians.

WHEREAS, The issue of paid TV from the viewpoint of its impact on the American public, in general, and the membership of organized labor in particular, and

WHEREAS, In the public interest free television must be maintained; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, unreservedly opposes pay TV and urges that the membership use its efforts to defeat those who are trying to penalize the public and destroy free TV, and that the AFL-CIO notify the Federal Communications Commission of organized labor's opposition to pay TV, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Federal Communications Commission, the Congress of the United States and all other authority having jurisdiction in the premises be urged to defeat the efforts of those private advocates of pay TV who seek to deprive the American public of its rights to unrestricted and free use of the public broadcasting privileges.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: I move adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: I call your attention to Resolution No. 120 in Resolutions Report No. 2 on Page 21. The Committee feels that no action is required on this resolution since its subject matter is covered by Resolution 28 which has already been approved. (*See Proceedings for Dec. 9 and 10.*)

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee. The subject matter of Resolution No. 120 has been covered by the action of the convention on Resolution 28. If there is no objection, the record will so state.

CONDEMN DEVELOPMENT OF A SEVEN-DAY WORK WEEK

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates Thomas J. Lloyd, Patrick E. Gorman, Joseph Belsky, R. Emmett Kelly, Marvin W. Hook, Harry Poole, Ray Wentz, Sam Twedell, Roy Scheurich, Leon Schachter, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, In the effort of the American Labor Movement to obtain a higher standard of living and greater security for workers and their families, there has always been a strong and irrevocable relationship between the quest for shorter hours and a shorter work week, as well as a higher wage level, and

WHEREAS, Union leadership in America, has from the beginning correctly understood the need for working men and women and their families to enjoy increased opportunities for recreation, education and the spiritual and cultural enrichment of their lives, and

WHEREAS, Labor organizations, their leaders and their members have continuously been in the forefront in the community effort to consecrate rather than desecrate the Sabbath, and

WHEREAS, Unswerving dedication to the principle of a shorter work week—shorter hours and the curtailment of Sunday work (excepting where necessary for the safety of the community and the comfort and convenience of its citizens) have resulted in many gains for working people and a standard of living not equaled anywhere in the world, and

WHEREAS, The increasing trend toward Sunday operation of retail establishments undermines both the standard work week as established by collective bargaining and that reverence for the Sabbath taught by religious creeds to which a majority of the nation subscribe, and

WHEREAS, Such seven-day operations have tended to encourage the employment of part-time workers at less than minimum wages in areas where union organization has not been consolidated and to place responsible retail employers in a difficult competitive situation, leading to the disruption of wage and hour standards established over long years of difficult struggle, and

WHEREAS, The development of such seven-day operations clearly conflicts with organized labor's long term goals of the shorter work day and shorter work week, and

WHEREAS, Such seven-day operations have always interfered with the normal patterns of family and social life which center around the one day of the week which is free from all job, business and commercial activity; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations strongly condemns any development of the seven-day work week where it is not dictated by the unavoidable requirements of production of the needs of the community, and be it finally

RESOLVED, That this Convention calls upon all its affiliates for the application of these principles in their collective bargaining, educational and legislative activities.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This resolution deals with an important collective bargaining problem which is dealt with in various ways through collective bargaining by international and national unions. In view of this, your committee recommends the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for further study.

I move the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

BARGAINING RIGHTS OF ORGANIZED FARMERS

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Robert W. Easley, Cattaraugus and Allegheny Counties Labor Unions Council.

WHEREAS, The dairy farmer is under the Capper Volstead Act which prohibits a farmer from bargaining for the price of his product, and

WHEREAS, Such a law is dangerous to the future of organized labor; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in convention assembled this fifth day of December, 1957, work for legislation which will allow the organized farmer to bargain under the Labor Act as an accredited affiliate of organized labor.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Your Committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council, and I so move, Mr. Chairman.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

HOUSING PROGRAM

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Labor Council.

WHEREAS, A dynamic housing program is an indispensable ingredient of an ever-expanding and fully employed economy, and

WHEREAS, The National Housing Conference reported in its July 7, 1957, publication "The Housing Yearbook" that "new standard housing is priced beyond the reach of the average family." The Conference survey of private housing, available in the cheapest range made in eleven major cities, including Seattle, Washington, shows minimum prices for new dwellings in the eleven cities ranged from \$8,490 for a row house in Philadelphia, to \$13,900 for a detached dwelling in Milwaukee. The medium price was \$11,450 in Kansas City. Estimated expense of paying off the mortgage, taxes, insurance, maintenance, utility and heat for the \$11,450 was \$119 per month, and

WHEREAS, The Yearbook states that on the theory that housing expense should not exceed one-fifth of the income, a family should have \$7,156 a year to carry this house, except in the South. Therefore, a family must have an income of \$8,000 or more to take a choice among these new houses. Only about one urban family out of six has that much income. Private builders are serving less than 20 per cent of the people, and

WHEREAS, Families with incomes less than \$8,000 have been buying new homes priced between \$10,000-\$12,000 or more by using savings, borrowing on life insurance, putting additional members of the family to work and curtailing other expenses, and

WHEREAS, From a statistical analysis made by labor, it was shown that from 1955 up through 1959, 1,430,000 new dwellings will be needed yearly to provide for additional families; also, 100,000 units yearly to replace annual losses. A conservative request was made the previous year for construction of two million new homes; however, only one million new low-priced dwellings were constructed, and

WHEREAS, The need is still great in the United States to eliminate tenement conditions to effect slum clearance, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor in the past twenty years urged government measures for housing and for many other economic policies beneficial to the interests of low and medium income groups; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations:

1. Ask Congress to provide for the housing needs of low and medium income families by authorizing the construction of at least two million subsidized public housing units a year, and at the same time, work to curb inflationary trends.

2. Urges construction of two million new housing units a year until every American family may be adequately housed.

3. Calls upon Congress to insure by appropriate legislation, good housing for all individuals, regardless of national, religious or racial background.

4. Recommends that this Resolution be sent to President Eisenhower and the U. S. Congress.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: The subject matter of this resolution has already been dealt with in the adoption of Resolution No. 84 on Housing. The Committee feels that no further action is therefore required.

... The report of the Committee was adopted.

EFFECTIVE PRESENTATION OF AMERICAN LIFE AGAINST FALSE RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA

Resolution No. 76—By delegates James C. Petrillo, Ed Charette, Robert Sidell, Edward P. Ringius, Frank B. Field, Kenneth E. Plummer, Hal C. Davis, American Federation of Musicians.

WHEREAS, The Soviet Union and the other totalitarian nations have spent and are spending vast sums for propaganda and a large part of this sum has been spent to promote trade fairs and cultural events to lead the gullible and uninformed to believe the USSR is the cradle of civilization's best efforts in the scientific and cultural worlds; and in this propaganda the United States has been consistently presented in the worst possible light as a nation of dollar-chasers and barbarians uninterested and inept in science and the arts and in other cultural activities and this has had great and continuing influence in winning the minds and the hearts of men throughout the world and among the uncommitted peoples; and

WHEREAS, Presidents Thomas Jefferson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Harry S. Truman have all been deeply interested in science, the arts, and other cultural activities and consistently tried to, and did successfully provide leadership in these scientific and cultural fields; and

WHEREAS, In his First Annual Address to Congress on January 8, 1790, President George Washington declared "there is nothing which can better deserve our patronage than the promotion of Science and Literature. Whether this desirable object will be the best promoted by affording aids to seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national university, or by any other expedients, will be worthy of a place in the deliberations of the Legislature"; and President Washington also said that "the arts and sciences essential to the prosperity of the State and to the ornament and happiness of human life have a primary claim to the encouragement of every lover of his country and mankind."; and

WHEREAS, President Eisenhower has begun to give science and learning the place it must have in our Federal Government if we are to survive and win the cold war; and in his January, 1955, Message on the State of the Union told the Congress that "In the advancement of the various activities which will make our civilization endure and flourish, the Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities"; and

WHEREAS, Our cultural exchange programs, the Fulbright Act, the Smith-Mundt Act, the Humphrey-Thompson Act, and the technical exchange and other Point Four-like activities recommended by President Truman and carried out under the Mutual Security Act of 1954 have been winning friends for the United States in other nations and among the peoples of the world.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO in convention assembled support a Federal Scholarship and Loan Program for deserving students graduating from our high schools, and the legislation for this purpose developed by Senators Humphrey, Morse, and Clark, and Reps. Frank Thompson, Carl Elliott, Melvin Price and others; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we support H. R. 491 and S. 1786, introduced by Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr., and Sen. J. W. Fulbright respectively, to provide for the appointment of an Assistant Secretary of State for International Cultural Relations; and also S. 930 and H. R. 3541, introduced by Sen. H. H. Humphrey and Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr. to establish a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as recommended by President Eisenhower and supported by the American Federation of Musicians, such legislation having passed the Senate unanimously in 1956; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we call on the Senate to adopt the House-passed bill to reduce the Cabaret Tax, which deprives American musicians of 50,000 jobs each year; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED; That we urge the adoption of legislation to set up a program of Distinguished Civilian Awards, such legislation having been introduced by Rep. Frank Thompson and passed the House in the 84th Congress; that the theater arts be provided representation on the 47-year old Commission of Fine Arts; that the legislation sponsored by Senator Humphrey and Rep. Frank Thompson to preserve the historic Civil Service Building and other great buildings be adopted; and we vigorously support plans for a National Cultural Center on the Mall opposite the Mellon Gallery as a living memorial to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt as proposed by Sen. Humphrey and Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Standing Committee on Education. Mr. Chairman, I so move.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate Harry E. O'Reilly, Maritime Trades Department, AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, within a short time, the St. Lawrence Seaway will be a reality, and

WHEREAS, the opening of the Great Lakes region to the sea will radically change the character and conduct of operations within the maritime and related industries.

WHEREAS, the Maritime Trades Department has been surveying and preparing for the vast potential of this major economic development. Thousands upon thousands of new workers will now be engaged in the many marine and related industries that will spring up in the Great Lakes area as a result of this development.

WHEREAS, it is essential that these new workers and those already employed in the various aspects of Great Lakes transportation be protected by trade union contracts and security; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That we recommend a full-scale coordinated, organizing campaign by the Department and the member affiliated unions with jurisdictions in the area concerned with a view to ultimate representation of all the workers involved under the banner of the respective AFL-CIO unions. And be it further

RESOLVED: That the Maritime Trades Department seek the support of the merged federation in effectively implementing this organizing program in the best interests of the organized labor movement and the workers who are dependent upon it for decent living standards and job protection and security.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: This resolution has been withdrawn by its sponsor and therefore does not require any action by this Convention.

. . . The report of the Committee was adopted.

COMMENDING WORLD WAR I VETERANS OF WASHINGTON STATE FOR OPPOSITION TO INITIATIVE 198

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate E. M. Weston, Washington State Labor Council AFL-CIO.

WHEREAS, In the State of Washington in 1956, Organized Labor was forced to oppose a so-called Right to Work Initiative to the electorate titled, Initiative 198, and

WHEREAS, The proposal, if adopted, would seriously affect the ability of Organized Labor to protect their hard won gains by outlawing the union shop, and

WHEREAS, Collective bargaining between employers and unions in the State of Washington is responsible for a stable economy second to none in the United States, and

WHEREAS, The forces seeking the proposed anti-union law, namely, the National Association of Manufacturers, United States Chamber of Commerce, The Committee for Constitutional Government, The National Right to Work Committee and others, have for years been in the forefront of similar crusades to weaken or prevent union organization, and

WHEREAS, To be able to successfully protect the right of workers and others seeking redress through organization, it was necessary for organized labor in Washington State to call upon their friends in all walks of life to rally to the defense of their rights as citizens, and

WHEREAS, World War I Veterans Barracks #358, Retsil, Washington and Barracks #215, Olympia, Washington, through the efforts of delegates Ray Massey and John C. Van Etten, and their buddies took an action in opposition to Initiative 198 in cooperation with the United Labor Movement, and

WHEREAS, The National Convention of World War I Veterans, meeting in the City of Portland, Oregon, in the year 1956, believing in the justice and wisdom of the action, took a similar position with the adoption of a resolution which was unanimously concurred in by the assembled delegates, now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention of the AFL-CIO that the fine organization of World War I Veterans be congratulated and commended for their timely support of Organized Labor in the Initiative 198 campaign in the State of Washington, which resulted in an overwhelming defeat of the Initiative.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDONALD: Your Committee recommends approval, and I so move, Mr. Chairman.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Brother Harrison.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARRISON: The Chairman of the Committee has a resolution which was handed to him this morning that deals with a strike of members of the International Union of Electrical Workers employed by the Sunbeam Electric Company in Puerto Rico.

RESOLUTION ON SUNBEAM ELECTRIC STRIKE IN PUERTO RICO

Resolution No. 155—By Committee on Resolutions.

The increasing frequency with which U. S. manufacturing corporations are leaving the mainland either to establish new production centers or new production branches in Puerto Rico constitutes a growing threat to American union standards and even to unionism itself.

This has become evident as American companies, in larger numbers, have availed themselves of the huge economic benefits and advantages offered by the Government of Puerto Rico and then have reciprocated this generosity by declaring war on trade unionism and refusing to recognize the right of their employees to organize and bargain collectively.

A typical instance of such corporate irresponsibility—ominous because it reflects the attitudes and actions of an increasing number of "migratory" firms—is witnessed in the current strike of 230 Puerto Rican electrical workers, represented by the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers AFL-CIO, against the Sunbeam Electric Company.

Sunbeam, with headquarters and three organized plants in Chicago, started production in a new plant near the capital city of San Juan last year. The company's pay scales and other benefits, then as now, were substandard. Wages today average fractionally over \$1-an-hour compared with plant averages of \$2.50-an-hour and assembly line rates as high as \$3-an-hour in Chicago. Production both in Chicago and San Juan involves identical items, electric shavers and hair dryers.

Sunbeam's vicious behavior toward its employees becomes particularly despicable when viewed against such economic advantages and built-in profiteering guarantees as the following:

- 1—Complete exemption from Puerto Rican taxes for 10 years;
- 2—Complete exemption from all local taxes;
- 3—A five year lease and one year's free rent of a new plant erected specifically for Sunbeam;

4—Payment by the Government for as long as a year of 25% of the salaries and expenses of technicians brought from the mainland;

5—Reimbursement by the Government for the salaries of six group leaders.

Despite all these and other devices designed to insure profiteering, the Sunbeam Company decided to profiteer even more at the expense of its employees by denying them their right to organize and bargain collectively. Flatly refusing to consent to a representation election, management forced its employees to strike for recognition on November 26. Although at first the Chicago company was able to enlist the help of police in escorting six scabs through IUE-AFL-CIO picket lines, the strike currently enjoys 100% solidarity.

These and other condoned employer practices have become a matter of increasing alarm to unions in Puerto Rico.

General Electric, the world's largest and wealthiest electrical manufacturer, has recently found the industrial climate of Puerto Rico to its liking, perhaps even more to its liking than such right-to-work states as Virginia.

Last year after the IUE filed an election petition for the company's San Juan plant, the Union discovered that the insular NLRB office was deferring to the company's every wish and preference. Despite IUE appeals for a speedy election, the NLRB stalled, postponed and procrastinated.

Finally when the NLRB handed down its election order there was fresh evidence of collusion with the union-hating management. To the Union's amazement the Board had incorporated into the bargaining unit an obscure GE plant located 35 miles away, a plant which had no logical bargaining connection with the San Juan factory. This section of the NLRB on the company's behalf, plus the repeated delays, substantially weakened the Union's campaign and the NLRB election was lost.

A short time afterward, the IUE discovered that an NLRB attorney active in handling the case for the Board, had suddenly been taken on the General Electric payroll.

These and other developing patterns of anti-unionism are beginning to persuade unions and thousands of Puerto Rican workers that their collective bargaining rights are being increasingly abridged and curtailed.

Despite Governor Munzo-Marin's publicly expressed opposition to the exploitation of Puerto Rico as a haven for run-away shop employers, honesty and candor require it to be said that employers are doing precisely that—using the island as a refuge from unionism and for profiteering at the expense of unorganized workers.

THEREFORE IT BE RESOLVED, that this second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO pledges full support to the Sunbeam workers represented by the IUE-AFL-CIO in their wholly justified strike for union recognition and collective bargaining rights, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we strongly protest the growing tendency of mainland employers to abuse and exploit Puerto Rico

as a runaway-shop haven and to impose substandard wage scales and generally inferior benefits and protections, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we urge Governor Munoz-Marin not only to make a thorough investigation into the anti-union practices of mainland companies now operating branches in Puerto Rico but also to review and reevaluate the special tax privileges and other economic advantages granted to companies which have repaid the Commonwealth by atrociously exploiting and oppressing Puerto Rican working men and women.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARRISON: It is the recommendation of the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee that this resolution be accepted and be approved by the Convention. I so move.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Now, Mr. President and delegates, outside of the usual thank you resolutions which will be reported later, we have about concluded the report of the Resolutions Committee.

I yield now, Mr. President, for whatever business you have.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to say that the Resolutions Committee took on the major work of this Convention and discharged its responsibilities in a very, very thorough way.

INTRODUCTION OF JAPANESE VISITOR

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now I would like to introduce a visitor who is here, the last of a large number of visitors from foreign lands to this Convention. I would like to ask the General Secretary of the National Federation of Industrial Organizations of Japan, Brother Eiichi Ochiai, to take a bow.

. . . Mr. Ochiai rose and acknowledged the introduction.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now I want to call upon the President of the Textile Workers Union of America to make a short statement to you, Brother Pollock.

MERGER OF TEXTILE WORKERS' UNIONS

PRESIDENT POLLOCK, Textile Workers Union of America: Mr. President and delegates to this Second Biennial Convention, I am pleased that you have given me the opportunity to make this statement. As President of the Textile Workers Union of America, our Union is grateful for the suggestion and the offer that you made a few minutes ago prior to the Convention seating the delegates from our rival union, the United Textile Workers of America. Our Union has realized for many years the importance of a merger of the unions in the textile field so that the rivalries existing now could be eliminated and in unity we could take on and devote all of our attention to the more important problem of organizing the textile workers and bringing to them higher wages and better working conditions.

Shortly after the 1955 merger of the AFL and the CIO, I called upon the officers of the United Textile Workers and invited them to sit down with us and explore the possibility of merger. Many sessions were held. No progress was made. After the dishonest behavior on the part

of their former Secretary-Treasurer that was exposed, it was easy for us to understand why we never arrived at a merger agreement, but I want you and this Convention to know our door has always been open to merger and it is open now.

Our sincere hope is that the monitor that you appoint and the officers who are responsible for the administration of the UTW will immediately take your suggestion and sit down with us again and see whether we can arrive at an honorable understanding that will bring these two unions together under one banner.

It is of the utmost importance, because even though our Union was not accused of any dishonesty, it was almost impossible for the public to differentiate between us and the union that was under indictment. So that we have all suffered because of this bad publicity that has been in the papers over the past several months.

We have an opportunity now to do something about it, and I hope that they will join with us and try to bring about this merger as quickly as possible.

Thanks for the opportunity of making this announcement, and I hope something comes of it.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Brother Al Hartnett, Acting Chairman of the Committee on Appeals, for a report.

REPORT OF APPEALS COMMITTEE

ACTING CHAIRMAN HARTNETT: Mr. Chairman and delegates: The Committee is ready to report on the appeal made to it by the Laundry Workers International Union from the decision made by the Executive Council in support of the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee.

We would like to have John Rollings, President of the State Council of Missouri, Acting Secretary of the Committee, report for the Committee—John Rollings.

Acting Secretary Rollings submitted the following report:

In Re: Appeal of the Laundry Workers' International Union

BASIS OF THE APPEAL

Pursuant to Article VIII, Section 7 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, the Laundry Workers' International Union, under date of September 24, 1957, notified the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO of its appeal to the AFL-CIO Convention from the action taken by the Executive Council on May 23, 1957, with respect to the International Union. Pursuant to Article IV, Sections 9 and 10 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, this appeal was referred to the Appeals Committee of the Convention appointed by President George Meany.

Upon due notice to the Laundry Workers' International Union, the Committee held a hearing on December 5, 1957. At that hearing there were submitted to the Committee, on behalf of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, the resolution and statement adopted by the Executive Council on February 5, 1957 and May 23, 1957, the report of the Ethical Practices Committee to the Council and the transcripts of the hearings before the Ethical Practices Committee and the exhibits thereto. There was also submitted a report by a

representative of President Meany's office who had observed the affairs of the Union for the past several months. The representatives of the Laundry Workers' Union were given a full opportunity to present any material or argument which they thought appropriate in support of the Union's appeal.

This report is submitted by the Committee to the Convention of the AFL-CIO on the basis of all of the materials presented to it and the arguments made before it.

THE ISSUES

The issues presented to the Appeals Committee can only properly be understood in the light of the provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution, the resolutions adopted at the founding Convention of the AFL-CIO, the findings of the Ethical Practices Committee and of the Executive Council and the actions of the Laundry Workers' International Union with respect to them.

1. The AFL-CIO Constitution and Resolutions

The Constitution which the AFL-CIO adopted, with the unanimous concurrence of each affiliated union, provides that one of the basic objects and principles of the Federation should be

"to protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic trade unionism."

The Executive Council was given power to conduct an investigation, either directly or through an appropriate Committee, into any situation in which there is reason to believe that any affiliate is "dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influence . . ." The Council was further given the authority "to make recommendations or give directions to the affiliate involved" and, "upon a two-thirds vote, to suspend any affiliate found guilty of a violation of this section."

The AFL-CIO Constitution preserved the principle of national and international trade union autonomy but, by its provisions with respect to corruption and Communism, it made clear that no union, large or small, which was corruptly dominated or influenced had a right to remain in affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

The founding Convention of the AFL-CIO implemented these constitutional provisions by adopting, by unanimous vote, a resolution which called upon "all its affiliated national and international unions to take whatever steps are necessary within their own organizations to effect the policies and ethical standards set forth in the Constitution of the AFL-CIO."

The Appeals Committee has considered the appeal of the Laundry Workers' International Union with the clear understanding and conviction that these constitutional provisions and resolutions, which were concurred in by the Laundry Workers' International Union, as well as by every other union which participated in the formation

of the AFL-CIO, are necessarily binding upon the Executive Council, upon this Committee and upon the Laundry Workers' International Union.

2. The Proceedings and Report of the Ethical Practices Committee

The proceedings leading to the order of the Executive Council which is being appealed to the Convention arose as a result of an investigation begun in June 1956. At that time the AFL-CIO Executive Council directed the Ethical Practices Committee, which had been appointed pursuant to the Constitution, to conduct an investigation as to whether the Laundry Workers' International Union is "dominated, controlled, or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by corrupt influences." On August 27, 1956, the Executive Council approved a preliminary report by the Ethical Practices Committee in which the Committee stated that it had determined to conduct a formal investigation. The Committee held a hearing on October 4, 1956. The Laundry Workers' International Union was given copies of all materials considered by the Committee and was given a full opportunity to respond to all of the evidence against it.

On the basis of the hearings and the materials presented to the Committee, the Committee on January 28, 1957, submitted a report to the Executive Council. That report is contained on pages 23-46 of the Supplemental Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Ethical Practices Cases, which has been distributed to the delegates to the AFL-CIO Convention and to the representatives of the Laundry Workers' Union.

3. The Findings of Corrupt Domination and Influence

Briefly summarized the report of the Ethical Practices Committee found that corrupt conduct within the Laundry Workers' International Union had been proved, involving, among other things, diversion by the Union's insurance broker, Louis B. Saperstein, and its Secretary-Treasurer, Eugene C. James, of over \$1,000,000 in insurance premiums, payments for special services, and proceeds of the Local 46 Hotel Division welfare fund. The Committee also found that the Union had not taken adequate steps to clean house. We agree with these findings.

The abuses were so outrageous, the Ethical Practices Committee found, that they should somehow have become evident to the responsible officers of the International Union. The diversion of over \$1,000,000 resulted from a whole variety of "evil practices" taking place over a period of five years: "exceedingly high commissions, kickbacks, special expense payments, payment of premiums to someone other than the insurance carrier, failure to inquire about dividends or about the receipt of claims checks from someone other than the carrier," and a host of other irregularities.

We agree with the Ethical Practices Committee in finding it incredible that such abuses could exist and be carried on over a long period of time if the union officials involved had maintained an incorruptible determination to fulfill the responsibilities and duties of their offices. We also agree with the Committee's conclusion that the leadership of the union, headed by former President Sam J. Byers, had no real understanding of the spirit of ethical union practices.

The Ethical Practices Committee found that "charges of embezzlement envelop Secretary-Treasurer James and have not been denied by him." James took refuge behind the Fifth Amendment when called to testify before the Douglas Subcommittee and refused to appear before the Ethical Practices Committee to explain his conduct. The Committee said that it could only construe his refusal to appear "as a flouting of the procedures established by the AFL-CIO."

Based on the evidence obtained by the Douglas Subcommittee on Welfare and Pension Funds of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and on the record of its hearings, the Ethical Practices Committee further found that there had been wholesale violations of the AFL-CIO guides for health and welfare fund administration in connection with the Laundry Workers' Social Security Fund. The original insurance carrier, the Security Mutual Insurance Company, was not selected, the Committee found, on the basis of competitive bids. Rather, it was selected "because of the outrageously high commission payments" of over 10.5 per cent which the carrier was willing to make to Saperstein, the Union's insurance broker. The Committee also found that the Union chose Saperstein as its insurance broker and consultant because of his willingness to make payments or kickbacks, to particular individuals, including Secretary-Treasurer James. Moreover, Union officials received in addition to their regular full-time salaries, compensation for work in connection with the Fund as trustees of local welfare representatives.

The Committee further found that in addition to the diversion by James of monies properly belonging to the beneficiaries of the Fund, monies in the Fund were used in other ways by Union officials and others directly involved, in violation of AFL-CIO ethical standards. We agree with the Ethical Practices Committee that the entire episode of the use of welfare monies to purchase California Life, which succeeded Security Mutual as the insurance carrier for the Fund, by a syndicate composed in substantial part of officers of the Union and the Social Security Fund, smacks of deliberately contrived opportunities for private profit, and at the expense of the welfare fund.

We agree with the Ethical Practices Committee's rejection of the Union's contention, made in an effort to justify its course of inaction against corruption in the Union, that "no member suffered any losses, in welfare benefits or otherwise, because of any corruption which may have been practiced in this case." Such an attitude only emphasized the Union's insensitivity to appropriate standards of both welfare plan administration and ethical union conduct.

We also agree with the Committee's rejection, in light of the facts disclosed before it, of the Union's explanation of its failure to take effective action against James or even to express indignation at what was evidently "a barefaced falsehood and a corrupt besmirching of the name of the Union." This was in reference to James' denial that he had a separate bank account, notwithstanding clear documentary evidence to the contrary. This special bank account was in the name of the International Union and was controlled exclusively by James. James has steadfastly refused to give the Union an accounting of the deposits in and disbursements from this account, and the Union has steadfastly refused to take proper steps to obtain such an accounting.

The Ethical Practices Committee rejected the Union's further contention, in the face of the evidence disclosed before the Douglas Subcommittee, that the Union should await the outcome of action by public prosecutors before proceeding against James within the Union. We agree with the Committee that guilt under criminal law involves completely different questions from those involved in guilt under ethical union standards. Whatever other individuals or agencies—the employer trustees, insurance company officers, public officials in Insurance Departments, or others—might have done with respect to the proven abuses, the Union clearly had an “independent obligation to its own membership to maintain its own integrity.”

The Ethical Practices Committee pointed out that, although James was no longer Secretary-Treasurer of the Union, he was still a member of the Union and an officer of his own local. “We must conclude,” its report stated, “that the failure to take effective action against James remains as a present demonstration of corrupt influence within this Union.”

Finally, the Committee found that it had been the consistent attitude of the Union that it will “take no initiative in unearthing and correcting abuses,” that the only steps the Union had taken to deal with corruption within its ranks had been “the result of outside pressures,” and that the Union was offering only “excuses or explanations” to justify its lack of effective action. The Committee concluded,

“Indeed, we believe that this Union has no genuine intention to take any effective action with respect to the abuses which are still present.”

On the basis of the evidence detailed in its report, the Ethical Practices Committee concluded that the Laundry Workers' International Union “does not meet the standards for ethical union practices set forth in the AFL-CIO Constitution.”

4. The Action of the Executive Council

On February 5, 1957, the Executive Council, having received the report of the Ethical Practices Committee, and after hearing representatives of the Laundry Workers' International Union, adopted a resolution stating that the union had been found to be in violation of Article VIII, Section 7 of the AFL-CIO Constitution by virtue of being “dominated, controlled and substantially influenced by corrupt influences.” The Executive Council ordered and directed the Union to eliminate these corrupt influences and to correct the abuses set forth in the Ethical Practices Committee's report. The Union was also ordered and directed “to eliminate from holding any position or office, either appointed or elective, in either the International Union or in any of its subordinate bodies, those who tolerated or are responsible for these abuses.” The Council directed the Laundry Workers' Union to “fully and completely comply with the orders and directives to the satisfaction of the Executive Council or stand suspended and face expulsion from the AFL-CIO.”

The Laundry Workers' International Union met in Convention on May 13-15, 1957. The Convention received James' resignation as International Secretary-Treasurer and an announcement by James of his intention to resign as Secretary-Treasurer of Local 46. The

Convention also received the resignation of Sam J. Byers as President of the Union. New Officers—Ralph T. Fagan, a vice president of Local 46, and Mildred Giannini, Secretary of Local 107, Portland, Oregon—were elected to succeed Byers and James as President and Secretary-Treasurer, respectively. Byers, however, was voted the title of President Emeritus, at a full salary of \$18,000 per year, to serve in an advisory capacity to the new president. The report of the Ethical Practices Committee was not read to the Convention, and it subsequently appeared that the new officers knew nothing of the details contained in the report until after their election. There were strong indications that the outcome of the Convention was largely dictated by James.

On May 23, 1957, the Executive Council heard a report from the officers of the Laundry Workers' International Union on the steps they had taken to comply with the Council's directives. It found that the Union "has not in good faith complied with the directives of the Executive Council" and directed that the Union "stand suspended from the AFL-CIO and face expulsion from the AFL-CIO at its forthcoming Convention."

5. Hearing Before the Appeals Committee

The Ethical Practices Committee's findings of unethical practices and corrupt influences were not challenged before us. We have already discussed and indicated our agreement on the merits with the various findings of unethical practices and corrupt influences made by the Ethical Practices Committee.

In a letter to President Meany dated November 12, 1957, which was made part of the record of our hearing, the Laundry Workers' International Union outlined certain steps the Union had taken to comply with the directives and orders of the Executive Council.

Briefly summarized these steps were as follows: James, they said, had resigned from the International and from his Local Union and had no present connection with the labor movement. Your Appeals Committee finds, however, that he still remains a member of the Union and has never given the Union an accounting of the vast sums which he diverted. Byers, the Union said, had been removed as President Emeritus and as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Social Security Department, and he too had no present connection with the labor movement. We find, however, that Byers continues to receive an annual "pension" of \$10,000. The Union stated that all union trustees had been removed from the Board of Trustees of the Social Security Department, and the new trustees were President Fagan, and the Presidents of the St. Louis and Birmingham Locals; that steps had been taken along lines recommended by the AFL-CIO for reorganization of the administration of the Social Security Department; and that the Department was presently under the supervision of Professor Harold Torgerson of Northwestern University. It was also stated by the Union that long periods of trusteeship for Locals were being eliminated, and that existing trusteeships were presently being reviewed. The Laundry Workers' Union contended that, with the exception of holding a new special convention which, they said, would be very costly, it had taken all steps necessary to bring itself into compliance with the directives and orders of the Executive Council.

Findings of the Appeals Committee

On the basis of our specific findings of corrupt and unethical practices under Section 3 above, the Appeals Committee concurs with the finding of the Executive Council on February 5, 1957, that the Laundry Workers' International Union is "dominated, controlled and substantially influenced by corrupt influences." We find that the Union is still unwilling to take full and effective action to correct all the abuses set forth in the report of the Ethical Practices Committee.

The Union's Convention in May 1957 was largely under the domination of former Secretary-Treasurer James. James attended and ran the Executive Board meetings before the Convention, held Executive Board meetings in his room during the convention and obviously dictated the election of a new president and secretary-treasurer by the convention. Your Appeals Committee believes that it is significant that, although President Fagan is a member of James' Local 46, neither he nor the Union have taken any steps to oust him from membership and to obtain an accounting of and to recover from James the funds of the Union converted by him. The Union and its officers have refused to proceed in the courts against James with respect to Union funds diverted by him, although individual members of the Union and the joint trustees of the Social Security Department have brought suits to recover welfare funds diverted by James.

The present leadership of the Union refused President Meany's directive to hold a new convention at which the report of the Ethical Practices Committee could be read to the delegates and at which new officers of the union could be elected. During their appearance before the Appeals Committee the Union's representatives denied that President Meany in a meeting with them in June, 1957, had ordered the union to hold a new convention. The official publication of the Union, in its September 1957 issue, however, stated specifically that "we were given to understand in no uncertain tone by Mr. Meany that we would have to hold a new convention or stand expelled on December 5."

Finally, your Committee finds that there has been no satisfactory explanation of or accounting for a weekly payment of \$200 by the Laundry Workers' International Union to Local 176 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, which the Union alleges is for organizing purposes.

In these circumstances your Appeals Committee does not believe that any reliance can be placed upon assurances of clean unionism in the future on the part of the present leadership of the international union.

Conclusion

In this case, as in the other cases before it, your Committee has been acutely conscious of its responsibility to the workers represented by the Laundry Workers' International Union. These workers are honest trade unionists and are especially entitled to be represented by a Union with a clean, ethical and dedicated leadership because of the long history of low wages and substandard working conditions that has characterized the laundry industry. In that spirit, a representative of President Meany proposed to the Laundry Workers' Inter-

national Union in the past few days, in a last ditch effort to obtain compliance, a program calling for:

1. A special convention within 90 days, at which all present officers would resign at the opening of the Convention, and the Convention would be chaired by a representative appointed by the President of the AFL-CIO;
2. The report of the Ethical Practices Committee to be read in its entirety at, and a copy thereof to be supplied to each delegate to, the special convention;
3. A complete financial report of the International Union, by a certified public accountant, to be ready for the special convention;
4. The special convention to take necessary steps to remove E. C. James from all connection with the International Union, or any subordinate body of the International Union;
5. The incoming officers to be instructed by the special convention to commence court proceedings immediately to recover any and all monies converted by E. C. James from the International Union; and
6. The present officers of the International Union to arrange to have printed in the Laundry Workers' membership paper a full account of the report of the Ethical Practices Committee.

At a meeting of its General Executive Board on December 10, 1957, however, the Laundry Workers' International Union refused to accept these proposals. It stated that it could not agree to hold a special convention within 90 days, allegedly on the grounds that "it would be impossible for our smaller locals and those with limited treasuries to raise the funds necessary to send delegates to a convention within a 90-day period," and that "it is not consistent with our conception of internal democracy to conduct a convention other than as specified in our Constitution." The Union only offered to hold a Convention in accordance with its Constitution "with President Meany or any representative or representatives whom we may select to be accorded the privilege of attending all sessions of any such Convention as an observer."

Your Committee feels that the Laundry Workers' Union's rejection of these proposals made by President Meany's representative, is further and conclusive proof of the lack of a sincere desire on the part of the present leadership of the Union to eliminate corrupt influences from the Union. The proposals comprehend fair and indispensable steps to assure the workers in the laundry industry a union with clean and honest leadership.

We are not impressed with the reasons for the Union's rejection of the proposals particularly in light of the fact that many of the Union's locals have indicated they want a special Convention. Moreover, the Chairman of the Appeals Committee indicated to the representatives of the Union when they appeared before the Committee that he was willing to explore the possibility of aiding small locals to be represented at the special Convention. Furthermore, only some 12 to 15 of the

approximately 55 locals having a membership of less than 100, sent delegates to the Union's May 1957 Convention.

In view of the foregoing the Appeals Committee has unanimously concluded that, while the Laundry Workers' International Union has taken some steps to eliminate improper practices, the steps which it has taken are not sufficient to assure the workers in the laundry industry clean and honest leadership devoted to the interests of its members and devoid of any taint of dishonesty or corruption. We believe, therefore, that we must recommend affirmance of the actions of the Executive Council, rejection of the appeal of the Laundry Workers International Union, and expulsion of the Union from the AFL-CIO.

We therefore make the following specific recommendations:

Recommendations:

On the basis of the testimony and the findings above, the Committee on Appeals recommends to the Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO:

1. That the appeal of the Laundry Workers' International Union from the resolution and statement adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on February 5, 1957 and May 23, 1957, with respect to the Laundry Workers' International Union be rejected;

2. That the Convention affirm the findings of the Executive Council resolution of February 5, 1957 that the Laundry Workers' International Union is dominated, controlled and substantially influenced by corrupt influences;

3. That the Convention affirm the February 5, 1957 and May 23, 1957 resolution and statement of the Executive Council and the suspension of the Laundry Workers' International Union and that the Convention expel the Laundry Workers' International Union from the AFL-CIO.

We make this recommendation fully confident that, if it is accepted by the Convention, the Executive Council will take all measures necessary or appropriate in connection with this matter to safeguard the interests of the workers in the industry, to protect the good name and reputation of the AFL-CIO and to bring about the elimination of corrupt influences.

Respectfully submitted,

COMMITTEE ON APPEALS

Al Hartnett,
Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers,
Acting Chairman

John I. Rollings,
President, Missouri State Labor Council,
Acting Secretary

Alex Rose,
President, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery
Workers International Union

John J. Murphy,
General Secretary, Bricklayers, Masons and
Plasterers International Union of America

I. W. Abel,
Secretary-Treasurer, United Steelworkers of
America

A. J. Bernhardt,
General President, Brotherhood of Railway
Carmen of America

Felix C. Jones,
General President, United Cement, Lime and
Gypsum Workers International Union

Edward J. Leonard,
First Vice President, Operative Plasterers and
Cement Mason's International Association of
the United States and Canada

Harry Sayre,
Executive Vice President, United Paper-
makers and Paperworkers

Atlantic City, New Jersey
December 11, 1957

COMMITTEE SECRETARY ROLLINGS: Mr. Chairman, I move approval of the Committee's report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee, and the motion is to approve.

Is there any representative of the Laundry Workers International Union who wishes to speak on this question?

Brother Fagan, President of the Laundry Workers Union, wishes to speak.

RALPH T. FAGAN, President, Laundry Workers International Union: President Meany, officers of this great Federation of Labor and Delegates to this Honorable Convention:

My name is Ralph T. Fagan; I am president of the Laundry Workers' International Union which is the subject of the committee report just made. I am here only to tell you our side of the facts before you pass judgment upon us. All that we want is a full hearing. We sincerely hope that your minds are open and that you will deliberate carefully before final judgment.

I have spent my entire working life in the laundry industry. I have been a member of the American Federation of Labor for 27 years. I believe that my record of 15 years of service with the Laundry Workers' International Union, Local 46, has been at all times above any criticism. I started as a member of Local 46 of the Laundry Workers' International Union. At our convention held in May of 1957, I was elected general president. The Laundry Workers' International Union has been affiliated with this Federation of Labor since 1900. We realize more than anyone else the fatal character of expulsion from this organization. Our most precious possession is our affiliation with this Federation. We

believe that in the short time since May, 1957 we have taken such important steps to reorganize ourselves that our good faith has been conclusively proved. I have fought and tried each day with all my strength to preserve the status of our International as an affiliate of this Federation. I will tell you soon exactly the concrete steps that we have taken to preserve our relationship.

In the fall of 1956, charges were filed against our International Union in connection with matters brought out by an investigating committee of the United States Senate about operation of the Social Security Department of the International pertaining to our Health and Welfare program. The only person involved in all of these matters who had any connection with our International Union was our then secretary-treasurer. In October, 1956, our then general president appeared with our counsel at a hearing before the Ethical Practices Committee. We were told that the international secretary-treasurer of our organization should be removed from office. This was complied with. However, in February, 1957 the Executive Council of this federation took the position that we had not gone far enough because our former secretary-treasurer still held office with his local union.

Shortly thereafter our legal counsel had another meeting with President Meany and the suggestion was made that the general president of our International should retire because of ill health and general incapacity to serve. Our counsel then told us after this meeting that if a new general president were elected and if the international secretary-treasurer was removed from his office in the local union, we would be in full compliance. Our counsel also told us that he understood from this conversation that the general president could retain the status of president emeritus in order to effect graceful retirement.

We attempted to comply to the very letter with each of these requests. The convention of our International Union was held May, 1957. At that time, our general president resigned and was voted the title of president emeritus, with a pension but no expense allowance. The former secretary-treasurer of our International Union publicly announced on the floor of the convention that he was resigning from his office in the local union so as to make certain that our International could be in full compliance with the suggestions of this Federation. Our general convention was open to the public and to the press. All delegates were accorded full and complete opportunity to nominate candidates and to be heard as they desired. Our officers and executive board were unanimously elected except that there was one contest for office of vice president. However, the present incumbent won this office by a vote of 70,000 to 3,000. Our convention was attended, as we have since been informed, by observers of this Federation. I do not believe that any reason for complaint of any kind existed with reference to the conduct of our convention. At our Convention, four members, who never before served on our General Executive Board, were elected to office, including Mildred Gianini of Portland, Oregon, General Secretary-Treasurer and myself.

Mrs. Mildred Gianini was formerly a trustee of the International and has held no other office. This is the first time that I have held any office of any kind with the International. I cannot talk about myself other than to state that I would resent most strongly any charge that I am dominated by any other person or persons. I will let my

conduct and administration since my election speak for itself. I will shortly tell you in detail the specific things I have accomplished since my election.

After our convention, the officers and executive board of our International were unanimous in the feeling that we had fully complied with all directives of this Federation and that our continued affiliation was assured. The secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Mildred Gianini and I with our legal counsel appeared before the executive council of the AFL-CIO in Washington during May, 1957. At this meeting, we were told in substance that our International was open to criticism on two grounds; first, that our convention was dominated by our former secretary-treasurer; and, secondly, that our former president should not have been granted the title of president emeritus. After our meeting with Executive Council we learned that day from public sources that our International had been ordered suspended by the council because we had not complied in good faith with the recommendations of the committee on ethical practices.

During the latter part of June, 1957, Mrs. Mildred Gianini, our general secretary-treasurer, and I conferred with President Meany, Chairman Albert Hayes of the Ethical Practices Committee and Peter McGavin to acquaint them with our past accomplishments and our hopes for the future. We were told by President Meany that it would be necessary for our International to hold an entirely new convention or stand the penalty of expulsion. We gave long and serious deliberation to this suggestion. A meeting of our general executive board was held in Kansas City on August 29, 1957. The board considered all aspects of this situation at great length. Our unanimous decision was, that holding a new convention would cast an unnecessary financial burden and hardship upon all local unions and would infringe upon the autonomous rights of our International. One very important factor in arriving at this decision was the complete absence of any rank and file request for any special convention, with one exception, where a resolution, requesting another convention was presented by a delegate at a Joint Council meeting, but which was defeated overwhelmingly by secret ballot. On the contrary, our rank and file has shown complete satisfaction with the result reached at our convention. In order to make doubly certain that our position had the full support of our members, we published a full statement of the facts in the September issue of our International newspaper, which was distributed to our entire membership—and set forth that our General Executive Board had decided not to call a special convention. Up to this date, we have not received a single letter, or even a postal card, from any member of our International criticizing our action in this regard. No member has ever called on the telephone to request a special convention. On the contrary, we have received resolutions from a number of our local unions stating that they were in full support of their new General President and Executive Board in the stand taken. It is our considered opinion that we could not, and that any one else in our place could not, consistently with dignity and self-respect, call a special convention and thus, in effect, admit what had never been proved and what is not the fact.

The question now is whether we have at this time shown not by words but by our deeds that we have complied fully with all directives and even with all suggestions of the Ethical Practices Committee. What have we done since this suspension? To begin with, our former presi-

dent then immediately and voluntarily resigned his title of President Emeritus and severed all connection with the labor movement. Today he has no connection of any kind with our International and has no voice of any kind in its administration. As to alleged domination of myself by any other person, all that I can say is that I have never been dominated, that I will not yield to domination at any time in the future and that my only effort and the efforts of the officers and Executive Board of our International will be to operate the International in such manner as to make it a model among labor organizations. Up to this point I have already taken the following concrete steps and have accomplished the following:

All that we could do with reference to the matters which were the subject of the Senate Investigating Committee in connection with operation of the Welfare Fund was to attempt to recover funds which had been reported unlawfully removed after payment of premiums to the insurance company by the Social Security Department. The trustees of the Social Security Department have filed suit in the Superior Court of Cook County and we have taken all possible steps to prosecute this suit so as to make certain that ultimately there will be no net loss to the Social Security Department or that the loss will be as small as possible.

As soon as possible after I took office as International president, I removed the former president from his position as chairman of the trustees of the Social Security Department and I assumed the position in his stead.

I removed from office as trustees of the Social Security Department the two union members who had previously acted. In the past trustees had traditionally been selected from vice presidents of our International. I thought that it was best to divide responsibility and to decentralize control of the Social Security Department. Therefore, I appointed two new trustees; Lester Gallagher, president of our St. Louis local No. 108 and Thomas Archer, secretary and treasurer of our Birmingham, Alabama local No. 373. Although no charges of any kind has been made against any of the previous trustees, I thought it best to start off with a clean slate so as to insure against future criticism.

In a further attempt to obtain decentralization, I have removed the offices of our International from Indiana to Chicago. This will give our International new offices outside of a "right to work" State and it will help to preserve the autonomous independence of the Social Security Department which will stay in Indiana.

Most important of all, I felt immediately that the administration of our Social Security Department required expert assistance of a type which could not be obtained from within the ranks of organized labor. Therefore, with the approval of our executive board, I have retained the services of Professor Harold Torgerson of Northwestern University as a consultant to guide us in the administration of the Social Security Department. Dr. Torgerson is a full professor in the Finance Department of Northwestern University and has a national reputation as an expert in his field. He has served as consultant to various business and governmental groups. Ultimately, I hope that he will guide us in connection with all details of our Welfare Department both as to the installation of proper auditing systems and as to the investment and administration of all funds.

I trust that my administration of our International will produce an increase in our standards as regards employer relationship. I have already notified each and every one of our locals, large and small, that before any labor contract is signed in the future it must be submitted to the office of the International for examination and approval. I will accept full responsibility for my pledge that no sweetheart contracts will exist with my knowledge.

An educational program has been started with International and Local officers to remind our members that they are the Union and that they are sole owners of the International and all of its Locals.

I have publicly announced objection to long trusteeships for local unions. Locals who prove ability to manage their own affairs will have autonomy restored and will assume self-administration under democratic principles. Four locals have already been restored to full privileges and the restoration of ten more is being considered.

Our Local Unions have been completely informed of all International affairs by frequent letters and through the monthly issue of our International newspaper.

Autonomous rights and independence of all Locals will be strengthened. They are being encouraged to accept responsibility for retaining their own membership and for administering their own affairs.

It is only by these concrete accomplishments that I can refute the charge of domination. Domination is a charge which is easily made and which can be refuted only by conduct. I will let my actions in the first six months of my administration speak for themselves and refute the charge.

We are going forward with real accomplishments. Our Health and Welfare Plan and its present administration will compare favorably with any in the United States. The administration of the affairs of our International is now in full compliance with each and all requirements of the Ethical Practices Code of the AFL-CIO. We trust that our history of 57 years of affiliation with this great organization will not now be ended. All of the efforts that we have made as stated to you are based only upon our sincere desire to remain in affiliation with this organization. I know that you will give our situation most careful deliberation before your decision is reached. Our officers and Executive Board and all members through Canada, United States and Mexico are praying together for continuation of our affiliation with you. Our fate is in your hands. We sincerely hope that your decision will be favorable and that we will be accepted back into your brotherhood and seated as delegates to this convention.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Once again I have to take on a disagreeable task. Listening to Brother Fagan, any reasonable person will wonder what stands between this man and his Union and compliance with the direct results of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. He looks like a very reasonable person, and from my conversation with him I think that he is. I know absolutely nothing detrimental to his character. There has been no request made that he eliminate himself from this picture.

However, I think I must fill in a little bit on his address to you. This industry has not been in good hands. When I say industry, I mean

both union and employers. In certain areas of this country this industry has filled up many pages of records with public authorities in regard to its practices.

Brother Fagan says he has been in the AFL for 27 years. That may be. He may hold a card. He has been in the Laundry Workers Union for 15 years. I submit that while he has been in the laundry industry all his life, as he says—and I have no reason to dispute him—that most of his years were spent on the employer side of this industry, that he was for a number of years just prior to becoming President of this local controlled by E. C. James in Chicago the Secretary of the Employers' Association that was dealing with them and he came over in a rapid transition to the presidency of the local union controlled by James.

Who is James? Some years ago he had a Federal Labor Union charter from the American Federation of Labor operating in Detroit. This charter was to organize juke box workers of some kind. President Green revoked this charter about 1948 or 1949—I am not sure of the date—because, in President Greens' charge, the charter was a cover for a racket. It had nothing to do with the business.

When the charter was revoked Mr. James disappeared from the scene, and the Teamsters, through the Vice President in charge of Detroit, issued another charter to a group which was well exposed in recent days by a Senate Committee.

Almost immediately thereafter Mr. James appeared as Secretary-Treasurer of the Laundry Workers International Union.

About two years ago, at an investigation by the Douglas Committee, the records of that investigation, the transcripts, were sent to my office every day, not at my request, not at the request of anyone on my staff, but at the direct order of Senator Douglas, with the open attitude, I might say, that this was something on which he expected the AFL-CIO to take action.

During the hearings before this Committee, it was clear that more than one million dollars had disappeared after going through the hands of James on its way to some insurance company, through the offices of a man by the name of Louis Saperstein from Newark, New Jersey.

This matter was taken up by the Ethical Practices Committee long before there was a McClellan Committee. In fact, this matter was taken up by the AFL itself before there was a merger. The suggestion was made in a letter to the President of the Union long before the merger that he, the President, institute proceedings to recover this money. That was not done, and the matter finally came to the Ethical Practices Committee.

Mr. Fagan reports that last February he was told by his counsel that the counsel had been told by me that if the President and the Secretary would get out, that everything would be O.K. and that I agreed that the President should retire as a Secretary Emeritus, or some such title.

That is not true. The attorney told me he thought that the President should get out, and I did not disagree. Then he said, "Would there be any objection when he got out—he is sick, he is in poor health—if the Union paid him his pension?"

I said, "I don't see how anyone could object to that." I said, "He has not been charged with any crime in this case, but he has been charged with being lax in not supervising the expenditure of the Union's money and keeping watch over these funds." I said, "I don't see how anyone could object to him getting a pension, however, if he retired, if the pension was coming to him."

Now, a convention was held in May of 1957. Mr. Fagan said he was informed that there were observers from the AFL-CIO there. That's absolutely true, and I don't think there was any effort to make that a secret. I asked our organizer in the district to let me know what was happening at the convention, and we found out what was happening.

The Secretary-Treasurer who had retired seemed to be in pretty good control. All of the meetings of the Executive Council, the Executive Board of the Union, held during the convention were held in his suite in the hotel.

Along came Mr. Fagan as President. He said it was like a bolt out of the blue; he had no idea that the mantle was going to fall on him.

He talked to our Executive Council, and I talked to him again. We wanted some action to try to recover this money, and we felt that some action should be taken against James to remove him from membership in the Union.

Of course, we now hear that everything has been running all right. They have a professor—these professors come in handy at times—who is going to guide them. But all of it hangs on one question—would the Laundry Workers agree to the following requests of the AFL-CIO:

1. That a special convention be held at which all present officers would resign and stand for re-election—there is no objection to any of these officers standing for re-election—with a chairman appointed by the President of the AFL-CIO.

2. That the report of the Ethical Practices Committee be read in its entirety at the Convention and a copy of that supplied to each delegate.

3. A complete financial report of the International Union by a certified public accountant be ready for the special convention.

4. The special convention to take necessary steps to remove E. C. James from all connection with the International Union, or any subordinate body of the International Union.

5. The incoming officers to be instructed by the special convention to commence court proceedings immediately to recover any and all monies converted by E. C. James from the International Union.

6. The present officers to arrange to have printed in the Laundry Workers' membership paper a full account of the report of the Ethical Practices Committee.

That was the request. We made no attempt to bar Mr. Fagan or Mrs. Gianini from holding office. We just asked that they submit to an election by the membership after the membership had a complete report as to the affairs of this International Union as seen through the

eyes of the Ethical Practices Committee. There was no attempt to say who could run for office. There was complete authority for everyone now holding office to run. But we wanted the membership to pass judgment when they were in possession of all the facts.

A complete financial report of the Union by a certified public accountant: Well, I'm sure, after listening to Mr. Fagan and seeing him here, you know that he would certainly have no objection to that.

This special convention to take the necessary steps to remove E. C. James from all connection with the Union: Well, I don't think that there would be any great objection to that. This is the man who has been responsible for the disappearance of over a million dollars in premiums of the Welfare Fund and monies of the International Union.

The incoming officers to be instructed by the Convention to take court proceedings: Mr. Fagan refers to court proceedings by the social security group. But there are other monies that belong to the International Union that they should try to recover.

Incidentally, Mr. James is under indictment in the Federal Court on this particular charge of embezzlement.

Then we asked that they print in their paper a full account of the report of the Ethical Practices Committee. Now, what's wrong with that? What's so terrible about that request?

Then, what is so important about it? Well, it is important that the membership, in full knowledge of the situation, freely elect their officers; that the membership, knowing that Mr. James has been removed from membership for his sins against their welfare, and that proceedings were instituted to recover what money they could that he stole, then elect their officers, not barring Mr. Fagan and Mrs. Gianini.

Well, we are told they can't possibly do this. Their General Executive Board met on December 10th, which is just two days ago, and said they could not agree to this because it would be impossible for their small locals and those with limited treasuries to raise the funds necessary to send delegates. And they say, "It is not consistent with our conception of internal democracy to conduct a convention other than as specified in our Constitution."

As to the second point, of course, they can hold to that point and say that they are going to adhere to their Constitution. And, of course, I am quite sure they will accord the same right to the AFL-CIO to adhere to its Constitution.

On the question of funds, I wonder if the AFL-CIO agreed in cases where it was a hardship for the smaller locals to finance their delegates to a special convention, if we agreed to find the money would the Laundry Workers then accept this very reasonable proposal of the AFL-CIO?

Now, this man looks all right and his remarks here make me wonder why it is that he could not accept our proposal.

We feel there is every reason to believe that up until this present moment the same forces that controlled this Union may be still in control. The way to make sure that they do not maintain control is to get the Union back into the hands of its members; and the way to do that is a special convention at which the members, with full knowledge of what

has gone on, would take the steps necessary to remove the person responsible for the theft of their money, authorize their officers to try to recover what money they could, and then elect those officers by the free vote of the Convention.

I do not think that the AFL-CIO made any unreasonable demands on this International Union, considering all things. But we cannot accept the idea that all of this hinges on the ability of the locals to finance a convention. And I now say to Mr. Fagan, without any authority from anyone—just my own idea—that I will attempt to relieve this particular feature of the problem and help those unions, smaller unions who do not have the treasury to send delegates to that convention if he will agree and his Board will agree to accept the recommendations of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Are there any further remarks on this question?

Has Mr. Fagan any further comment?

If not, we will proceed to vote on the recommendation of the Appeals Committee. Those voting yes to favor the report of the Appeals Committee and its recommendations, and those voting no against the report. Secretary Schnitzler will call the roll.

... At this time Secretary Schnitzler called the roll.

ROLL CALL ON RECOMMENDATION OF APPEALS COMMITTEE

(Expulsion of Laundry Workers' International Union)

VOTING YES

International Unions

Actors—Duncan, Shanks, Lewis, Faine, Somerset.

Agricultural Workers—Mitchell, Jackson.

Asbestos Workers—Sickles, Mulligan.

Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers—Reuther, Mazey, Gosser, Matthews, Woodcock, Greathouse, Merrelli, Morris, Burt, Cote, McAulay, Michael, Robinson, O'Malley Ross, Ballard, Berndt, Johnston, Letner, Bioletti, Gerber, Kerrigan.

Barbers—Birthright, Crane, Husk, Robinson, Sanders, Weibel.

Boilermakers—Calvin, MacGowan, Buckley, Eberhardy, Kearney, Boggs, Nacey, Nolan.

Brewery Workers—Feller, Gilden, Rusch, Brady, Helm.

Bricklayers—Bates, Murphy (J. J.), Connors, Murphy (T. F.), O'Donnell, McHugh, Murray.

Brick and Clay Workers—Flegal, Tracy, Gatehouse, Santo.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Lyons, Downes, Bauers, Boyen, McCarthy, Lyons, Jr., Hansen, McDonald.

Broadcast Workers—Smith.

Building Service Employees—McFetridge, Fairchild, Sullivan, Collins, Hardy, Burke, Shortman, Hearn, Levey.

Carmen, Railway—Bernhardt, O'Brien, Winters, Doll, Duffin, Zloty.

Carpenters—Hutcheson, Stevenson, Blaier, Livingston, Chapman, Johnson, Jr., Rajoppi, Schwarzer, Chandler, Roberts, Cambiano, Cooper, Kenney, Meinert, Hartley, Sidel.

Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers—Jones, Gallo, Roe, Thomas, Schoenberg.

Chemical Workers—Mitchell, Shafer, Boyle, Inge.

Cigarmakers—Azpeitia, Haines, Jones.

Clerks, Post Office—House, Hallbeck, Burleson, Klein, Latragna, Mitchell, Wall.

Clerks, Railway—Harrison, Gibbons, Goble, Kinley, Morgan, McGovern, Shaw, Sylvester, Leslie, Locher.

Clerks, Retail—Suffridge, Housewright, Sackett, Shea, Meyers, Ammond, Crossler, Hansen, Plopper, McDavid.

Clothing Workers—Potofsky, Blumberg, Rosenblum, Bellanca, Block, Chatman, Hollander, Monah, Salerno, Weinstein.

Communications Workers—Beirne, Hannah, Hanscom, Flecher, Hackney, Smallwood, Dunne, Gill, McCowan, Walsh.

Coopers—Doyle.

Doll and Toy Workers—Damino, Gordon, Russo, Failla.

Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—Carey, Hartnett, Block, Riley, Suarez, Weibrauch, Hutchens, Snoots, Click, Palmer.

Electrical Workers—Freeman, Keenan, Riley, Dove, Duffy, Liggett, Loftis, Zicarelli, Farquhar, Pearson, Marciante.

Engineers, Operating—Maloney, Delaney, Converse, Stuhr, Paluska, Carman, Wharton, Bronson, Reardon, Sr.

Engineers, Technical—Stephens.

Firemen and Oilers—Matz, Tormey, Kennedy, Fredenberger, Caselman.

Flight Engineers—Petty, Jr.

Furniture Workers—Pizer, Fulford, Decicco, Stefan, McCormick.

Garment Workers, Ladies—Dubinsky, Antonini, Nagler, Zimmerman, Stulberg, Hochman, Rubin, Greenberg, Appleton, Cohen, Matheson.

Glass and Ceramic Workers—Reiser, McCracken, Beard, Rust, Martin.

Glass Bottle Blowers—Minton, Dalton, Black, Reed, Zimmerman, Alameida.

Glass Workers, Flint—Scheff, Cook, Oliver, Ostendorf.

Government Employees—Campbell, Johnson, Kelly.

Hatters—Rose, Lewis, Deckler, Goldberg, Mendelowitz.

Hod Carriers—Moreschi, Fosco, Morreale, Waldron, Smith, Sullivan, Sheets, Lalor, Taylor, Garvey, Odum, Madden.

Horse Shoers—Miller.

Hosiery Workers—Janaskie, Banachowicz, Leader.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees—Miller, Weinberger, Callahan, Kaczmarek, Koenig, Moe, Riley, Rogan, Sarriks, Siegal.

Industrial Workers, Allied—Griepentrog, Jewell, Backinger, La Page, Evans, Smigel.

Insurance Workers—Gillen, Higginson, McDermott.

Jewelry Workers—Morris, Powell, Gonzalez, Gammerino.

Lathers—Mashburn, McSorley, Haggerty, Matthews.

Letter Carriers—Doherty, Cahill, Esposito, Farrell, Griebing, Healy, Wimbish.

Lithographers—Canary, Liberatore, Slater, Stone, Swayduck.

Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen—Gilbert, Phillips, Scott, Lampley, Tudor.

Longshoremen—Long, Connors, Trainor.

Machinists—Hayes, Burrows, Carey, Snider, Peterson, Walker, Coonley, Melton, Brown, McGlon, Schollie, Siemiller, White, Gibson, McDonald, De More.

Maintenance of Way Employees—Carroll, Noakes, Wilson, Freccia, Padgett, Plondke, Lambert, Crotty.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers—McCarthy, Conway, Hughes.

Marine and Shipbuilding Workers—Grogan, Blood, Derwin, Pettis, Williams, Jr.

Marine Engineers Beneficial Association—Daggett, Altman, Calhoon.

Maritime Union—Curran, Hoyt, Ramos, Nayer, Martin.

Masters, Mates and Pilots—Atkins, Bishop, Weinstein.

Meat Cutters—Lloyd, Gorman, Belsky, Kelly, Hook, Poole, Wentz, Twedell, Scheurich, Schachter.

Molders—Sample, Rath, Lazzerini, Voit, Reynolds, Sr., Smith.

Musicians—Petrillo, Charette, Sidell, Ringius, Field, Plummer, Davis.

Newspaper Guild—Farson, Perlik, Jr., Collis, Thompson.

Office Employees—Coughlin, Hicks, Julian, Springman.

Oil and Chemical Workers—Knight, McCormick, Swisher, Schafer, Davidson, Phelps, Hanscom, Emrick.

Packinghouse Workers—Helstein, Hathaway, Stephens, Lasley, Dowling, Hayes, Bull.

Painters—Rafferty, Rohrberg, Meehan, Owens, Skoglund, Baker, Yablonsky.

Paper Makers and Paper Workers—Phillips, Sayre, Grasso, Addy, Noren, Scott, Daggett.

Plasterers—Rooney, Leonard, Hauck, Tantillo, McDevitt, Boyle.

Plumbers—Meany, Schoemann, McCartin, O'Neill, McLaughlin, De Nike, Humphrey, Mazzola, Poag.

Porters, Sleeping Car—Randolph, Webster, Dellums.

Postal Transport Association—Nagle, Legge.

Potters—Wheatley, Dales, Bohannon, Null.

Printing Pressmen—Dunwody, Gooze, Maxted, De Andrade, Turner, Torrence, Rohan.

Pulp and Sulphite Workers—Burke, Tonelli, Barnes, Segal, Meinz, Stewart, Jackman, Wray.

Radio and Television Directors Guild—Novik.

Railway Employees, Street—Spradling, McNamara, McConnell, Bierwagen, Gormley, Dyer, Mischo, Elliott.

Railways Supervisors—Nuter.

Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union—Greenberg, Heaps, Paley, Bail, Osman, Kovenetsky, Lowenthal.

Roofers—Aquadro, Spinelli, Hurley, Buberbier.

Rubber, Cork, Linoleum, Plastic Workers—Buckmaster, Childs, Walker, Maile, Skiffington, Musselman, Gash, Brown.

Seafarers—Hall, Weisberger, Gomez, Banks, Bennett, Turner.

Signalmen—Clark, Fields, Park, Wilson.

Stage Employees—Walsh, Holmden, Green, McNabb, Finegan, Mungovan.

State, County and Municipal Employees—Zander, Chapman, Murray, McEntee, Morgan, Bailey, McCormick, Wurf.

Steelworkers—McDonald, Abel, Hague, Germano, Medrick, Robb, Whitehouse, Sefton, Johns, Shane, Rusen, Crajciar, Smith, Maurice, Carcella, Newell, Kojetinsky, Ohler, Burns, Farr.

Stone and Allied Workers—Scott, Lawson, Blaylock, Weyandt.

Stove Mounters—Roberts, Kaiser, Keller.

Teachers—Megel, Borchardt, Fewkes, McGinnis, Jr., Roth.

Telegraphers, Railroad—Leighty, Manion.

Telegraphers, Commercial—Allen, Freeman, Hageman, Hemby.

Textile Workers Union—Pollock, Chupka, Rieve, Belanger, Payton, Stetin, Daoust, Gordon, Canzano.
 Tobacco Workers—O'Hare, Petree, Blane.
 Trainmen, Railroad—Kennedy, Weil, See, Henslee.
 Transport Service Employees—Winchester.
 Transport Workers Union—Quill, Guinan, Kaelin, Horst, Faber, Attreed, Sheehan.
 Utility Workers—Fisher, Pachler, Straub, Munger, McGrath, Shedlock.
 Woodworkers—Hartung, Botkin, Morris, Christie, Roley, Hanna.

Departments

Building and Construction Trades Department—Gray.
 Industrial Union Department—Reuther.
 Maritime Trades Department—O'Reilly.
 Metal Trades Department—Brownlow.
 Union Label and Service Trades Department—Lewis.

State Federations of Labor

Arizona—Brown.
 Colorado—Anderson.
 Connecticut—Rourke.
 Kansas—Holly.
 Maine—Dorsky.
 Maryland—Cohen.
 Missouri—Rolliggs.
 Tennessee—Smith.
 Utah—Gulbransen.
 West Virginia—Stanley.

Central Labor Unions

Akron, Ohio—Dugan.
 Alameda County, Calif.—Ash.
 Ashland County, Ohio—Hackett.
 Binghamton, N. Y.—Miller.
 Bristol, Conn.—Sviridoff.
 Canton, (Greater), Ohio—Wycoff.
 Clearfield, Pa.—Le Blanc.
 Defiance, Ohio—Schmidt.
 Delaware County, Pa.—Mullen.
 Denver, Area, Colorado—Youngs.
 Fitchburg, Mass.—Lavoie.
 Fond du Lac, Wis.—Richter.
 Fresno, Calif.—O'Rear.
 Green Bay, Wis.—O'Malley.
 Harrisburg Region, Pa.—Eby.
 Johnson City, Tenn.—Houk.
 Kenton & Cambell Counties, Ky.—Koester.
 Knoxville, Tenn.—Comer.
 Lake Charles, La.—Flory.
 Lancaster, Pa.—Medrick.
 Manchester, N. H.—Martel.
 Memphis, Tenn.—Crawford.
 Warren County, N. J.—McLaughlin.

Peru, Ind.—Cover.
Polk County, Iowa—Turk.
Portland (Greater), Maine—Howe.
Reading & Burke County, Pa.—Seyfert.
Salisbury, Md., Del-Mar-Va Peninsula—Reynolds.
Sheboygan County, Wis.—Schuette.
Shreveport, La.—Oliver.
Springfield, Ill.—Bonansinga.
Wichita, Kans.—Kitchen.
York County, Pa.—Clinch.

Local Unions

83, Highland Park, Mich.—O'Keefe.
520, Philadelphia, Pa.—McCaffrey.
1746, Washington, D. C.—Rubin.
16303, New York, N. Y.—Varrone.
18007, Chicago, Ill.—McGuigan.
18205, New York, N. Y.—Ribando.
18267, Cleveland, Ohio—Kozak.
18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—Dever.
19806, Milwaukee, Wis.—LeClair.
20665, Baltimore, Md.—Albert.
21690, Chicago, Ill.—Soderstrom.
21914, Watertown, Mass.—Percoco.
22177, Detroit, Mich.—Shipp.
22636, East Chicago, Ind.—Chlebowski.
23010, Ludington, Mich.—Adams.
23091, Shreveport, La.—Flory.
23132, Passaic, N. J.—Truatt.
23823, Newark, Ohio—Johnson.
24314, Terre Haute, Ind.—Auttersen.
24628, Exeter, N. H.—Walkinshaw.

VOTING NO

International Unions

Garment Workers, United—McCurdy, King, Jordan, Bailey, Pohlsen.

Mechanics Educational Society—Baumgartner, Nakliski, Severo, Marks, Lahey.

Central Labor Unions

Phoenix, Ariz.—Sebastyen.

NOT VOTING

International Unions

Air Line Pilots—Sayen, Tuxbury, Rhoan, Leroux.
Aluminum Workers—Stahl, Cowley, Moffett, Horn.
Bill Posters and Billers—Gilmour.
Bookbinders—Haskin, Connolly, Williams, Denny.
Boot and Shoe Workers—Mara, McGonigal, Lawson, Hutchison, Frieda.

Elevator Constructors—Smith, Barton, Magee.
 Engravers, Photo—Connell, Nyegaard, Seitz, Burke.
 Fire Fighters—Beale, Buck, Barry, McGuire.
 Glass Cutters, Window—McCabe.
 Glove Workers—Durian.
 Granite Cutters—Pagnano.
 Insurance Agents—Russ, Heisel, Shine.
 Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers—Zukowsky, Aute-
 rino, Wieselberg, Feinstein, Friss.
 Leather Workers Union—Freeman, Duffy.
 Metal Workers, Sheet—Byron, Carlough, Cronin, Bonadio, Ma-
 cioce, Bruns.
 Millers, Grain—Ming, Schneider.
 Pattern Makers—Lynch.
 Polishers, Metal—Muehlhoffer, Scheuermann, Oates, Wilburn.
 Post Office and Postal Transportation Service, Mail Handlers,
 Watchmen and Messengers—McAvoy.
 Printers, Plate—Connor.
 Shoe Workers, United—Pence, Wilson, De Novellis, McCarthy,
 Biegler, Terry.
 Special Delivery Messengers—Warfel.
 Stereotypers and Electrotypers—Sampson, Feeney.
 Stone Cutters—Henson.
 Switchmen—Fleete, Collins, McDaniels.
 Textile Workers of America, United—Schaufenbil, Hyman, Ru-
 bino, Cole, Sgambato.
 Train Dispatchers—Springer.
 Typographical Union—Randolph, Hillyer, McGlothlin, Reilly, Pat-
 ten, Herrmann, Duffy.
 Upholsterers—Hoffman, Rota, Remshardt, Albarino, Bucher,
 Stoney.
 Weavers, Wire—Powers.
 Yardmasters—Schoch.

Departments

Railroad Employees Department—Fox.

State Federations of Labor

Alabama—Weeks.
 Alaska—McFarland.
 Arkansas—Williams.
 Delaware—Lemon.
 Georgia—Cetti.
 Iowa—Mills.
 Louisiana—Bussie.
 Minnesota—Sherburne.
 Mississippi—Bryant.
 Montana—Umber.
 Nebraska—Preble.
 Nevada—Paley.
 New Hampshire—Moriarty.
 New Mexico—Robles.
 North Carolina—Barbee.
 Oregon—Marr.
 Puerto Rico—Sanchez.

South Carolina—Young.
South Dakota—Shrader.
Texas—Schmidt.
Vermont—Cross.
Virginia—Boyd.
Washington—Weston.
Wyoming—Shafto.

Central Labor Unions

Aiken, S. C.—Dernoncourt.
Albert Lea, Minn.—Cooley.
Alexandria, La.—Soule.
Anchorage, Alaska—Hartlieb.
Appleton, Wis.—Succa.
Asheville, N. C.—Jervis.
Austin, Texas—Edwards.
Barre, Vermont—Dykeman.
Bastrop, La.—Kreger.
Baton Rouge, La.—Bedell.
Bluefield, W. Va. (Mercer County)—Edwards.
Bogalusa, La.—Luttrell.
Boulder, Colo. (County)—Cooper.
Brockton, Mass.—Lavigne.
Bucks County, Pa.—Flatch.
Cattaraugus and Allegheny Counties, N. Y.—Easley.
Centre County, Pa.—Willar.
Charlotte, N. C.—James.
Chattanooga, Tenn.—Williams.
Chester County, Pa.—Henderson.
Clark, Skamania and West Klickitat Counties, Wash.—Smith.
Clinton, Indiana—Coakley.
Columbia, S. C.—Kirkland.
Columbus, Ind.—Howard.
Council Bluffs, Iowa—Davis.
Dade County, Florida—Owens.
Decatur, Ala.—Williams.
Duluth, Minn.—Olson.
El Dorado, Ark.—McCullar.
Elk, Cameron & Jefferson Counties, Pa.—McCluskey.
Eugene, Oregon—Willis.
Fayette County, Pa.—Cook, Jr.
Gibson County, Ind.—Soucie.
Grand Island, Nebr.—Noble.
Grand Junction, Colo.—Williams.
Honolulu, Hawaii—Reile.
Hot Springs, Ark.—Dicus.
Hot Spring-Clark Counties, Ark.—Smith.
Humbolt County, Calif.—Gruhn.
Huntingdon County, Pa.—Caldwell.
Jonesboro, Ark.—Wilkerson.
Jonesboro-Hodge, La.—Bourg, Sr.
Kalamazoo, Mich.—Bailey.
Kingsport, Tenn.—Petty.
King County, Wash.—Carr.
LaGrande, Ore.—Ahrens.
Lafayette, Ind.—Koning.
Lake County, Ohio—Bukky.

Lawrence County, Pa.—Kovach.
 Lawrence, Kans.—Yount.
 Lebanon County, Pa.—McDaniels.
 Lansing, Mich.—Tubbs.
 Lubbock, Texas—Edwards.
 Lynchburg, Va.—Switzer.
 Madison, Wis.—Huffman.
 Marshall, Texas—Graham.
 Marshall County, W. Va.—Hess.
 Mid Columbia, Ore.—Harrison.
 Muskegon, Mich.—Tyler.
 Nashua, N. H.—Pitarys.
 New Britain, Conn.—O'Brien.
 New Orleans, La.—Winters.
 Newport, R. I.—Fournier.
 Niagara County, N. Y.—Jordan.
 Oak Ridge, Tenn.—Ray.
 Oklahoma City, Okla.—Ward.
 Omaha, Nebr.—Silbasek.
 Panama, C. Z.—Price.
 Philip, Lee and Monroe Counties, Ark.—Smith.
 Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—Sorenson, Sr.
 Riverside, Calif.—Rees.
 Rochester, Minn.—Smith.
 Rome, Ga.—O'Shea.
 Sacramento, Calif.—Finks.
 St. Albans, Vt.—St. Amour.
 St. Helens, Oregon—Hill.
 Saint Louis, Mo.—Webb.
 Saint Paul, Minn.—Radman.
 San Bernardino, Calif.—Wilson.
 Saratoga County, N. Y.—Diliberto.
 Savannah, Ga.—Robinson.
 Southwestern Oregon, Ore.—Haughey.
 Spokane, Wash.—McCormick.
 Springfield, Mo.—Moore.
 Steele County, Minn.—Woodfill.
 Sturgis & St. Joseph County, Mich.—Scholle.
 Stillwater, Minn.—Hess.
 Sullivan County, N. H.—Walsh.
 Texas City, Texas—Le Unes.
 Topeka, Kans.—Robinson.
 Tri-County, W. Va.—Brown.
 Tucson, Ariz.—Brown.
 Vincennes, Ind.—Miller.
 Washington County, Ore.—Dusten.
 Washington, D. C. (Greater)—Preller.
 Western Maryland, Md.—Stuzman.
 Willimantic, Conn.—La Porte.
 Winchester-Front Royal, Va.—Lillard.
 Winnebago County, Wis.—Jeske.
 Yuma County, Ariz.—Gray.

Local Unions

1805, Indianapolis, Ind.—Thornton.
 1821, Seattle, Wash.—Johansen.
 14712, Philadelphia, Pa.—Bowman.

18032, New York, N. Y.—Weintraub.
 18419, Massillon, Ohio—Gradijan.
 18527, Chicago, Ill.—Disselhorst.
 18671, Cleveland, Ohio—McCourt.
 19469, Chicopee Falls, Mass.—Ricardi.
 19620, Rochester, N. Y.—Zeller.
 20467, Chicago, Ill.—Currie.
 20538, Auburn, N. Y.—Walter.
 20572, Toledo, Ohio—Ten Eyck.
 20610, Woodland, Calif.—Angelo.
 20711, St. Louis, Mo.—Rubin.
 21432, Boston, Mass.—Sullivan.
 21538, Blackwell, Okla.—Campbell.
 21664, Syracuse, N. Y.—Galuski.
 21877, Chicago, Ill.—Klass.
 22254, Philadelphia, Pa.—Murphy.
 22543, Springfield, Ohio—Overholser.
 22623, Philadelphia, Pa.—Golden.
 22631, Milwaukee, Wis.—Cudahy.
 23068, Erie, Pa.—Baumgartner.
 18456, 19322, Kenosha, Wis.—Whiteside.
 23433, Gowanda, N. Y.—Badurek.
 23478, Canandaigua, N. Y.—Manganaro.
 23773, Dayton, Ohio—Ballard.
 23843, Duluth, Minn.—Schaller.
 23983, Syracuse, N. Y.—Catalano.
 24111, Milwaukee, Wis.—Taylor.
 24369, Waterbury, Conn.—Lynch.
 24058, Lawrence, Mass.—Callahan.
 24410, Climax, Colorado—Gray.
 24426, Upton, N. Y.—Stibel.
 24760, Bridgeport, Conn.—Burns.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the calling of the roll on the report of the Committee on Appeals. I will give you the total which, of course, may be subject to some minor corrections when we recheck. The total is 12,680,586 votes yes. The no votes were 89,469.

I declare the report and recommendations of the Appeals Committee adopted by more than a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Appeals.

ACTING COMMITTEE SECRETARY ROLLINGS: Chairman Rose has asked me to announce that that concludes the work of the Committee, whose personnel is as follows:

Alex Rose, Chairman
 John J. Murphy, Secretary
 I. W. Abel
 A. J. Bernhardt
 Al Hartnett
 Felix C. Jones
 Edward J. Leonard
 John I. Rollings
 Harry Sayre

COMMITTEE ON APPEALS

PRESIDENT MEANY: That ends the work of the Appeals Committee. I want to express to them the thanks of the Convention for the job they have done, which I am sure was not too pleasant, but just had to be done.

At this time I presume it is the desire of the delegates to proceed and finish our business, which should not take a great deal of time.

The next order of business is the election of officers, and I will call upon Vice President Al Hayes to take the chair.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Nomination of President

VICE PRESIDENT HAYES: The Chair will call for and entertain nominations for the office of President of this Federation.

The Chair recognizes Vice President Walter Reuther.

VICE PRESIDENT REUTHER: Brother Chairman and fellow delegates: Once again I have the high privilege and the distinct honor of placing in nomination the name of a man in whose hands we so wisely placed the responsibilities of leadership two years ago at the founding Convention. During these two years he has given our movement firm and dedicated leadership; and I believe that we can all agree that we have moved far along the road of reestablishing and rededicating the American labor movement to the high principles upon which it has been built, and have renewed our determination to pursue this course in service of the needs of our membership.

The period ahead will be a difficult period, and I am convinced that under his leadership we shall continue to make an increasing contribution in the efforts to win for American wage earners an increasing measure of economic and social justice, and that we shall build more strongly the forces of determination both at home and in the world, and win for people everywhere a greater sense of security and dignity and build more securely freedom and peace for peoples everywhere.

So I am privileged to place in nomination the name of a good plumber, a great trade union leader, my good friend George Meany.

VICE PRESIDENT HAYES: George Meany's name has been placed in nomination.

Are there any further nominations?

The Chair recognizes the President of the United Association, Peter Schoemann.

DELEGATE SCHOEMANN, United Association of Plumbers: Two years ago at the first New York Convention, we laid the foundation for the building of a new home for a united labor movement, by uniting and adopting a new constitution and the election of a President and Executive Council to guide and direct the destinies of the new Federation.

We knew that upon the foundation we built a new home for labor would be open to many families and different groups of international and national labor unions,—and that peace and harmony must reign, if these families were to live and flourish in the new home of labor.

The architect of the dreams and hopes of the delegates to the New York Convention—to rear and build this superstructure of peace and concord among and between the different groups of families and unions, was found in the selection of the man chosen to lead us as President.

The skeptics and the Doubting Thomases scoffed and said—"Unity—they are united by a rope of sand." Little did the skeptics know how well we laid the foundation at New York, nor did they rightly appraise the quality and caliber of our leader and architect.

Hardly had the gavel descended adjourning the first Convention when the troublesome question of jurisdiction between the Building Trades Department and the Industrial Union Department was raised. But jurisdictional disputes did not prevent the architect from finishing the superstructure. He conferred with both sides; he submitted proposals and counter proposals; he urged tolerance for the other fellow's point of view; he brought fairness, intelligence and leadership into the discussion—yes, light—and the avenue for settlement, when heat and thunder were generated from both sides.

Just at the time when the dispute between the two departments was at its highest the House of Labor was rocked and staggered by the expose' of the McClellan Committee. Our architect met and saved the situation. With a bold and courageous leadership he issued a clarion call to clean the House of Labor, and for a re-dedication of all dwellers within the House of Labor to the ideals and cause of labor.

The House of Labor has been strengthened by these assaults, both from within and without the ranks of labor. The foundation has been and is more firmly built and the superstructure has now housed within its walls loyal clean trade unionists—dedicated to serving God, their country and their fellowman. The new House of Labor was blessed with a courageous leader during the past two years—moral and intellectual leadership of the highest type was our selection in New York.

It is a truism that history repeats itself. The history of the labor movement demonstrates that in every crisis the labor movement produces from its ranks one born, by nature and by God, to wear the mantle of a leader.

In the crisis of 1886, the American Federation of Labor had its revered and renowned Samuel Gompers. In the depression and the division in 1935 the Congress of Industrial Organizations had its brave and beloved Phillip Murray, and likewise the AFL came forth with a dynamic leader, Bill Green.

Following the pattern of history, the new Federation, in its hour of crisis, has produced from the ranks of labor a great and distinguished leader who has rallied and unified the forces of labor, met the challenge of the hour with firmness and courage—our own George Meany.

As General President of the United Association, I am honored and proud to second the nomination of George Meany,—a member of Plumbers Local No. Two of the United Association, for the office of President of the AFL-CIO.

CHAIRMAN HAYES: Are there any further nominations? If not, the Chair will declare nominations closed and instruct the Secre-

tary of the Convention to cast the white ballot, the unanimous vote of this Convention, for George Meany for President of the AFL-CIO.

Election of President

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZLER: Mr. Chairman, in accordance with your instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this Convention for George Meany as President of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term.

CHAIRMAN HAYES: I now declare George Meany duly elected as President of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term.

(Applause.)

PRESIDENT MEANY: My good friend Al Hayes, members of the Executive Council and delegates to this Convention: First may I express to Walter Reuther and Pete Schoemann my deep appreciation for the many nice things they said about me. I would like to show my appreciation to the delegates at the end of this long Convention in which the attendance, and the attention of the delegates has been really phenomenal. I imagine the best way I could do that would be to shut my mouth and sit down. Unfortunately, I have to follow custom.

I would like to say that two years ago when we brought the CIO and AFL together and we went through that very emotional experience in the city of New York, at the conclusion of that Convention there was sort of a letdown. You took a look at things and saw them, I think, in perhaps a little better perspective than you did in the excitement that was attendant at that Convention, and of course that came about because of the feeling of elation and happiness that we had ended the war in the American trade union movement.

But in the cold, gray light of the morning after, as they say, I wondered if the war had really ended, and I came to the conclusion that we still had a long way to go. I still think we have a long way to go. However, I am by no means pessimistic. I think we have made a tremendous amount of progress.

I can say to you here quite frankly today that in the so-called upper echelon, or, as they have been called, the 29 dictators, the members of the Executive Council, the 27 Vice Presidents, and the Secretary and the President, there is no AFL, there is no CIO. That has disappeared.

We have made progress at the state level. We have some disappointments. I am not going into the reasons why we were not able to bring about the merger of all of our State Federations of Labor. We have hit the two-thirds mark, which I think is pretty good, and I am quite sure that it will not be very long before we have functioning in every State a good, sound State body made up of the former State Industrial Councils of the CIO and the State Federations of the AFL.

That, of course, is tremendously important. The State Federations of Labor play a tremendously important part in the work of the trade union movement in this country, far more important than their voting strength at the convention would indicate. However, that job has still to be done.

A number of important things have been done at this Convention. I am quite sure that you have heard enough of corruption and ethical

practices, and I am not going to burden you with that subject any more, except to say that the important thing about it is that we have demonstrated that we are reluctant to throw people out of the house of labor; that we only do it when there is no other way, and that we do it in the full knowledge that it presents dangers to us, but with the complete conviction that in the long run labor will be better off for what we have done here this week.

As American citizens—and that we are before we consider ourselves trade unionists—we have a job to do. We have a job to see to it that we maintain the high standards of the American economy that we have learned to love; that we continue to prove to the rest of the world that through this democratic system, through this system under which we are free to work or not to work, under which we are free to make mistakes, if you please, under which we are free to work through the instrumentality of the trade union movement, we will further the thinking, the desires, the ideals and the purposes of the workers of this great country.

We know without question that only through the maintenance of free unions can this dynamic economy, which we have here in the United States, keep up its forward progress. Only through the maintenance of a high level of purchasing power can we produce the things that the people must have in order to maintain their standard of living.

It is almost trite to say it, but it is still true that there are not enough people in the ten-thousand-dollar class and up to buy all the automobiles, the washing machines, the radios, the televisions and the other good things of life that we can produce.

There would not be many automobiles or washing machines or all these good things that we associate with the American way of life if the consumption of these articles were confined to those in the so-called upper brackets.

Yes, we are proud of what the American trade union movement has achieved. We are proud of the fact that you can go through the small towns, the suburbs of our big cities where the people who work for wages live with their families, and see house after house with a television aerial, see every evidence of some modern comfort for these workers and their families. And we contend, without undue modesty let me say, that the trade union movement is largely responsible for the maintenance of this high standard.

It is important from another point of view entirely apart from the material aspects and the impact on our daily lives. It is important to maintain this economy so that we can defend this way of life against those who believe in a totalitarian philosophy.

Our job is to stick to our knitting, stick to the simple purposes of the trade union movement—bring about and build on more achievements to the achievements of the past—and that must be done basically in the American old-fashioned way. You organize so that workers can collectively impress the fact on the employer that they are entitled to a fair share of the wealth produced by this system, by investment capital, management, employer and labor. We have no argument with the system; we just want our share because we know the system cannot continue to work unless we get our share.

So we sell this idea to those who have yet to feel the impact of trade unionism and the benefits that come from the application of the principles of our organization.

Let's go back to these first principles. Yes, I know it has been difficult. We know it is difficult and we know the reasons for the difficulty. We know that we have an area in this country that is backward, backward in a good many ways—backward in its concept of what is right, backward in its concept of what God intended when he made man. They have yet to accept the concept of equality for all men. So they have to be educated as part of this process of building up our standards. That is one of the obstacles that stands in our way in organizing, and we are quite aware of it.

But I can say to you that, although our organizing drive has been slowed up—we don't deny that—we haven't given up the idea. We still think that organizing the unorganized is the first and fundamental purpose of the trade union movement, that it is a prerequisite to doing anything to improve their conditions. You can't improve their conditions until you get them to know what it is all about and get them to work together with their fellow workers in seeing to it that their way of life is improved.

In that way we improve the standard of living not only of the millions of people who hold membership in our Unions but for the millions upon millions who are unorganizable, let us say, who are not responsive to organization: To the employer, to the banker, to the local grocery man, to the drugstore proprietor. Everything we do enhances the American way of life from their points of view as well as our own.

We have a responsibility to our members and to our nation and to our neighbors, even those who perhaps are still not convinced that there is anything good about a trade union—yes, even to the employers, who, if we allow them to go their own way, would destroy the very system that has brought them profits and comfort in the past. We have a great responsibility to humanity to keep this nation as the leader of the free world.

All of these things come right back to the simple, basic purpose. If we organize well, if we bargain well, we will build up our standards. From these standards will flow benefits to the community, to society as a whole, to the nation as a whole; and, finally, to all free peoples in all parts of the world.

I am confident as the result of this Convention, as the result of the actions taken here, that we have the machinery of the trade union movement in good shape, that it is ready to move forward. It may not move as fast at all times as we would like it to do, but it will always move forward.

Thank you very much.

Nomination of Vice Presidents

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now we will call for nominations of Vice Presidents of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

As you all know, we have 27 Vice Presidents. There is no specific procedure laid out in the Constitution to elect these Vice Presidents except that the Convention elects them.

I am going to ask one of our real old-timers to come to this microphone with a proposal that could save the time of this Convention, and I am quite sure will not violate the democratic procedures under which we do our business, but which, however, is up to the Convention. I call on a former Vice President of the AFL-CIO, the President of the Amalgamated Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees, our good friend Abe Spradling, who will make the suggestion to the Convention.

DELEGATE SPRADLING, Amalgamated Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees: Mr. Chairman, as a former member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, I would like to offer a suggestion in regard to the election of Vice Presidents of this Federation. There is no stated procedure in the Constitution as to how this election should be conducted, and I am making my suggestion in the hope that the Convention will agree that it is not necessary to elect these Vice Presidents one by one, with nominating and seconding speeches for 27 people.

I would therefore request that I be permitted to nominate the 25 present incumbents as a block, and at the same time present for the consideration of the Convention the names of two additional to fill the vacancies which exist.

I would like to say that I have spoken to many delegates in this Convention, as well as to many members of the Executive Council in regard to this matter, and I feel that I am presenting two outstanding trade unionists who will, if elected, serve with honor and distinction on the Executive Council.

I, therefore, would like to nominate all of the 25 incumbents for reelection and to present the names of Paul Phillips, President, United Papermakers and Paperworkers, and Peter T. Schoemann, President, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry, to fill the other two posts on the Executive Council.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You heard the suggestion of Brother Spradling. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

... The nominations for Vice Presidents made by Delegate Spradling were seconded by several delegates from the floor.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The motion is to adopt and accept the suggestion. Of course, I want to make it clear that we are open for other nominations. There is no attempt to shut people off. But in this rather unusual procedure, for which I make no apology, we know we are all grown up and we know that we would like to finish the Convention work. The former member of our Council, Brother Spradling, nominated Brother Reuther, Brother Harrison, Brother Bates, Brother Birthright, Brother Carey, Brother Doherty, Brother Dubinsky, Brother MacGowan, Brother McDonald, Brother Rieve, Brother McFetridge, Brother Petrillo, Brother Curran, Brother Hutcheson, Brother Hayes, Brother Keenan, Brother Buckmaster, Brother Potofsky, Brother Randolph, Brother Walsh, Brother Minton, Brother Beirne, Brother Suffridge, Brother

Knight, Brother Feller, Brother Phillips and Brother Schoemann. He has nominated 27 people at once.

The motion is that these be accepted. Are there other nominations?

Election of Vice-Presidents

The motion is to accept. If there are no other nominations and no objection, I will declare the names of those I just read as the 27 Vice Presidents of this organization for the ensuing term, and request the Secretary to cast the ballot of this Convention for these persons named.

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: In accordance with your instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this Convention for the 27 names read by President Meany as Vice Presidents of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I hereby declare elected as Vice Presidents, the 27 men, whose names will appear in the record, as follows:

Walter P. Reuther	George M. Harrison	Harry C. Bates
Wm. C. Birthright	James B. Carey	Wm. C. Doherty
David Dubinsky	Chas. J. MacGowan	David J. McDonald
Emil Rieve	Wm. L. McFetridge	James C. Petrillo
Joseph Curran	M. A. Hutcheson	A. J. Hayes
Joseph D. Keenan	L. S. Buckmaster	Jacob S. Potofsky
A. Philip Randolph	Richard F. Walsh	Lee W. Minton
Joseph A. Beirne	James A. Suffridge	O. A. Knight
Karl F. Feller	Paul L. Phillips	Peter T. Schoemann

Nomination of Secretary-Treasurer

At this time we are open for nominations for the position of Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term. The Chair recognizes Vice-President Carey.

VICE PRESIDENT CAREY: Mr. President and delegates: At the time President Meany called upon an old-timer, I rose to present a nomination. This will celebrate my 25th year as a national elected officer in the labor movement.

That reminds me that I have a special privilege to request.

First, that I be privileged to make this nomination.

Secondly, that I be privileged to add a little weight, about half a pound a year, retroactive to the time I was nominated as an officer of the CIO by Sidney Hillman.

Third, that you be kind in your remembrances of my activity in the American labor movement, especially in the mid-thirties and the early thirties. I was sharply reminded of that when I attended a hearing in the Ladies' Garment Workers conference room in New York not too long ago.

There, while we were waiting for the other officers to come into the hearing, and particularly for the benefit of my younger associates of the IUE, I pointed up to a heroic portrait of President William Green and said, "A lot of people think Bill Green was a reactionary, but he hired me as a general organizer for the United States when I

was in my early twenties, and as much as I have been known as being a progressive, I don't think I would have nerve enough to hire a young kid for a position of that nature."

Judge Dubinsky said, "So he made a mistake."

But we made no mistake when we merged two years ago this month.

Two years ago this month the American labor movement demonstrated its essential deep-rooted wisdom when it joined its two great families into one united House of Labor.

It proved its wisdom a second time when it selected to head this new House of Labor a leader of vast moral and ethical conviction, unlimited courage and uncompromisable integrity, George Meany.

The labor movement proved its abiding wisdom once again when it chose for its second in command a man similarly endowed with unique qualities and virtues of trade union leadership, a man of the strongest moral principle, resolute honesty, and tempered militancy.

It was my great privilege two years ago—as Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO—to nominate him as first Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO. It is my equally great privilege today, as Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Union Department, to nominate him once again for Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO, for his second term.

The labor movement did, indeed, demonstrate a great wellspring of wisdom when it placed great trust, great responsibilities and great hopes in the strong, capable hands of this man.

His solid, superlative leadership has proved invaluable during our organization's first two years—two years of constant challenge, two years of recurrent crises that tested and tried the metal of our leadership.

To each of these challenges, to each of these crises our AFL-CIO leadership has risen courageously, militantly and effectively. The refusal of our President and Secretary-Treasurer to compromise with evil or temporize with corruption have enormously strengthened democratic unionism—strengthened it internally, strengthened it in the eyes of the American public, and strengthened it in the esteem of organized labor and working men and women everywhere in the world.

We have indeed enjoyed vital, alert, far-sighted leadership; sensitive at once to the idealistic meanings of trade union fraternity and to the practical considerations of embattled unionism fighting for its essential rights, fighting even for its right to survive.

Two years ago when I nominated the new Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO I contemplated our movement's future and asserted,

"We have built a new House of Labor—a finer, stronger, larger House of Labor—and the architects deserve our gratitude. But because they designed well and because they built well, they deserve more than our gratitude—they deserve our confidence for the future."

The confidence we reposed in them for these two years has been richly verified, and one of the prime reasons it has been verified is that we picked not just individual leaders but a superb and experienced

leadership team. It has been their highly effective partnership, their capacity for close and understanding teamwork, their fruitful collaboration that has brought the AFL-CIO successfully through the trials by ordeal we have experienced in our first two years.

I am deeply proud once again to nominate for Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO not simply a trade union executive of great moral integrity, ability, militancy and vision, but a man who constitutes half of the best leadership team in the history of American unionism. I give you,—as President Meany's dynamic partner and as a superb fighter in his own right for labor's limitless future,—William Schnitzler.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Schnitzler has been nominated.

The Chair recognizes Brother Lou Marciante, President of the New Jersey State Federation. I am recognizing him now in his capacity as a delegate to this Convention from the IBEW.

DELEGATE MARCIANTE, I.B.E.W.: President Meany and delegates: Four years ago in St. Louis I was given the extreme honor and privilege of nominating for the first time, for his first experience as Secretary-Treasurer of this great organization, the man who was just nominated. A year later in Los Angeles I was again given that privilege. Two years ago in New York I was granted the privilege of seconding his nomination.

I know that nominating speeches are a rather sonorous task. They are expected to be very dramatic. I don't want to make that kind of speech. I say to you just simply and plainly that I have watched his progress, I have listened to him on many occasions, and I am very proud of the fact that this New Jersey boy has developed and grown with each succeeding day. He makes a worthy aid to a great President.

I am glad to second the nomination of Bill Schnitzler.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Schnitzler has been nominated, and his nomination has been seconded. Are there any further nominations?

Election of Secretary-Treasurer

Hearing no further nominations, I will declare the nominations closed and instruct the Assistant Secretary to cast the unanimous ballot of this Convention for William Schnitzler as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY JOHN MORETTI: I am very happy to have the privilege of casting this ballot for Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler. In accordance with the instructions of the Convention, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of this Convention for William Schnitzler as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO.

PRESIDENT MEANY: And I declare William Schnitzler the choice of the Convention unanimously elected Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term.

Let me say a word or two before I present him to you. He has been through a rather difficult time, due to the actions of some people that do not have a great deal of principle. He has conducted himself with dignity. He has taken no part whatsoever in the discussions that

pertain to his own Union, and I think we can be proud of the way he has conducted himself and refused to be baited into a contest that would not bring any glory to that Union.

I present to you Bill Schnitzler.

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZLER: President Meany, delegates assembled in the closing moments of this historical Convention: I have heard a lot of nice things said, but I want to be very frank with you that in my own opinion they would never have been possible if it were not for the help, the guidance and assistance of President Meany.

I can't forget the help that I have gotten from the members of the Executive Council during the past two years. In every instance when I called upon any one of them or any group of them they responded, even though we know each has a job in his own right with his own International Union. You certainly know what has gone on in the past two years of meetings of the Executive Council, and in every instance each of these men has responded to the call of American labor.

During this period as well the help of the headquarters staff and our attorneys has been of the greatest assistance. I suppose you have seen people running all around this Convention Hall and up and down off the platform. They have been the Convention assistants who have contributed so much to making this Convention run as smoothly as it did.

There is one observation I would like to make. It is just unfortunate that each and every one of you could not have had the opportunity to sit in the sessions of the Executive Council when they were called upon to deal with these grave problems that have confronted us. It is easy to see now that it took men of great courage to act the way they did. It was the things that they did that have elevated this trade union movement to great and newer heights.

In talking about the six codes of ethical practices that have been adopted I get to thinking of the many months of condemnation on the radio and television and in newspapers all over the country about this labor movement of ours. Then I find here in the last three weeks that the Chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee, Senator McClellan, made a statement in which he asked the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce why they had not adopted codes of ethical practices for their membership like the AFL-CIO.

Senator Kennedy about three weeks ago in a speech asked the question, why has not the American Bar Association adopted a code of ethical practices like the AFL-CIO? From this it appears that we have gone through the worst period and now find that the AFL-CIO is being held up as the new moral symbol in the United States.

I would think as you start wending your way homeward you will find a developing atmosphere throughout the country in which greater prestige and influences will be visited upon you because of this new stature of this labor movement of ours. Most important of all will be finding that the workers who are not organized at the present time will be exhibiting a greater interest in what we may be able to do for them and will be joining us in greater numbers than ever before.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this great honor you have bestowed upon me and I want you to feel that whatever life there is within me will be utilized in servicing you to the best of my ability.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: We will have a few announcements, a final report from the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, and then we will be able to go on our way.

At this time I want to present to this Convention the Dean of the American labor reporters. Thinking back to what he did to me on a golf course a few weeks ago, I shouldn't even talk to him but I can't help it; he is the dean. I present to you our good old pal, Fred Perkins.

ADDRESS BY MR. FRED PERKINS

President Meany, officers, ladies and gentlemen of this Convention: I appreciate the honor of being permitted to speak from this platform. I also esteem the honor that was done to me by my colleagues in choosing me to appear here to make a brief report on what the newspaper men have been doing. Also I wish to say a word of thanks for this large and intelligent captive audience.

Soon after we arrived we heard of the death of a veteran in this business, Spencer McCulloch, of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Many of you knew him. He has covered many gatherings of this sort. We sent to his widow a message that was signed by the newspaper men who knew Spencer and also by President Meany and Vice Presidents McDonald, Carey, Harrison and Reuther. The message said:

"His newspaper colleagues and other friends of your husband have heard today with great regret of his death. We are at the AFL-CIO Convention in Atlantic City where Spencer doubtless would have been but for his illness. We extend our sincere sympathy to you and we treasure our memories of an outstanding newspaper man and a great gentleman."

A message of a somewhat different tone was sent to another old friend of yours, Jim Newton of the Washington Star. As many of you know, Jim suffered a stroke early this year and is now recuperating. We messaged Jim in this way:

"AFL-CIO police action convention notes and regrets your absence. Wish you were here to share eight days of rain, snow and speeches, high prices and the same old faces. The joints are dark and the track is closed. Sobriety and morality rampant."

We also adopted a statement in appreciation of the unusually good service that we have received here from the Western Union Telegraph Company. I am told that around 100,000 words a day have been filed from this Convention; in other words, about a million words. What is represented by a million words? Well, a million words are approximately enough to fill 10,000 newspaper columns.

In addition to that, what was going on in the Convention hall percolated over into the press room and we adopted a resolution, complete with whereases. It is signed by 72 men representing one of the largest delegations of newspaper reporters and those from other media that have ever been at a labor convention. We start out with three whereases:

RESOLUTION FROM THE PRESS

WHEREAS: The press, radio and television corps covering the Second Constitutional AFL-CIO Convention at Atlantic City, December, 1957, was one of the largest ever to cover a labor convention; and

WHEREAS: The demands, needs and problems of this assembled group of correspondents were mountainous; and

WHEREAS: The services, attention, guidance and general helpfulness of the AFL-CIO Public Relations Department provided for our every want throughout the Convention and enabled us to get the story of this Convention to the public in this country and abroad with a minimum of difficulties.

RESOLVED: That the Convention know of our sincere appreciation to the entire public relations staff of the AFL-CIO for the wonderful assistance provided to us. Our sincere thanks go to Assistant Director Al Zack, Henry Fleisher, Director of Publications, Harry Flannery, Saul Miller, Willard Shelton, Milt Plumb, Gene Kelly, Gerry Love, Bob Wentworth, Barney Tassler, Fred Ross, Gene Zack, Hilda Julbe, Mary Potter, Mary Petock, Terry Corum, Edwin M. Schmidt and E. Russell Morgal.

Norman Walker, Associated Press
Alan Adams, Business Week
A. H. Raskin, New York Times
John Herling, Editors Syndicate and Herling's Labor Letter
Victor Riesel, N. Y. Mirror
Miriam Goldfine, N. Y. Mirror
Alton Levy, N. Y. Mirror
Felix Cotten, Intl. News Service
John Van Camp, Baltimore Sun
Harry Toland, Philadelphia Bulletin
J. Clancy, United Press
Asher Lauren, Detroit News
James Crotty, U. S. Information Agency
Robert Lewin, Chicago Daily News
Wilfred C. Rodgers, Boston Globe
Ted Hall, Newark News
Harry Burke, Newark News
Bernard Judy, Toledo Blade
James J. Bambrick, Natl. Indust. Conf. Bd.
Scoop White, Labor's Daily
Sam Romer, Minneapolis Tribune
Stan Brams, Labor Trends
Bob Spiegel, Des Moines Register & Tribune
Al Delugach, Kansas City Star
George Bliss, Chicago Tribune
Earl Brown, Life
Lloyd Schwartz, Fairchild Publications
R. E. Burgess, In Transit
Louis Kraar, Wall Street Journal
Liston M. Oak, Voice of America
Sonnee Gottlieb, Intl. News Service
Bernard Weisman, U. S. Information Agency
Irving Vogel, Jewish Daily Forward
Sandy Gottlieb, Labor's Daily
Fred Halstead, The Militant

E. B. Henslee, Jr., Trainmen News
 Mort Singer, Kiplingers
 Bob Bedolis, N. Y. Herald Tribune
 Tom Nicholson, Detroit Free Press
 Fred Sweet, Catering Industry Employee
 Duane Emme, Labor
 Pat Donnelly, Lithographers
 Arch Mercey, Ransdell, Inc.
 Mitchell Levitas, N. Y. Post
 Joe Gambatese, Nation's Business
 Frank Matthews, Post-Gazette
 Bob Senser, Work
 John Pomfret, Milwaukee Journal
 Fred W. Perkins, Scripps Howard
 Bernard Stern, Toledo Union Journal
 Roscoe Born, Wall Street Journal
 Jerry Dale, UAW Solidarity
 Harry Conn, PAI
 Stanley Levey, N. Y. Times
 Conrad Wolfson, Jersey Journal
 George Morris, Daily Worker
 Tom Coman, BNA
 Tom Sullivan, Boston Daily Record
 William J. Eaton, United Press
 Joseph R. Coyne, Associated Press
 John K. Turcott, N. Y. Daily News
 Frank Rosen, Philadelphia Inquirer

MR. PERKINS: I thank you for the opportunity of appearing before you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to thank Fred Perkins and the labor reporting group for their very fine expression to our staff.

At this time I want to present the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee for one last resolution. Brother Harrison.

**FINAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS
 RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO ATLANTIC CITY
 RESOLUTION No. 161**

At the close of the second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, we wish to extend our most sincere thanks to the citizens of Atlantic City and to the officers and members of unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO in this area who helped in making possible the arrangements for our Convention.

We wish also to express our deep appreciation to the public officials, the members of the clergy and others who have extended their hospitality to us during our visit to this city.

We voice our appreciation also to the representatives of the press, radio and television who have helped to bring the story of this important convention to the people of the United States and the entire world.

Our thanks, also, to the efficient management, staff and security guards of this great Convention Hall for their splendid services during the period of this Convention.

RESOLVED: (1) that the officers and delegates of the second AFL-CIO Convention extend their sincere thanks and deep appreciation to the many people whose contributions have made this an outstandingly successful Convention; and

(2) that, since the entire Eastern section of the country has been afflicted by an unprecedented period of bad weather, we absolve Atlantic City from all blame and responsibility concerning the weather conditions during much of our Convention.

... COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARRISON moved adoption of the resolution.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARRISON: The adoption of that resolution completes the work of the Resolutions Committee. I would like to express my thanks, as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, to the chairman of the subcommittees and the secretaries of the subcommittees. We had four subcommittees handling the work of the Resolutions Committee.

Walter Reuther was Chairman of one, with Al Hayes as Secretary.

Bill Doherty was Chairman of another subcommittee, with Arnold Zander as Secretary.

Maurice Hutcheson was Chairman of another committee, with Joe Beirne as Secretary.

Dave McDonald and myself made up the fourth subcommittee.

I should also like to express the appreciation of the Resolutions Committee to all the technical staff members who assisted us in handling the work of the Committee, and to the girls and the other clerical workers in the office who duplicated all of the resolutions and handled the typing and other secretarial work for the Committee.

The report of the Committee is signed by:

George M. Harrison, Chairman
David J. McDonald, Secretary
Walter P. Reuther
Harry C. Bates
Arnold Zander
James B. Carey
John E. Rooney
Emil Rieve
Thomas E. Dunwody
William C. Birthright
Joseph A. Fisher
David Dubinsky
James C. Petrillo
Al. J. Hayes
A. F. Hartung
Ed. S. Miller
Ed Swayduck
A. Philip Randolph
S. P. Ming
Woodruff Randolph

Joseph A. Beirne
A. L. Spradling
Max Greenberg
Lee W. Minton
Andrew Pettis
Jacob Potofsky
Charles J. MacGowan
Joseph Curran
John H. Lyons
O. A. Knight
Joseph D. Keenan
Peter Fosco
L. S. Buckmaster
William C. Doherty
L. M. Raftery
Karl F. Feller
William E. Maloney
John J. Grogan
Richard F. Walsh
Maurice A. Hutcheson
William McCarthy
Morris Pizer
James A. Suffridge
William L. McFetridge

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

. . . Committee Chairman Harrison moved adoption of the final and complete report of the Resolutions Committee.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT MEANY: On behalf of the Convention delegates, I want to express to Chairman Harrison and those associated with him on the Resolutions Committee our thanks for a very fine job that took a great deal of time, but the results of which were amply demonstrated here on the Convention floor. Our thanks go to all of the members of this Committee.

COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were received:

Tunis

Mr. George Meany, President
AFL-CIO
Atlantic City, N. J.

The General Union of Algerian Workers send their greetings to the American Workers. Wish for full success of convention. Free American workers fighting on behalf of independence for all oppressed peoples should support, without any reservations, Algerian independence. We ask your urgent intervention at the U. N. and the Department of State for a resolution of the Algerian problem through negotiations with the National Liberation Front on the basis of recognition of independence.

Fraternally,
RACHID
National Secretary

December 10, 1957

Manila, via Mackay Radio
December 10, 1957

Mr. George Meany, President, AFL-CIO
Second AFL-CIO Convention
Ambassador Hotel,
Atlantic City, New Jersey

On behalf of the Philippines Federation of Free Workers extending you our warm fraternal greetings and mabuhay for a successful convention. AFL-CIO uncompromising stand against communism, colonialism and racial discrimination contributing a great deal toward better Asian American understanding.

JUAN C. TAN,
President
EDMUNDO F. NOLASCO,
Executive Vice President
RODOLFO G. TUPAS,
First Vice President
PABLO VILLAFLORES,
Sec.-Treas.
ROGELIO MORATES,
Board Member

The Chairman of the Second Convention
of the AFL-CIO,
Atlantic City, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I salute President George Meany, the able officers of the AFL-CIO, and the delegates to the second AFL-CIO Convention on behalf of the Cyprus Workers' Confederation, which represents the Free Trade Unionists of the enslaved Greek Island, still under colonial rule.

Expressing our deep gratitude for the assistance given by the American workers to our struggling Labor Movement, and to the cause for freedom of the Cyprus people, I wish your Convention every success and am confident that the powerful voice of the AFL-CIO will be raised, once again, in favor of:

- the application of self-determination for Cyprus, to decide its own destiny;
- the release of all political detainees and trade unionists;
- the immediate abolition of the Emergency Regulations;
- the abolition of Concentration Camps;
- the condemnation of ill-treatment exercised against the freedom fighters of Cyprus;
- the unconditional return to Cyprus of Archbishop Makarios, the elected and duly recognized spiritual and political Leader of the Greek Cypriots;
- the unrestricted return to Cyprus of the General-Secretary of the Cyprus Workers' Confederation, who is still in exile; and,
- the resumption of negotiations between the British Government and Archbishop Makarios for a just and democratic settlement in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

I am confident that a thorough discussion of the Cyprus Question will be held, and a resolution adopted—patterned along the lines of

the resolution unanimously adopted by the 5th World Congress of the ICFTU in Tunis, which the American Labor Movement warmly supported.

I would finally appeal to your great movement to call upon the U. S. State Department and the United Nations for their unequivocal support to the Cypriot claims for the right of Freedom through Self-determination.

With fraternal greetings

MICHAEL N. PISSAS,
Gen. Secretary, Cyprus Workers'
Confederation

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

... President Meany read the supplemental report of the Committee on Credentials as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials wishes to report that this is the final report of the Committee. We have examined the credentials of 908 delegates, representing 129 National and International Unions, 6 Departments, 34 State Bodies, 134 Central Bodies, 56 Local Unions, and 3 Fraternal Delegates.

Respectfully submitted,

Joseph A. Beirne, Chairman
A. Philip Randolph
Joseph D. Keenan, Secretary

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now, just an announcement or two by Secretary Schnitzler.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZLER: We had a conference yesterday concerning Labor's Daily, and there was a volunteer committee that went into session last night and is going to meet again in Washington tomorrow.

I want to call to your attention one of the items that you found at your table this morning. That was the pamphlet entitled, "Your Right to Medical Care." It was prepared and published by the American Labor Health Association with the help of a grant from the AFL-CIO.

The abuses that have been found in the operation of a few health and welfare funds have been given widespread national publicity. The same attention has not been given to the more significant side of the picture—the great contribution that these programs have made to the welfare of working people and their families, and their role in improving the quality and scope of the medical services available to the American people. This pamphlet underscores the positive, constructive role of trade union help and welfare programs and suggests ways in which labor can make these programs more effective in that regard. I hope that you will read it and give the advice it contains your earnest consideration.

PRESIDENT MEANY: That brings to a close the work of this Convention. May I express to all of the delegates here my deep appreciation for their fine attendance and for the close attention that they gave to all the voluminous reports that were placed before you.

With these few words may I wish you all a safe journey home.

This Convention stands adjourned sine die.

(At 2:20 o'clock P.M. on Thursday, December 12, 1957, the Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO adjourned sine die.)

DELEGATES

To The

Second Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated	5	8,626	Angus Duncan, 226 W. 47 St., New York 36, N. Y.
		8,626	H. O'Neill Shanks, 226 W. 47 St., New York 36, N. Y.
		8,626	Donald F. Conaway, 15 W. 44 St., New York, N. Y.
		8,626	Hyman R. Faine, 247 W. 46 St., New York 36, N. Y.
		8,626	Pat Somerset, 7750 Sunset Blvd., Hollywood 46, Calif.
			*Irving Lewis, 15 W. 44 St., New York 36, N. Y.
Agricultural Workers Union, National..	2	2,190	H. L. Mitchell, 2140 P St., N. W., Washington 7, D. C.
		2,190	Gardner Jackson, 1410 29 St., Washington 7, D. C.
Air Line Pilots Association	4	3,389	Clarence N. Sayen, 55th & Cicero Ave., Chicago 38, Ill.
		3,389	R. L. Tuxbury, 55th and Cicero Ave., Chicago 38, Ill.
		3,389	R. J. Rohen, 55th and Cicero Ave., Chicago 38, Ill.
		3,389	Grant M. Leroux, 55th and Cicero Ave., Chicago 38, Ill.
Aluminum Workers, International Union	4	5,382	Eddie R. Stahl, 119 N. 7 St., St. Louis, Mo.
		5,382	W. L. Cowley, 119 N. 7 St., St. Louis, Mo.
		5,382	W. E. Moffett, 706 Burcham St., Kelso, Wash.
		5,381	Alfred T. Horn, 4042 N. Willis Blvd., Portland, Ore.

* Irving Lewis substituted for Donald F. Conaway, Third Day, Dec. 9, 1957.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and	2	5,000	C. W. Sickles, 505 Machinists Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		5,000	Hugh E. Mulligan, 1120 North Linden Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
		55,275	Walter P. Reuther, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Mich.
		55,275	Emil Mazey, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Mich.
		55,275	Richard Gosser, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Mich.
		55,275	Norman Matthews, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Mich.
		55,275	Leonard Woodcock, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Mich.
		55,275	Pat Greathouse, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Mich.
		55,275	George Morrell, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Mich.
		55,275	Ken Morris, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Mich.
		55,275	George Burt, % 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Mich.
		55,275	Edward J. Cote, % 800 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Mich.
		55,275	William McAulay, 704 Community Nat'l Bank Bldg., Pontiac 14, Mich.
Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, United	22	55,274	E. T. Michael, % 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Mich.
		55,274	Kenneth Robinson, 215 Sheldon St., S. E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
		55,274	Patrick J. O'Malley, Corlette Bldg., Rm. 310, 1935 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 10, Ohio.
		55,274	Raymond Ross, 116 E. Washington St., Springfield, Ohio.
		55,274	Charles Ballard, 425 Winthrop St., Toledo 10, Ohio.
		55,274	Raymond H. Berndt, 1701 N. 18 St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		55,274	Robert Johnston, 54 W. Randolph, Chicago 1, Ill.
		55,274	Russell Letner, 3618 Natural Bridge Blvd., St. Louis 7, Mo.
		55,274	Charles Bioletti, 8501 S. San Pedro, Los Angeles, Calif.
		55,274	Martin Gerber, 855 6 Ave., New York 1, N. Y.
		55,274	Charles H. Kerrigan, 101 W. 31 St., New York 1, N. Y.
		11,575	William C. Birthright, 1141 N. Delaware St., Indianapolis 7, Ind.
		11,575	Charles T. Crane, 407 Labor Temple, Portland 4, Ore.
		11,574	George Huak, 241 E. 12 St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		11,574	John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Ave., Dallas, Tex.
		11,574	Edgar M. Sanders, 39 E. Market St., Rm. 309, Akron 3, Ohio.
		11,574	Frank W. Weibel, 203 House Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
Bill Posters, Billers and Distributors of the U. S. and Canada, International Alliance of	1	1,600	Loyal H. Gilmour, 2940 16 St., San Francisco, Calif.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of	8	18,844	William A. Calvin, 570 Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		18,844	Charles J. MacGowan, 570 Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		18,844	W. J. Buckley, 565 Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		18,844	A. J. Eberhardy, 570 Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		18,844	John V. Kearney, 1321 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		18,844	C. S. Massey, Post Office Box 801, Tampa, Fla.
		18,843	Harry Nacey, 147 4th Ave., Rm. 207, New York, N. Y.
		18,843	George Nolan, 36 S. Peoria St., Chicago, Ill.
			*Maywood Boggs
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	4	13,602	Robert E. Haskin, 815 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		13,602	John Connolly, 406 Old South Bld., Boston, Mass.
		13,602	Florence Williams, 207 Market St., Newark, N. J.
		13,601	Joseph Denny, 815 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Boot and Shoe Workers Union	5	8,000	John J. Mara, 246 Summer St., Boston 10, Mass.
		8,000	J. W. McGonigal, 509 S. 17th St., Mt. Vernon, Ill.
		8,000	George W. Lawson, 552 S. Fairview Ave., St. Paul 16, Minn.
		8,000	H. B. Hutchison, 4539 N. Teutonia Ave., Milwaukee 9, Wis.
		8,000	Leo Frieda, 4401 Fair Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers, International Union of United	5	8,925	Karl F. Feller, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati 19, Ohio.
		8,925	Arthur P. Gildea, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati 19, Ohio.
		8,925	Thomas Rusch, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati 19, Ohio.
		8,925	Joseph E. Brady, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati 19, Ohio.
		8,925	John L. Helm, 3542 Juneway, Baltimore, Md.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America	7	17,207	Harry C. Bates, 815 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		17,207	John J. Murphy, 815 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		17,207	William R. Connors, 815 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		17,207	Thomas F. Murphy, 815 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		17,207	Thomas H. Donnell, 910 West Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.
		17,207	James F. McHugh, 154 Christopher St., Montclair, N. J.
		17,207	Thomas A. Murray, 265 W. 14 St., New York, N. Y.

* Maywood Boggs substituted for C. S. Massey, First Day, Dec. 5, 1957.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United	4	6,281 6,281 6,281 6,280	H. R. Flegel, 1550 W. 95 St., Chicago 43, Ill. Wm. Tracy, 1550 W. 95 St., Chicago 43, Ill. James C. Gatehouse, 1550 W. 95 St., Chicago 43, Ill. Carmine Santo, 1550 W. 95 St., Chicago 43, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of	8	16,959 16,959 16,959 16,959 16,958 16,958 16,958 16,958	John H. Lyons, 3615 Olive St., Suite 300, Continental Bldg., St. Louis 8, Mo. James R. Downes, 3615 Olive St., Suite 300, Continental Bldg., St. Louis 8, Mo. William F. Bauers, 15 Olcott Place, Buffalo 25, N. Y. Joseph F. Boyen, 265 W. 14 St., New York 11, N. Y. John L. McCarthy, 23 Briarcliffe Drive, Collinsville, Ill. John H. Lyons, Jr., 961 Continental Bldg., 1012 14 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. Wesley T. Hansen, 462 Market St., Perth Amboy, N. J. Thomas E. McDonald, 1280 West 3rd St., Cleveland 13, Ohio.
Broadcast Employees and Technicians, National Association of	1	3,738	George W. Smith, Room 557, 80 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill. *Eugene Klump, 80 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.
Building Service Employees International Union	9	24,700 24,700 24,700 24,700 24,700 24,699 24,699 24,699 24,699	Wm. L. McPetridge, 155 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Ill. George E. Fairchild, 155 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Ill. David Sullivan, 1 E. 35 St., New York 16, N. Y. Walter Collins, 318 W. Randolph St., Chicago 6, Ill. George Hardy, 240 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2, Calif. Thomas Burke, 509 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago 5, Ill. Thomas Shortman, 1 East 35 St., New York 16, N. Y. Albert Hearn, 641 Yonge St., Toronto 5, Ont., Canada Charles Levey, 1100 Keenan Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	6	21,178 21,178 21,178 21,178 21,178	A. J. Bernhardt, 4929 Main St., Carmen's Bldg., Kansas City 12, Mo. George L. O'Brien, 4929 Main St., Carmen's Bldg., Kansas City 12, Mo. J. F. Winters, Box 1045, Florence, S. C. E. C. Doll, 1423 Taylor St., Utica, N. Y. Jos. Duffin, 269 Post Ave., Battle Creek, Mich. S. Zloty, 1143 Redwood Ave., Winnipeg, Man., Canada.

* Eugene Klump substituted for George W. Smith, Third Day, Dec. 9, 1957.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	16	46,875	M. A. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
			John R. Stevenson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
			O. William Blaier, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
			R. E. Livingston, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
			Frank Chapman, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
			Charles Johnson, Jr., 444 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
			Raleigh Rajoppi, 2 Prospect Place, Springfield, N. J.
			Harry Schwarzer, 1248 Walnut Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
			Henry W. Chandler, 1684 Stanton Rd., S. W., Atlanta, Ga.
			R. E. Roberts, 1834 N. 78 St., Omaha, Neb.
			J. F. Cambiano, 17 Aragon Blvd., San Mateo, Calif.
			Andrew V. Cooper, 133 Chaplin Crescent, Toronto 12, Ont., Can.
			Ted Kenney, 12 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill.
			E. C. Meinert, 3606 Cosens Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
			Earl Hartley, 1008 S. W. 6th St., Portland, Ore.
			William Sidel, 2200 W. 7th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union, United	5	7,058	Felix C. Jones, 3329 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill.
			Toney Gallo, 3329 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill.
			7,058 Reuben Roe, 1358 W. Garfield St., Davenport, Iowa.
			7,057 Victor H. Thomas, 341 E. Walnut St., Nazareth, Pa.
			7,057 Wm. Schoenberg, 3329 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill.
Chemical Workers Union, International. . .	4	17,922	Walter L. Mitchell, 1659 W. Market St., Akron 13, Ohio.
			17,922 Marshall Shafer, 1659 W. Market St., Akron 13, Ohio.
			17,922 Thomas E. Boyle, 11 Hill St., Rm. 407, Newark, N. J.
			17,922 Arvil L. Inge, 338 Kirby St., Suite 5, Lake Charles, La.
Cigarmakers International Union of America	3	2,680	Mario Aspettia, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
			2,679 Sarah Haines, 174 S. Harrison St., York, Pa.
			2,679 Dorothy Jones, 1702 Young St., Waycross, Ga.
			13,704 J. Cline House, 711 14 St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	7	13,704	E. C. Hallbeck, 711 14 St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
			13,704 Sam Barleson, P. O. Box 627, Shreveport, La.
			13,704 Irwin Klein, P. O. Clerk, Bethel Park, Pa.
			13,704 Jos. E. Latragna, P. O. Clerk, Clerks Box, Rochester, N. Y.
			13,708 John Mitchell, Clerks Box, Biscayne Annex, Miami, Fla.
		13,708	George Wall, 15459 Wyandotte St., Van Nuys, Calif.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	10	26,734	George M. Harrison, 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		26,734	George M. Gibbons, 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		26,734	Glen B. Goble, 9 S. Clinton St., Rm. 814, Chicago 6, Ill.
		26,734	Earl R. Kinley, 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		26,734	Robert Morgan, 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		26,734	Wm. C. McGovern, 209 Bona Allen Bldg., Atlanta 3, Ga.
		26,734	Kenneth D. Shaw, 1214 Clark Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
		26,734	J. H. Sylvester, 220 S. State St., Rm. 1808, Chicago 4, Ill.
		26,733	Frank J. Leslie, 2501 Pacific Ave., Apt. 2, Atlantic City, N. J.
		26,733	S. V. W. Lochr, 1214 Clark Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
Clerks International Association, Retail. 10		29,147	James A. Suffridge, De Sales Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		29,147	Vernon A. Housewright, De Sales Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		29,147	Guy A. Sackett, De Sales Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		29,147	Frank C. Shea, De Sales Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		29,147	Samuel J. Meyers, De Sales Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		29,147	Fred A. Ammond, De Sales Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		29,147	A. B. Crossler, De Sales Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		29,147	Paul W. Hansen, De Sales Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		29,146	Murray Plopper, De Sales Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		29,146	Earl D. McDavid, De Sales Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated	10	27,314	Jacob S. Potofsky, 15 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.
		27,314	Hyman Blumberg, 15 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.
		27,314	Frank Rosenblum, 15 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.
		27,313	August Bellanca, 15 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.
		27,313	Reuben Block, 803 Hamilton St., Allentown, Pa.
		27,313	Abraham Chatman, 476 N. Clinton Ave., Rochester, N. Y.
		27,313	Louis Hollander, 31 W. 15 St., New York, N. Y.
		27,313	David J. Monaa, 1228 Walnut St., Allentown, Pa.
		27,313	Joseph Salerno, 73 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
		27,313	Charles Weinstein, 2113 South St., Philadelphia, Pa.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Communications Workers of America	10	24,950	J. A. Beirne, 1808 Adams Mill Road, N. W., Washington 9, D. C.
		24,950	John L. Crull, 1808 Adams Mill Road, N. W., Washington 9, D. C.
		24,950	Mary Hanscom, 41 Central Ave., Newark, N. J.
		24,950	J. M. Massey, 1808 Adams Mill Road, N. W., Washington 9, D. C.
		24,950	Ray Hackney, 1808 Adams Mill Road, N. W., Washington 9, D. C.
		24,950	W. A. Smallwood, 1808 Adams Mill Road, N. W., Washington 9, D. C.
		24,950	Walter Schaar, 520 Townsend St., Lansing 33, Mich.
		24,950	D. K. Gordon, 2202 Douglas St., Omaha, Neb.
		24,950	D. L. McCowen, 1122 Paul Brown Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		24,950	Wm. J. Walsh, 917 G Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
			*Elma Hannah.
			*G. E. Gill, 40 Pryor St., S. W. Atlanta, Ga.
			*Curtis Fletcher.
			*J. E. Dunne.
Coopers International Union of North America	1	4,012	James J. Doyle, 120 Boylston St., Rm. 527, Boston 16, Mass.
Doll and Toy Workers of the United States and Canada, International Union of	4	4,245	Harry O. Damino, 132 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y.
		4,245	Milton Gordon, 132 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y.
		4,245	*Salvatore J. Russo, % 132 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y.
		4,245	Victor J. Failla, 1952 W. Erie St., Chicago, Ill.
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, International Union of	10	31,434	James B. Carey, 1126 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		31,433	Al Hartnett, 1126 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		31,433	Harry Block, 1626 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		31,433	Earl Riley, 41 Tremont St., Rm. 301, Boston, Mass.
		31,433	Jack Suarez, 121 Erie Blvd., Schenectady, N. Y.
		31,433	Milton Weibbrauch, 21 Fulton St., Newark, N. J.
		31,433	George Hutchens, 137 Bond St., Toronto, Ont., Can.
		31,433	William Snoots, 2109 N. Main St., Dayton, Ohio.
		31,433	James Click, 1909-A Pine St., St. Louis, Mo.
		31,433	Alan Palmer, 747 N. Paulina St., Chicago, Ill.

* G. E. Gill substituted for D. K. Gordon, Third Day, Dec. 9, 1957.

* Elma Hannah substituted for John L. Crull, Fourth Day, Dec. 10, 1957.

* Curtis Fletcher substituted for J. M. Massey, Fourth Day, Dec. 10, 1957.

* J. E. Dunne substituted for Walter Schaar, Fourth Day, Dec. 10, 1957.

* Salvatore J. Russo substituted for Louis Isaacson.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of	11	42,216	Gordon M. Freeman, 1200 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		42,216	Joseph D. Keenan, 1200 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		42,216	Frank Riley, 17195 Evergreen St., Detroit, Mich.
		42,215	Horace Dove, 326 Roosevelt Ave., Hasbrouck Heights, N. J.
		42,215	J. J. Duffy, Rm. 600, 330 E. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
		42,215	Joseph W. Liggett, 24 Commerce St., Rms. 1029-30, Newark 2, N. J.
		42,215	Marcus Loftis, 210 S. Congress Ave., Electrical Workers Bldg., Austin, Tex.
		42,215	Peter Zicarelli, 3043 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		42,215	W. Farquhar, 717 Church St., Toronto, Ont., Can.
		42,215	V. G. Pearson, 158 E. 2nd South, Salt Lake City, Utah.
		42,215	Louis P. Marcianite, 790 Broad St., Newark, N. J.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	3	3,888	Edward A. Smith, Rm. 1515, 12 S. 12 St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
		3,888	John P. Barton, 2715 N. Union Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
		3,888	Edwin C. Magee, Rm. 1515, 12 S. 12 St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
		22,223	Wm. E. Maloney, 1125 17 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		22,223	Joseph J. Delaney, 1125 17 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		22,222	Frank P. Converse, 3515 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		22,222	Wm. J. Stuhr, 2301 State St., East St. St. Louis, Ill.
Engineers, International Union of Operating	9	22,222	Charles Paluska, 304 Fine Arts Bldg., 58 W. Aams Ave., Detroit, Mich.
		22,222	Newell J. Carman, 204 Skyline Drive, Daly City, Calif.
		22,222	Hunter P. Wharton, 1125 17 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		22,222	Ralph B. Bronson, 2323 W. 8 St., Los Angeles 57, Calif.
		22,222	Eugene M. Reardon, Sr., 4 Fleming Ave., Newark, N. J.
Engineers, American Federation of Technical	1	11,586	Russell M. Stephens, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C.
		4,014	Wilfrid T. Connell, 1114 Statler Bldg., 29 Providence St., Boston 16, Mass.
		4,014	Edward A. Nyegaard, % 3605 Potomac St., St. Louis 16, Mo.
Engravers Union of North America, International Photo	4	4,014	William P. Seitz, 709 Victory Bldg., 1001 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
		4,014	Denis M. Burke, 833 Broadway, Rm. 1911, New York 3, N. Y.
		19,413	John P. Redmond, 815 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		19,413	Wm. D. Buck, 815 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Fire Fighters, International Association of	4	19,412	Howard P. Barry, 38 Perk Row, Rm. 204, New York 38, N. Y.
		19,412	James T. McGuire, Rm. 915, 139 North Clark St., Chicago 2, Ill.

* Robert C. Beale substituted for John P. Redmond, Fifth Day, Dec. 11, 1957, who died during the convention.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	5	11,377 11,377 11,376 11,376 11,376	Anthony E. Matz, 100 Indiana Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C. Robert J. Tormey, Suite 1510, 100 La Salle St., Chicago 2, Ill. James M. Kennedy, Suite 1510, 100 La Salle St., Chicago 2, Ill. Wm. E. Fredenberger, 1406 Washington Bldg., Louisville 2, Ky. John Casselman, 2886 Jefferson Ave., Ogden, Utah.
Flight Engineers International Association	1	2,215	George R. Petty, Jr., 100 Indiana Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
Furniture Workers of America, United.	5	7,850 7,850 7,850 7,850 7,849	Morris Pizer, 700 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. Fred Fulford, 700 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. Michael Decicco, 700 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. Fred Stefan, 320 Hill St., San Francisco, Calif. Neil McCormick, 215 Sheldon Ave., S. E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Garment Workers Union of America, United	5	8,000 8,000 8,000 8,000 8,000	Joseph P. McCurdy, 1505 Riverside Ave., Baltimore, Md. Madge M. King, 534 Maple Ave., Galesburg, Ill. Emily Jordan, 926 Cincinnati Ave., San Antonio, Tex. Marie M. Bailey, 727 California Ave., South Bend, Ind. George W. Pohlsen, 201 N. Broad St., Rm. 201, Philadelphia, Pa.
Garment Workers Union, International Ladies	11	33,920 33,920 33,920 33,920 33,920 33,920 33,920 33,920 33,919 33,919	David Dubinsky, 1710 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Luigi Antonini, 218 W. 40 St., New York, N. Y. Isidore Nagler, 22 W. 38 St., New York, N. Y. Charles S. Zimmerman, 218 W. 40 St., New York, N. Y. Louis Stulberg, 1710 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Julius Hochman, 1710 Broadway, New York, N. Y. George Rubin, 1710 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Harry Greenberg, 225 W. 39 St., New York, N. Y. Shelley Appleton, 151 W. 40 St., New York, N. Y. Martin L. Cohen, 932 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Mrs. Minnie Matheson, 41 S. Washington St., Wilkes Barre, Pa.
Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America, United	5	8,331 8,331 8,331 8,331 8,331	Ralph Reiser, 556 E. Town St., Columbus, Ohio. Lewis McCracken, 556 E. Town St., Columbus, Ohio. Leland Beard, 556 E. Town St., Columbus, Ohio. Enoch R. Rust, 556 E. Town St., Columbus, Ohio. Carl Martin, 556 E. Town St., Columbus, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada	6	8,648	Lee W. Minton, 226 S. 16 St., Rm. 501, Philadelphia 2, Pa.
		8,647	Raymond H. Dalton, 226 S. 16 St., Rm. 501, Philadelphia 2, Pa.
		8,647	Newton W. Black, 226 S. 16 St., Rm. 501, Philadelphia 2, Pa.
		8,647	Charles Reed, 118 S. 8th St., Vineland, N. J.
		8,647	Roy Zimmerman, 161 Caldwell Ave., Washington, Pa.
		8,647	Elaine Almeida, 3124 E. 14 St., Oakland, Calif.
Glass Cutters League of America, Window	1	1,600	Glen W. McCabe, 1078 S. High St., Columbus, Ohio.
		7,202	Charles M. Scheff, Huron and Jefferson, Toledo 4, Ohio.
Glass Workers Union, American Flint..	4	7,201	Harry H. Cook, Huron and Jefferson, Toledo 4, Ohio.
		7,201	Hugh Oliver, 75 W. Fulton, Corning, N. Y.
		7,201	Virgil Ostendorf, 100 Gerson Ave., Godfrey, Ill.
Glove Workers Union of America, International	1	3,063	Thomas Durian, 5328 N. 39 St., Milwaukee 9, Wis.
Government Employees, American Federation of	3	18,570	James A. Campbell, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C.
		18,569	Esther F. Johnson, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C.
		18,569	Timothy J. Kelly, 461 95 St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Granite Cutters International Association of America, The	1	2,854	Costanzo Pagnano, 18 Federal Ave., Quincy 69, Mass.
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, United	5	6,400	Alex Rose, 245 Fifth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
		6,400	Marx Lewis, 245 Fifth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
		6,400	Samuel Deckler, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.
		6,400	I. H. Goldberg, 49 W. 37 St., New York 18, N. Y.
		6,400	Abraham Mendelowitz, 49 W. 37 St., New York 18, N. Y.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, International	12	33,335	Joseph V. Moreschi, 821 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		33,335	Peter Fosco, 821 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		33,335	Vincent F. Morreale, 821 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		33,335	Patrick Waldron, 408 Bergner Bldg., Harrisburg, Pa.
		33,335	Edgar F. Smith, 404 Leland Office Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
		33,335	Charles J. Sullivan, 55 W. 42 St., New York 36, N. Y.
		33,335	Robert B. Sheets, 821 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		33,335	Lee Lalor, 605 Golden Gate Bldg., San Francisco, Calif.
		33,335	John Taylor, 4331 Enright Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
		33,334	John W. Garvey, 821 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		33,334	T. T. Odum, 821 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		33,334	Joseph Madden, 700 Raymond Blvd., Newark 5, N. J.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	1	{ 266	George C. Miller, 310 Merrill Ave., Collinsville, Ill.
Hosiery Workers, American Federation of	3	{ 3,306	Andrew Janaskie, 2319 N. Broad St., Philadelphia 32, Pa.
		{ 3,306	Major Banachowicz, 1319 N. Broad St., Philadelphia 32, Pa.
		{ 3,305	William M. Leader, 1847 E. Allegheny Ave., Philadelphia 34, Pa.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Bartenders International Union	10	{ 30,000	Ed S. Miller, 525 Walnut St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		{ 30,000	Jack Weinberger, 525 Walnut St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		{ 30,000	M. R. Callahan, 324 E. 4 St., Long Beach, Calif.
		{ 30,000	Fran Kaczmarek, 548 20 St., Oakland, Calif.
		{ 30,000	Louis Koenig, 100 Selden, Detroit 1, Mich.
		{ 30,000	Althea Boe, Medical Dental Bldg., Rm. 712, Everett, Wash.
		{ 30,000	William B. Riley, 122 E. 6 St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		{ 30,000	Thomas C. Rogan, 205 W. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Ill.
		{ 30,000	Lawrence Sarriks, Box 1615, Pittsburgh 30, Pa.
		{ 30,000	David Siegal, 140 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y.
Industrial Workers of America, International Union Allied	6	{ 12,733	Carl Griepentrog, 8670 Wilshire Blvd., Beverly Hills, Calif.
		{ 12,733	Gilbert E. Jewell, 8670 Wilshire Blvd., Beverly Hills, Calif.
		{ 12,733	Bert Backinger, 20572 Haynes Ave., Canoga Park, Calif.
		{ 12,733	V. Q. La Page, 79 Maple Court, Decatur, Ill.
		{ 12,732	Frank Evans, 1360 E. 114 St., Cleveland, Ohio.
		{ 12,732	Carl Smigel, 10915 Penfield Ave., Garfield Heights 25, Ohio.
Insurance Agents International Union..	3	{ 3,967	George L. Russ, 420-428 Victor Bldg., 724 9 St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		{ 3,967	Charles G. Heisel, 420-428 Victor Bldg., 724 9 St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		{ 3,967	Max Shine, 420-428 Victor Bldg., 724 9 St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
Insurance Workers of America	3	{ 3,016	William A. Gillen, 1129 Vermont Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		{ 3,016	Arthur H. Higginson, 1129 Vermont Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		{ 3,016	William S. McDermott, 1129 Vermont Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Jewelry Workers Union, International..	4	{ 5,541	Joseph Morris, 19 W. 44 St., New York 36, N. Y.
		{ 5,541	Hyman J. Powell, 19 W. 44 St., New York 36, N. Y.
		{ 5,541	*Adolph D. Gonzalez, % 19 W. 44 St., New York 36, N. Y.
		{ 5,541	Matthew Gammerino, 95 Wallace Row, Wallingford, Conn.

* Adolph D. Gonzalez substituted for David Levine.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	4	4,057	Lloyd A. Mashburn, 7214 New Hampshire Ave., Takoma Park 12, Md.
		4,057	William J. McSorley, 1474 Lincoln Ave., Lakewood 7, Ohio.
		4,057	C. J. Haggerty, 810 David Hewes Bldg., 995 Market St., San Francisco 3, Calif.
		4,056	Walter Matthews, 1322 Third Ave., New York 21, N. Y.
Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers Union, International	5	5,853	Norman Zukowski, 1733 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		5,853	Lawrence Auterino, 1733 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		5,853	Jack Wiesselberg, 1733 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		5,853	Charles Feinstein, 1733 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		5,853	Edward Frisa, 1733 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Leather Workers International Union of America	2	2,829	Edward J. Freeman, c/o 19 Lowell St., Penbody, Mass.
		2,829	Joseph A. Duffy, 8 Mt. Pleasant St., Woburn, Mass.
Letter Carriers, National Association of	7	14,286	William C. Doherty, 100 Indiana Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		14,286	Peter J. Cahill, 100 Indiana Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		14,286	Joseph W. Esposito, 29 Terrace Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
		14,286	William F. Farrell, 35 Millbrook Drive, East Longmeadow, Mass.
		14,286	James W. Griebing, 801 E. Washington St., Mason City, Iowa.
		14,285	Ted J. Healy, 10117 Alburts, Norwalk, Calif.
		14,285	E. T. Wimbish, 1047 N. Shine St., Orlando, Florida.
Lithographers of America, Amalgamated	5	5,694	George A. Canary, 111 W. Washington St., Rm. 1115, Chicago 2, Ill.
		5,694	Martin Liberatore, 16 Ridge Road, Revere 51, Mass.
		5,694	Francis P. Slater, 1827 17 Ave., San Francisco 22, Calif.
		5,694	Donald W. Stone, 143 W. 51 St., New York 19, N. Y.
		5,694	Edward Swayduck, 113 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of	5	7,361	H. E. Gilbert, 318 Keith Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
		7,361	S. C. Phillips, 318 Keith Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
		7,361	Ray Scott, 318 Keith Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
		7,361	A. M. Lampley, 401 3rd St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		7,361	Ray Tudor, Rt. 12, Lafayette, Ind.
Longshoremen, International Brotherhood of	3	4,968	Larry W. Long, 3631 Marine Ave., St. Louis 18, Mo.
		4,968	E. L. Slaughter, 418-20 Lyceum Bldg., Duluth 2, Minn.
		4,967	Joseph Trainor, Delaware Ave., at South St., Philadelphia 47, Pa.
			*Dave Conners, 138 Grape St., Buffalo, N. Y.

* Dave Conners substituted for E. L. Slaughter, Second Day, Dec. 6, 1957.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Machinists, International Association of Machinists	16		44,264 A. J. Hayes, 1300 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. 44,264 Don Burrows, 133 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill. 44,264 Thomas Carey, 7 E. 15 St., New York 3, N. Y. 44,264 John Snider, 5501 Lankershim Blvd., North Hollywood, Calif. 44,264 Eric Peterson, 1300 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. 44,264 Elmer E. Walker, 1300 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. 44,263 Fred H. Coonley, Rm. 816 Fisk Bldg., 250 W. 57 St., New York 19, N. Y. 44,263 Earl Melton, Rm. 1712 Consumers Bldg., 220 S. State St., Chicago, Ill. 44,263 Roy W. Brown, Suite 725 Cairns Bldg., 108 W. 6 St., Los Angeles, Calif. 44,263 J. C. McGlon, 616 Glenn Bldg., 120 Marietta St., N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga. 44,263 George P. Scholle, 817 Keefer Bldg., Montreal, Que., Canada 44,263 P. L. Siemiller, Rm. 1612 Midland Bldg., 176 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill. 44,263 E. R. White, 1336 National City Bank Building, Cleveland 14, Ohio. 44,263 Harold J. Gibson, 713-16 Mead Bldg., 421 S. W. 5th Ave., Portland 4, Ore. 44,263 James McDonald, 4721 W. Madison St., Machinists Hall, Chicago 44, Ill. 44,263 Matthew De More, 2906 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 15, Ohio.
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brother- hood of	8		18,988 T. C. Carroll, 12050 Woodward Ave., Detroit 3, Mich. 18,988 Frank L. Noakes, 12050 Woodward Ave., Detroit 3, Mich. 18,988 J. P. Wilson, box 268, New Hampton, Mass. 18,988 R. Freccia, 610-11 Montague Court Bldg., Brooklyn 1, N. Y. 18,988 H. L. Padgett, 318 Commercial Bldg., Savannah, Ga. 18,987 E. J. Plondke, 12050 Woodward Ave., Detroit 3, Mich. 18,987 C. L. Lambert, 520 S. Trotter St., Der- mott, Ark. 18,987 H. C. Crotty, 12050 Woodward Ave., Detroit 3, Mich.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rub- bers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of	3		2,667 William McCarthy, 815 15 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 2,667 John J. Conway, 1105 Ridge Ave., Philadelphia 23, Pa. 2,667 John E. Hughes, 12269 Maiden St., Detroit 13, Mich.
Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, Industrial Union of	5		6,853 John J. Grogan, 339 Garden St., Ho- boken, N. J. 6,853 Ross D. Blood, 534 Cooper St., Camden, N. J. 6,853 Frank Derwin, 821 St. Johns Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 6,853 Andrew A. Pettis, 620 Walnut St., Falls Church, Va. 6,853 W. M. Williams, Jr., 1354 Melrose St., Mobile, Ala.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, National	3	2,667 2,667 2,666	H. L. Daggett, 132 3rd St., S. E., Washington 3, D. C. E. N. Altman, 1923½ First Ave., Seattle, Wash. J. M. Calhoon, 1058 W. 40 St., Norfolk, Va.
Maritime Union of America, National ..	5	7,873 7,873 7,872 7,872 7,872	Joseph Curran, 346 W. 17 St., New York 11, N. Y. John B. McDougall, 346 W. 17 St., New York 11, N. Y. David M. Ramos, 346 W. 17 St., New York 11, N. Y. Woodrow P. Nayer, 346 W. 17 St., New York 11, N. Y. Robert Nesbitt, 346 W. 17 St., New York 11, N. Y. *James Martin, 822 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. *Haddock Hoyt
Masters, Mates and Pilots, International Organization of	3	3,017 3,017 3,016	Capt. C. T. Atkins, 105 Washington St., New York 6, N. Y. Capt. John M. Bishop, 711 14 St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Morris Weinstein, 1216 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	10	31,160 31,160 31,160 31,160 31,160 31,160 31,160 31,160 31,160 31,160	Thomas J. Lloyd, 2800 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill. Patrick E. Gorman, 2800 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill. Joseph Belsky, 113 W. 42nd St., New York 36, N. Y. R. Emmett Kelly, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill. Marvin W. Hook, 2800 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill. Harry Poole, 2800 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill. Ray Wentz, 418 Auditorium, St. Paul, Minn. Sam Twedell, 8658 Garland Road, Dallas, Tex. Roy Scheurich, 1529 W. Market St., Louisville, Ky. Leon Schachter, 100 Indiana Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
Mechanics Educational Society of America	5	9,894 9,894 9,894 9,893 9,893	Joseph Baumgartner, 1974 National Bank Bldg., Detroit 26, Mich. Steve Nakliski, 1974 National Bank Bldg., Detroit 26, Mich. Patsy Severo, 1974 National Bank Bldg., Detroit 26, Mich. Frank Marks, 1974 National Bank Bldg., Detroit 26, Mich. William Lahey, 1974 National Bank Bldg., Detroit 26, Mich.

* James Martin substituted for Robert Nesbitt, Second Day, Dec. 6, 1957.

* Hoyt Haddock substituted for John R. McDougall, Third Day, Dec. 9, 1957.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Metal Workers International Association, Sheet	6	9,375	Robert Byron, 1000 Connecticut Ave., Washington 6, D. C.
		9,375	Edward F. Carlough, 1000 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		9,375	A. H. Cronin, 3350 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill.
		9,375	Frank Bonadio, 3202 Beverly Road, Baltimore 14, Md.
		9,375	Marion Macioce, % 1000 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		9,375	C. D. Bruns, 1000 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Millers, American Federation of Grain..	2	15,988	S. P. Ming, 916 Metropolitan Bldg., Minneapolis 1, Minn.
		15,988	H. A. Schneider, 916 Metropolitan Bldg., Minneapolis 1, Minn.
Molders, and Foundry Workers Union of North America, International	6	11,350	Chester A. Sample, 1225 E. McMillan St., Cincinnati 6, Ohio.
		11,350	David H. Rath, 1225 E. McMillan St., Cincinnati 6, Ohio.
		11,350	Wm. A. Lazzarini, 2505 Yale North, Seattle, Wash.
		11,350	Frank A. Voit, 1524 Culbertson Ave., New Albany, Ind.
		11,349	Elmer Reynolds, Sr., 1225 E. McMillan St., Cincinnati 6, Ohio.
		11,349	N. D. Smith, 1225 E. McMillan St., Cincinnati 6, Ohio.
Musicians, American Federation of	7	36,425	James C. Petrillo, 425 Park Ave., New York 22, N. Y.
		36,425	Ed Charette, 1440 St. Catherine West, Room 903, Montreal, Que., Can.
		36,425	Robert Sidell, 202 Atlas Bank Bldg., 524 Walnut St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		36,425	Edward P. Ringius, 436 Wabasha St., St. Paul, Minn.
		36,425	Frank E. Field, 76 King St., "Brooklyn," Bridgeport 4, Conn.
		36,425	Kenneth E. Plummer, 3056 S. Cherry Way, Denver 22, Colo.
		36,425	Hal C. Davis, 709 Forbes St., Pittsburgh 19, Pa.
Newspaper Guild, American	4	5,620	William J. Farson, 1126 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		5,619	Charles A. Perlik, Jr., 1126 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		5,619	Joseph F. Collis, 1126 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		5,619	John H. Thompson, 1126 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Office Employees International Union ...	4	11,162	Howard Coughlin, 265 W. 14 St., Suite 610, New York 11, N. Y.
		11,162	J. Howard Hicks, 707 Continental Bldg., Washington 5, D. C.
		11,162	Nicholas Juliano, 31 Central Ave., Newark 2, N. J.
		11,161	Edward P. Springman, 201 N. Broad St., Philadelphia 7, Pa. Rm. 401.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union	8	20,574 20,574 20,574 20,574 20,574 20,574 20,574 20,574	O. A. Knight, 1840 California St., Denver, Colo. T. M. McCormick, 1840 California St., Denver, Colo. E. D. Swisher, 1840 California St., Denver, Colo. B. J. Schafer, 1840 California St., Denver, Colo. Ray Davidson, 1840 California St., Denver, Colo. E. E. Phelps, 1840 California St., Denver, Colo. William A. Hanscom, 1126 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Bernard C. Emrick, 1519 Wilbur St., Parkersburg, W. Va.
Packinghouse Workers of America, United	7	13,760 13,760 13,760 13,759 13,759 13,759 13,759	Ralph Helstein, 608 S. Dearborn St., Suite 1800, Chicago, Ill. C. R. Hathaway, 608 S. Dearborn St., Suite 1800, Chicago, Ill. A. T. Stephens, 608 S. Dearborn St., Suite 1800, Chicago, Ill. Russell Lasley, 608 S. Dearborn St., Suite 1800, Chicago, Ill. Fred Dowling, 11½ Spadina Road, Toronto 4, Ont., Can. Charles Hayes, 608 S. Dearborn St., Suite 1800, Chicago, Ill. Russell Bull, 605 Capital City Bank Bldg., Des Moines, Iowa.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of	7	26,375 26,374 26,374 26,374 26,374 26,374 26,374	Lawrence M. Raftery, 217-219 North 6 St., Lafayette, Ind. William H. Rohrborg, 217-219 N. 6 St., Lafayette, Ind. James Meehan, 79 Pearl St., Lawrence, Mass. Frank Owens, 1705 Bell Ave., Houston, Tex. Julius Skoglund, 5618 N. Knox Ave., Chicago 30, Ill. Herbert Baker, 4014 4 Ave., San Diego 3, Calif. Peter Yablonsky, 14 Yates St., Newark, N. J.
Papermakers and Paperworkers, United	7	15,687 15,686 15,686 15,686 15,686 15,686 15,686	Paul L. Phillips, N. Pearl and Wolfert Ave., Albany 1, N. Y. Harry D. Sayre, N. Pearl and Wolfert Ave., Albany 1, N. Y. Frank Grasso, N. Pearl and Wolfert Ave., Albany 1, N. Y. Joseph Addy, N. Pearl and Wolfert Ave., Albany 1, N. Y. Emil A. Noren, 204 N. 2nd Ave., Wausau, Wis. Harry Scott, P. O. Box 242, Covington, Va. Rex E. Daggett, 114-116 Kempf Bldg., Utica, N. Y.
Pattern Makers League of North America	1	11,000	George Q. Lynch, 1000 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Suite 204.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Plasterers and Cement Masons International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	6	10,035	John E. Rooney, 335 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		10,034	Edward J. Leonard, 707 AFL-CIO Bldg, 815 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		10,034	John J. Hauck, 335 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		10,034	Benedict Tantillo, 2237 Kingsland Ave., Bronx 69, N. Y.
		10,034	James L. McDevitt, 5901 Goldsboro Road, Bethesda, Md.
		10,034	James J. Boyle, 43 Paragon Road, W. Roxbury, Mass.
Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the	9	22,223	George Meany, 815 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		22,223	Peter T. Schoemann, 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		22,222	John J. McCartin, 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		22,222	William C. O'Neill, 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		22,222	William J. McLaughlin, 37 N. W. 45 St., Miami 37, Fla.
		22,222	Frank De Nike, 28 Paterson St., Jersey City 7, N. J.
		22,222	Chick Humphrey, 3838 Woodland Ave., Kansas City 9, Mo.
		22,222	Joseph Mazzola, 1621 Market St., San Francisco 3, Calif.
		22,222	Jack L. Poag, 1101 Atlanta Ave., North Sheffield, Ala.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal	4	3,880	Ray Muchloffer, 5578 Montgomery Road, Cincinnati 12, Ohio.
		3,880	Edward Scheuermann, 1315 Vaux Hall Road, Union, N. J.
		3,880	Dennis J. Oates, 5578 Montgomery Road, Cincinnati 12, Ohio.
		3,880	Emanuel F. Wilburn, 2108 Vine St., Cincinnati 10, Ohio.
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car ..	3	3,334	A. Philip Randolph, 217 W. 125 St., New York 27, N. Y.
		3,333	M. P. Webster, 2947 S. Drexel Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		3,333	C. L. Dellums, 1716 7th St., Oakland, Calif.
Post Office and Postal Transportation Service Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers, National Association of ..	1	1,200	Harold McAvoy, 900 F St., N. W., Rm. 916, Washington 4, D. C.
Postal Transport Association, National.	2	10,364	Paul A. Nagle, 1300 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		10,364	Wallace J. Legge, 1300 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Potters, International Brotherhood of Operative	4	6,593	E. L. Wheatley, Box 752, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		6,593	C. Frank Dales, 915 Alton St., East Liverpool, Ohio.
		6,592	Robert T. Bohannon, 1815 N. Purdue St., Kokomo, Ind.
		6,592	Lester Null, 1624 Stafford St., Gretna, La.
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America, International Plate	1	800	James L. Conner, 403 Harding Drive, Silver Spring, Md.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America, International	7	13,125 Thomas E. Dunwoody, Pressmen's Home, Tenn. 13,124 George L. Googe, Pressmen's Home, Tenn. 13,124 F. W. Maxted, 923 Long Drive, Burlington, Ont., Can. 13,124 Anthony J. De Andrade, 807 Old South Bldg., 204 Washington St., Boston, Mass. 13,124 Walter J. Turner, 1830 E. Florence Ave., Los Angeles 1, Calif. 13,124 Jack P. Torrence, Room 1512, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill. 13,124 Alexander J. Rohan, 613 Sheraton Bldg., 711 14 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.	
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of	8	20,178 John P. Burke, 118 Broadway, Fort Edward, N. Y. 20,178 Joseph Tonelli, 1 Park Ave., New York 16, N. Y. 20,172 Frank C. Barnes, 118 Broadway, Fort Edward, N. Y. 20,172 Henry Segal, 931 W. Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia 33, Pa. 20,172 Elmer F. Meinz, 343 Cooper Ave., North St. Cloud, Minn. 20,172 Charles E. Stewart, 6721 Canal Blvd., Shreveport, La. 20,178 Christopher Jackman, 591 Summit Ave., Jersey City 6, N. J. 20,172 Miss Harriet Wray, 101 E. 13 St., New York 3, N. Y.	
Radio and Television Directors Guild . . .	1	800 Neman H. Burnett, 114 E. 52 St., New York 22, N. Y. *M. S. Novik.	
Radio Association, American	1	1,580 William R. Steinberg, 5 Beekman St., New York 38, N. Y.	
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	8	16,063 A. L. Spradling, 6925 Dianna Drive, Cincinnati 39, Ohio. 16,063 Daniel J. McNamara, 9014 S. May St., Chicago, Ill. 16,063 John A. McConnell, 78 Chace Ave., Providence, R. I. 16,063 Walter J. Bierwagen, 2318 Cheverly Ave., Hyattsville, Md. 16,063 Michael Gormley, 38 Train St., Dorchester, Mass. 16,063 Frank Dyer, 41 Westminster Ave., Toronto, Ont., Can. 16,063 O. J. Mischo, 1641 Sunny Slope Road, South, Milwaukee 14, Wis. 16,063 John M. Elliott, R. D. 2, Boyds, Md. 1,237 J. P. Tahney, 4107 Cornelia Ave., Chicago 31, Ill. *John Nuter, 4241 W. Augusta Blvd., Chicago 51, Ill.	
Railway Supervisors Association, American	1		

* M. S. Novik substituted for Newman H. Burnett, Third Day, Dec. 9, 1957.

* John Nuter substituted for J. P. Tahney, Fourth Day, Dec. 10, 1957.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union	7		14,951 Max Greenberg, 132 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y. 14,951 Alvin E. Heaps, 132 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y. 13,951 Jack Paley, 132 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y. 14,951 Alex Bail, 132 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y. 14,950 Arthur Osman, 132 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y. 14,950 Sam Kovenetaky, 132 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y. 14,950 Sam Lowenthal, 5 4th Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers Association, United State, Tile and Composition	4		4,961 Charles D. Aquadro, 6 E. Lake St., Chicago 1, Ill. 4,961 Louis M. Spinelli, 914 Avenue M., Brooklyn 30, N. Y. 4,960 Edward F. Hurley, 43 Park Ave., W. South Weymouth, Mass. 4,960 Jules Zuberbier, 3001 Castiglione St., New Orleans, La.
Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, United	8		20,299 L. S. Bucimaster, 87 S. High St., Akron 8, Ohio. 20,299 Joseph W. Childs, 87 S. High St., Akron 8, Ohio. 20,299 Desmond Walker, 87 S. High St., Akron 8, Ohio. 20,299 Francis A. Maile, 178 Bridge St., Phoenixville, Pa. 20,299 John J. Skiffington, 40 2nd Ave., Woonsocket, R. I. 20,299 A. E. Musselman, 24 Abbey Ave., Dayton 7, Ohio. 20,299 Charles Gash, 1357 E. Muir, Hazel Park, Mich. 20,298 Harry W. Brown, 204 N. Farwell St., Eau Claire, Wis.
Seafarers International Union of North America	6		8,705 Paul Hall, 675 4th Ave., Brooklyn 32, N. Y. 8,705 Morris Weisberger, 450 Harrison St., San Francisco, Calif. 8,705 Andrea Gomez, 450 Sensitive Ave., Terminal Island, Calif. 8,705 Hal C. Banks, 634 St. James St., West Montreal, Que., Can. 8,705 S. E. Bennett, 240 Second St., San Francisco, Calif. 8,704 Ed Turner, 350 Fremont St., San Francisco 3, Calif.
Shoe Workers of America, United	6		8,536 Emerson T. Pence, % 1012 14 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 8,536 Dave Wilson, O'Fallon, Mo. 8,536 Filene De Novellis, 487 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 8,536 P. Joseph McCarthy, % 1012 14 St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 8,535 Estella Biezler, 1492 Linwood Ave., Columbus 6, Ohio. 8,535 George Terry, Carlyle, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Signalmen of American, Brotherhood Railroad	4	3,680	Jesse Clark, 503 Wellington Ave., Chicago 14, Ill.
		3,680	Carl K. Fields, 401 3rd St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		3,679	R. B. Park, Rm. 815, Commonwealth Bldg., 12th and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
		3,679	W. D. Wilson, 8 Andrew Place, Fair Lawn, N. J.
			*B. H. Steuerwald.
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of	1	2,000	George L. Warfel, 112 C St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of	6	8,350	Richard F. Walsh, 1270 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y.
		8,349	Harland Holmden, 1270 6th Ave., New York, N. Y.
		8,349	Thomas V. Green, 210 Richelieu Terrace, Newark, N. J.
		8,349	James McNabb, 124 Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
		8,349	William Finegan, 208 Great Lakes Life Bldg., 830 Vincent Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		8,349	Michael J. Mungovan, 555 Seneca Parkway, Rochester, N. Y.
State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of	8	18,377	Arnold S. Zander, 815 Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		18,377	Gordon W. Chapman, 815 Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		18,377	Milton Murray, 815 Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		18,377	William J. McEntee, 710 Marchman Road, Philadelphia 11, Pa.
		18,377	Thomas E. Morgan, 815 Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		18,377	Edward P. Bailey, 239 Wychwood Drive, Youngstown, Ohio.
		18,376	James L. McCormick, 1119 Santa Barbara Court, Sacramento 16, Calif.
		18,376	Jerry Wurf, 22 Elk St., New York 7, N. Y.
Steelworkers of America, United	20	51,072	David McDonald, 1500 Commonwealth Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
		51,072	I. W. Abel, 1500 Commonwealth Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
		51,072	Howard R. Hague, 1500 Commonwealth Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
		51,072	Joseph Germano, 211 First National Bank Bldg., East Chicago, Ind.
		51,072	George Medrick, 400 Blackstone Bldg., Harrisburg, Pa.
		51,072	James Robb, 507 Lemcke Bldg., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		51,072	Al Whitehouse, 806 Keith Bldg., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		51,072	Larry Sefton, c/o 1500 Commonwealth Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
		51,072	John S. Johns, 529 Walnut Ave., N. E., Canton, Ohio.
		51,072	Thomas Shane, 1014 Fox Bldg., Detroit 1, Mich.
		51,072	Paul Rusen, Odgen Bldg., 1329 Market St., Wheeling, West Va.

* B. H. Steuerwald substituted for W. D. Wilson, Fourth Day, Dec. 11, 1957.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
			51,072 John W. Crajeiar, Rm. 4, Boyle Bldg., Sharon, Pa.
			51,072 Charles J. Smith, 810 Wm. M. Garland Bldg., Los Angeles 15, Calif.
			51,072 Eugene Maurice, 36 First National Bank Bldg., Charleroi, Pa.
			51,072 Hugh P. Carcella, 887 Suburban Bldg., Philadelphia 2, Pa.
			51,072 Carmon B. Newell, 1330 Center St., Bethlehem, Pa.
			51,071 A. F. Kojetinsky, 215-222 Chemical Bldg., St. Louis 1, Mo.
			51,071 Berlin W. Ohler, 609 Providence Bldg., Duluth 2, Minn.
			51,071 Martin Burns, 1101 Continental Bldg., Houston 2, Texas.
			51,071 R. E. Farr, 320-326 Stallings Bldg., Birmingham 3, Ala.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union of North America, International	2	{	5,873 James H. Sampson, 300 Nordica, Glenview, Ill.
		{	5,872 Leo J. Feeney, 96 N. Walnut St., East Orange, N. J.
Stone and Allied Products Workers of America, United	4	{	3,246 Same H. Scott, 442 S. Sunset Drive, Winston-Salem, N. C.
		{	3,246 John C. Lawson, 167 Tremont St., Barre, Vt.
		{	3,246 Marvin R. Blaylock, 507 Woodland Drive, Dalton, Ga.
		{	3,246 Lester Weyandt, Woodville, Ohio.
Stonecutters Association of North America, Journeymen	1	{	1,900 Howard I. Hanson, 8 E. Market St., Rm. 324, Indianapolis 4, Ind.
Stove Mounters International Union . . .	3	{	3,111 James M. Roberts, 1710 N. Grand Ave., St. Louis 6, Mo.
		{	3,111 Edw. W. Kaiser, 1710 N. Grand Ave., St. Louis 6, Mo.
		{	3,111 Fred C. Keller, 1710 N. Grand Ave., St. Louis 6, Mo.
Switchmen's Union of North America . .	3	{	3,883 William A. Fleete, 3 Linwood Ave., Buffalo 2, N. Y.
		{	3,883 Daniel W. Collins, 3 Linwood Ave., Buffalo 2, N. Y.
		{	3,882 Charles E. McDaniels, 39 South La Salle St., Rm. 1315 NRAB, Chicago, Ill.
Teachers, American Federation	5	{	9,668 Carl J. Megel, 28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.
		{	9,667 Selma M. Borchardt, 1741 Park Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		{	9,667 John M. Fewkes, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
		{	9,667 F. Earl McGinnis, Jr., 106 Laurel Lane, Washington 4, Del.
		{	9,667 Herriek S. Roth, 360 Acoma St., Rm. 108, Denver 23, Colo.
Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad . .	2	{	15,000 G. E. Leighty, 3860 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis 8, Mo.
		{	15,000 E. J. Manion, 106 Palisades Ave., Santa Monica, Calif.
Telegraphers Union, The Commercial . .	4	{	7,271 W. L. Allen, 8605 Cameron St., Silver Spring, Md.
		{	7,271 T. T. Freeman, 918 Dupont Circle Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		{	7,270 E. L. Hageman, 918 Dupont Circle Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		{	7,270 John C. Hemby, 627½ Peachtree St., N. E., Room 4, Atlanta 8, Ga.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Textile Workers of America, United ...	5	8,656 Francis Schaufenbil, 820 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 8,656 Burton Hyman, 820 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 8,656 Louis Rubino, 820 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 8,655 Robert Cole, 820 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 8,655 Frank Sgambato, 820 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.	
Textile Workers Union of America	9	21,112 William Pollock, 99 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. 21,111 John Chupka, 99 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. 21,111 Emil Rieve, 99 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. 21,111 J. Wm. Belanger, 44 School St., Boston, Mass. 21,111 Boyd E. Payton, 110 W. 6 St., Charlotte, N. C. 21,111 Sol Stetin, 1060 Broad St., Newark, N. J. 21,111 J. Harold Daoust, 99 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. 21,111 William Gordon, 99 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. 21,111 Victor Canzano, 99 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.	
Tobacco Workers International Union ..	3	8,452 John O'Hare, Rm. 801, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C. 8,452 R. J. Petree, Rm. 801, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C. 8,451 S. E. Blane, 1901 Lakewood Ave., Durham, N. C.	
Train Dispatchers Association, American	1	1,500 J. B. Springer, 10 E. Huron St., Chicago 11, Ill.	
Trainmen, Brotherhood of Railroad	4	3,334 W. P. Kennedy, Standard Bldg., Cleveland 13, Ohio. 3,333 W. J. Weil, Standard Bldg., Cleveland 13, Ohio. 3,333 Harry See, 401 3rd St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C. 3,333 Edw. B. Henslee, 139 N. Clark St., Rm. 810, Chicago 2, Ill.	
Transport Service Employees of America, United	1	3,000 Eugene E. Frazier, 444 E. 63 St., Chicago, Ill. *T. W. Winchester.	
Transport Workers Union of America ..	7	11,429 Michael J. Quill, 275 W. 238 St., New York, N. Y. 11,429 Matthew Guinan, 3024 Kingsbridge Ave., Bronx, N. Y. 11,429 Andrew Kaelin, % 275 W. 238 St., New York, N. Y. 11,429 James F. Horst, 3652 Princeton Drive, North, Wantagh, L. I., N. Y. 11,428 Gustav Faber, P. O. Box 207, Mohopac Falls, N. Y. 11,428 Eugene A. Attreed, 9505 Black Oak Court, Silver Spring, Md. 11,428 Frank Sheehan, 215 Greenwood Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.	

* T. W. Winchester substituted for Eugene E. Frazier, Fourth Day, Dec. 10, 1957.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Typographical Union, International	7	11,164	Woodruff Randolph, Box 428, Indianapolis 6, Ind.
		11,164	Theodore E. Hillyer, 1262 India St., San Diego, Calif.
		11,164	F. E. McGlothlin, 15515 Stone Ave., Seattle 33, Wash.
		11,164	Wallace C. Reilly, 1710 S. Harwood, Dallas, Tex.
		11,164	Howard L. Patten, 1730 Abingdon Drive, Alexandria, Va.
		11,164	Lewis M. Herrmann, 624 Sanford Ave., Newark 6, N. J.
		11,168	Harry S. Duffy, 3646 Bernard Drive, Wantach, L. I., N. Y.
Upholsterers International Union of North America	6	8,591	Sal B. Hoffman, 1500 N. Broad St., Philadelphia 21, Pa.
		8,591	Alfred R. Rota, 729 S. Western Ave., Chicago 12, Ill.
		8,591	Tony Remshardt, 1641 S. Kingshighway, St. Louis, Mo.
		8,591	R. Alvin Albarino, 19 W. 44 St., Rm. 215, New York, N. Y.
		8,591	George Bucher, 2132 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
		8,590	Reed J. Stoney, 200 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Calif.
Utility Workers Union of America	6	8,755	Joseph A. Fisher, 5915 Parsons Blvd., Flushing, L. I., N. Y.
		8,755	William J. Pachler, 7608 Lynn Drive, Chevy Chase 15, Md.
		8,755	Harold J. Straub, 2828 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		8,755	William R. Munger, 3442 W. 210 St., Cleveland, Ohio.
		8,754	Patrick McGrath, 850 Shore Drive, Bronx, N. Y.
		8,754	Edward T. Shedlock, 1012 West Thelborn St., West Covina, Calif.
Weavers Protective Association, American Wire	1	430	Edward J. Powers, 265 De Witt Ave., Belleville, N. J.
Woodworkers of America, International	6	9,597	A. F. Hartung, Rt. 4, Box 153, Sherwood, Ore.
		9,597	William Botkin, 6127 N. E. 17th, Portland, Ore.
		9,597	Joe Morris, 45 Kingsway, Suite 4, Vancouver, B. C., Can.
		9,597	Burk Christie, P. O. Box 124, Olympia, Wash.
		9,597	Ronald F. Roley, 23 2N. E. 9th, Portland, Ore.
		9,597	J. B. Hanna, 105½ W. Capitol St., Jackson, Miss.
Yardmasters of America, Railroad	1	4,000	M. G. Schoch, 41 North Madison Ave., La Grange, Ill.

Trade and Industrial Departments

(Trade and Industrial Departments are each entitled to one delegate, having one vote.)

ORGANIZATIONS	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Building and Construction Trades	Richard J. Gray, 815 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Industrial Union	Walter P. Reuther, 815 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Maritime Trades	Harry E. O'Reilly, 815 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Metal Trades	James A. Brownlow, 815 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Railroad Employees	Michael Fox, 220 S. State St., Chicago 4, Ill.
Union Label and Service Trades	Joseph Lewis, 815 16 St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

State Bodies

(State bodies are each entitled to one delegate, having one vote.)

Alabama	Barney Weeks, 604 Lyric Bldg., Birmingham 3, Ala.
Alaska	Robert E. McFarland, P. O. Box 487, Anchorage, Alaska.
Arizona	K. S. Brown, 520 W. Adams St., Phoenix, Ariz.
Arkansas	V. H. Bill Williams, 415 National Old Line Bldg., Little Rock, Ark.
Colorado	R. C. Anderson, 360 Acoma St., Denver 23, Colo.
Connecticut	Joseph M. Rourke, 2607 Whitney Ave., Hamden 18, Conn.
Delaware	Clement J. Lemon, 5 S. Clayton St., Wilmington, Del.
Georgia	William A. Cetti, 2800 Sewell Road, S. W., Atlanta, Ga.
Iowa	Ray Mills, 1100 Paramount Bldg., Des Moines 9, Iowa.
Kansas	William S. Holly, 221 N. Market, Wichita 2, Kan.
Louisiana	Victor Bussie, 1427 Ricou-Brewster Bldg., Shreveport, La.
Maine	Benjamin J. Dorsky, 199 Exchange St., Bangor, Maine.
Maryland	Harry Cohen, 309 N. Charles St., Baltimore 1, Md.
Minnesota	Neil C. Sherburne, 9th and Auditorium Sts., St. Paul, Minn.
Mississippi	Ray S. Bryant, 821 Arledge St., Hattiesburg, Miss.
Missouri	John I. Rollings, 1419 N. Grand Blvd., St. Louis 6, Mo.
Montana	James S. Umber, Box 1176, Helena, Mont.
Nebraska	Gordon C. Preble, 1821 California St., Omaha, Neb.
Nevada	Louis Paley, 712 S. Center St., Reno, Nev.
New Hampshire	Joseph Moriarty, RFD No. 1, Duryam, N. H.
New Mexico	Tom E. Robles, 216-A Iron S. W., Albuquerque, N. M.

ORGANIZATIONS

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES

North Carolina	W. M. Barbee, 807 First Citizens Bank Bldg., Raleigh, N. C.
Oregon	James T. Marr, 506 Labor Temple, Portland 1, Ore.
Puerto Rico	Armando Sanchez, 154 Ponce De Leon Ave., San Juan, P. R.
South Carolina	Sinway Young, 2006 Sumter St., Columbia, S. C.
South Dakota	Clifford W. Shrader, 101 N. Euclid Ave., Sioux Falls, S. D.
Tennessee	Stanton E. Smith, 939 Church St., Nashville 3, Tenn.
Texas	Fred H. Schmidt, 214 VFW Bldg., 1011 San Jacinto, Austin 1, Tex.
Utah	La Mar D. Gulbransen, 161 South 2nd East, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Vermont	James R. Cross, 131 S. Main St., St. Albans, Vt.
Virginia	Harold B. Boyd, 102 N. Belvidere St., Richmond 20, Va.
Washington	E. M. Weston, 2800 First Ave., Seattle 1, Wash.
West Virginia	Miles C. Stanley, 1116 Lee St., Charleston, W. Va.
Wyoming	Paul D. Shafro, 2522 Central Ave., Cheyenne, Wyo.

Central Bodies

(Central Bodies are each entitled to one delegate, having one vote.)

Aiken, S. C.	Wayne L. Dernonecourt, % 726 Newberry St., Aiken, S. C.
Akron, Ohio	Leo E. Dugan, 672 S. Main St., Akron 11, Ohio.
Alameda County, Calif.	Robert S. Ash, 2815 Valdez St., Oakland, Calif.
Albert Lea, Minn.	Joseph Cooley, 405½ Broadway, Rochester, Minn.
Alexandria, La.	Robert L. Soule, 129 Kathryn St., Alexandria, La.
Anchorage, Alaska	Gordon W. Hartlieb, P. O. Box 2068, Anchorage, Alaska.
Appleton, Wis.	Peter Succa, 527 N. Appleton St., Appleton, Wis.
Asheville, N. C.	J. E. Jervis, 101 Grandview Road, Asheville, N. C.
Ashland County, Ohio	Wade A. Hackett, 1005 Overlook Drive, Ashland, Ohio, tin. Tex.
Austin, Texas	A. E. Edwards, % Hugh Tims, 1410 N. Congress, Aus-
Barre, Vermont	Frederick Dykeman, Box 66, Barre, Vt.
Bastrop, La.	Fred Kreger, Labor Temple, E. Madison St., Bastrop, La.
Baton Rouge, La.	Charles Bedell, 147 Van Buren St., Baton Rouge, La.
Binghamton, N. Y.	Leonard S. Miller, 261 Water St., Binghamton, N. Y.
Bluefield, W. Va. (Mercer County)	R. W. Bob Edwards, 1201 Mercer St., Princeton, W. Va.
Bogalusa, La.	Curtis Luttrell, 643 Avenue D, Bogalusa, La.

ORGANIZATIONS

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES

Boulder County, Colo.	Eldon W. Cooper, 160 S. Sheridan Blvd., Denver 14, Colo.
Bristol, Conn.	Mitchell Sviridoff, 95 Kohary Drive, New Haven, Conn.
Brockton, Mass.	Francis E. Lavigne, % 33 Hervey St., Brockton, Mass.
Bucks County, Pa.	Frank F. Flatch, 118 Otter St., Bristol, Pa.
Canton (Greater), Ohio	W. E. Wycoff, 529 Walnut Ave., N. E., Canton, Ohio.
Cattaraugus & Alleghany Counties, N. Y. ..	Robert W. Easley, 317 S. 3rd St., Olean, N. Y.
Centre County, Pa.	Sidney G. Willar, 239 E. High St., Bellefonte, Pa.
Charlotte, N. C.	J. C. James, 900 Sweetbriar St., Charlotte, N. C.
Chattanooga, Tenn.	Melvin A. Williams, 540 Vine St., Chattanooga, Tenn.
Chester County, Pa.	Paul Henderson, % 147 E. Chestnut St., Coatesville, Pa.
Clark, Skamania & West Klickitat Counties, Wash.	William R. Smith, Labor Temple, 205 E. 11th St., Vancouver, Wash.
Clearfield, Pa.	Gaston Le Blanc, Clearfield, Pa.
Clinton, Ind.	James W. Coakley, 130 S. Main St., Clinton, Ind.
Columbia, S. C.	E. T. Kirkland, 119 S. Parker St., Columbia, S. C.
Columbus, Ind.	Ardath B. Howard, Columbus, Ind.
Council Bluffs, Iowa	Elmer Davis, 1620 N. 36 St., Omaha, Neb.
Dade County, Fla.	William J. Owens, 2910 N. W. 22nd Court, Miami, Fla.
Decatur, Ala.	Ted Williams, P. O. Box 1022, Decatur, Ala.
Defiance, Ohio	Louis E. Schmidt, 834 Perry St., Defiance, Ohio.
Delaware County, Pa.	Jack Mullen, 117 E. 8 St., Chester, Pa.
Denver Area, Colo.	James R. Youngs, 2150 Lowell Blvd., Denver 11, Colo.
Duluth, Minn.	R. A. Olson, 9th and Auditorium, St. Paul, Minn.
El Dorado, Ark.	Don McCullar, 2403 Nevada, El Dorado, Ark.
Elk, Cameron & Jefferson Counties, Pa. ...	John P. McCluskey, Box 591, Brookville, Pa.
Eugene, Ore.	Joe Willis, 507 Willamette St., Eugene, Ore.
Fayette County, Pa.	Harry Cook, Jr., Union Trust Bldg., Central Labor Union, Uniontown, Pa.
Fitchburg, Mass.	George W. Lavoie, Rangren Road, Rt. 28, Fitchburg, Mass.
Fond du Lac, Wis.	Harold Richter, 143 Doty St., Fond du Lac, Wis.
Fresno, Calif.	W. T. O'Rear, 2135 Fresno St., Rm. 247, Fresno 21, Calif.
Gibson County, Ind.	John G. Soucie, 2701 E. Blackford, Evansville, Ind.
Grand Island, Neb.	E. F. Noble, 1108 S. Vine, Grand Island, Neb.
Grand Junction, Colo.	J. Clyde Williams, 360 Acoma St., Rm. 300, Denver 23, Colo.
Green Bay, Wis.	Jack O'Malley, 2563 Libal St., Green Bay, Wis.
Harrisburg, Region, Pa.	Donald C. Eby, R. D. 1, New Cumberland, Pa.

ORGANIZATIONS

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES

Honolulu, Hawaii	A. S. Reile, 212 McCandless Bldg., Honolulu, Hawaii.
Hot Springs, Ark.	Carl Dicus, P. O. Box 292, Hot Springs, Ark.
Hot Spring-Clark Counties, Ark.	Odell Smith, 266 Chester St., Little Rock, Ark.
Humbolt County, Calif.	Albin J. Gruhn, P. O. Box 259, Eureka, Calif.
Huntingdon County, Pa.	Clifton C. Caldwell, Rm. 701, Clark Bldg., Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
Johnson City, Tenn.	Charles M. Houk, 939 Church St., Nashville, Tenn.
Jonesboro, Ark.	E. W. Wilkerson, 201 Riegler Bldg., Little Rock, Ark.
Jonesboro-Hodge, La.	Emil J. Bourg, Sr., 415 Government St., Baton Rouge, La.
Kalamazoo, Mich.	Florence H. Bailey, 1724 Colgrove Ave., Kalamazoo, Mich.
Kenton & Campbell Counties, Ky.	William B. Koester, % 129 West 5th St., St. John's Hall, Covington, Ky.
King County, Wash.	Harry L. Carr, 2800 1st Ave., Seattle, Wash.
Kingsport, Tenn.	W. B. Petty, 214 Cumberland St., Kingsport, Tenn.
Knoxville, Tenn.	Fred F. Comer, 3320 Barton, N. E., Knoxville, Tenn.
Lafayette, Ind.	Henry Koning, Sr., 1918 Vinton St., Lafayette, Ind.
La Grande, Ore.	D. C. Ahrens, La Grande, Ore.
Lake Charles, La.	Gordon Flory, % 533 11th St., Lake Charles, La.
Lake County, Ohio	Victor J. Bukky, 1530 State St., Painesville, Ohio.
Lancaster, Pa.	Charles Medrick, 165 E. King St., Lancaster, Pa.
Lansing, Mich.	Elton E. Tubbs, % 501 N. Grand Ave., Lansing, Mich.
Lawrence, Kan.	H. J. Yount, 101 VFW Bldg., Topeka, Kan.
Lawrence County, Pa.	Martin J. Kovach, 724 Lawrence Ave., Elwood City, Pa.
Lebanon County, Pa.	Frank McDaniels, R. D. No. 1, Palmyra, Pa.
Lubbock, Tex.	A. E. Edwards, Labor Temple, 2009 Avenue K, Lubbock, Tex.
Lynchburg, Va.	Silas Switzer, P. O. Box 1089, Lynchburg, Va.
Madison, Wis.	Richard H. Huffman, 1808 Waunona Way, Madison 5, Wis.
Manchester, N. H.	Louis I. Martel, 102 Bridge St., Manchester, N. H.
Marshall, Tex.	Frank Graham, 504 N. Franklin, Marshall, Tex.
Marshall County, W. Va.	Charles E. Hess, 2013 First St., Moundsville, W. Va.
Memphis, Tenn.	William H. Crawford, Labor Temple, 571 Beale Ave., Memphis, Tenn.
Mid Columbia, Ore.	H. H. Harrison, 502 Labor Temple, Portland, Ore.
Muskegon, Mich.	Walter Tyler, Muskegon, Mich.
Nashua, N. H.	Thomas J. Pitary, 21 High St., Nashua, N. H.
New Britain, Conn.	Francis W. O'Brien, % 73 Tremont St., Rm. 527, Boston 8, Mass.

ORGANIZATIONS

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES

New Orleans, La.	Charles D. Winters, 424 Chartres St., New Orleans, La.
Newport, R. I.	Albert Fournier, 308 Thames St., Newport, R. I.
Niagara County, N. Y.	Harry S. Jordan, 204 5th St., Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Northampton County, Pa. & Warren County, N. J.	John J. McLaughlin, 2902 Eldridge Ave., Easton, Pa.
Oak Ridge, Tenn.	Harrison Ray, 2300 Broadway, N. E., Knoxville, Tenn.
Oklahoma City, Okla.	Thomas H. Ward, 2133 N. W. 23rd St., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Omaha, Neb.	Joseph Silbacek, 310 Brandale Theatre Bldg., Omaha, Neb.
Panama, C. Z.	William M. Price, Labor Office, F. C. D. A., Battle Creek, Mich.
Peru, Ind.	Larry Cover, P. O. Box 524, Peru, Ind.
Philip, Lee & Monroe Counties, Ark.	Judy Smith, 2616 Chester St., Little Rock, Ark.
Phoenix, Ariz.	George S. Sebastyen, 510 W. Adams St., Phoenix, Ariz.
Polk County, Iowa	Sam S. Turk, 324 E. 6 Ave., Des Moines, Iowa.
Portland (Greater), Maine	Horace E. Howe, 4 Berwick St., South Portland, Maine.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	William Sorenson, Sr., 75 Cannon St., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Reading & Berks County, Pa.	Charles W. Seyfert, 113 N. 8 St., Reading, Pa.
Riverside, Calif.	L. J. Rees, 735 W. 5th, San Bernardino, Calif.
Rochester, Minn.	Howard H. Smith, 907 9th Ave., S. E., Rochester, Minn.
Rome, Ga.	James F. O'Shea, 210 E. 3rd St., Rome, Ga.
Sacramento, Calif.	Harry Finks, 1210 H St., Sacramento, Calif.
St. Albans, Vt.	C. E. St. Amour, 18 Upper Welden St., St. Albans, Vt.
St. Helens, Ore.	Roy C. Hill, 204 Labor Temple, Portland 1, Ore.
St. Louis, Mo.	William A. Webb, Rm. 202, 1411 N. Grand, St. Louis 6, Mo.
St. Paul, Minn.	Richard Radman, Jr., Labor Temple, St. Paul 2, Minn.
Salisbury, Md. Del-Mar-Va Peninsula ...	Paul B. Reynolds, 123 Camden St., Salisbury, Md.
San Bernardino, Calif.	Ray M. Wilson, 1069 Kevin Ave., Redlands, Calif.
Savannah, Ga.	L. M. Robinson, Labor Temple, 9 E. Bay St., Savannah, Ga.
Saratoga County, N. Y.	Joseph Diliberto, 320 Nelson Ave., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
Sheboygan County, Wis.	Emil C. Schuette, 1311 New Jersey, Sheboygan, Wis.
Shreveport, La.	Raymond B. Oliver, P. O. Box 1003, Shreveport, La.
Southwestern Oregon, Ore.	Austin J. Haughey, 506 Labor Temple, Portland 1, Ore.
Spokane, Wash.	William McCormick, E. 327 Rockwell, Spokane, Wash.
Springfield, Ill.	Sam Bonansinga, 2140 E. Jackson St., Springfield, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Springfield, Mo.	Jack F. Moore, 1414 Hart St., Springfield, Mo.
Steele County, Minn.	Frank W. Woodfill, Medford, Minn.
Stillwater, Minn.	Robert E. Hess, 5351 Hugo Road, White Bear Lake, Minn.
Sturgis & St. Joseph County, Mich.	August Scholle, 111 Jean St., Sturgis, Mich.
Sullivan County, N. H.	Martin J. Walsh, 110 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
Texas City, Tex.	G. J. Le Unes, P. O. Box 378, Texas City, Tex.
Topeka, Kan.	Howard V. Robinson, 325 Leland, Topeka, Kan.
Tri-County, W. Va.	Hugh Brown, 226 N. Church St., Martinsburg, W. Va.
Tucson, Ariz.	Fred J. Brown, 802 S. Belvidere Ave., Tucson, Ariz.
Vincennes, Ind.	Charles O. Miller, 130½ North 7th St., Vincennes, Ind.
Washington (Greter), D. C.	C. F. Preller, 1745 K St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Washington County, Ore.	Chester C. Dusten, 1046 S. W. 6th St., Beaverton, Ore.
Western Maryland, Md.	Charles E. Stutzman, 125 S. Liberty St., Cumberland, Md.
Wichita, Kan.	K. E. Kitchen, 2518 N. Chautauqua, Wichita, Kan.
Willimantic, Conn.	Emmett F. La Porte, R. D. 1, Storrs, Conn.
Winchester-Front Royal, Va.	William A. Lillard, Jr., 11 N. Marshall St., Front Royal, Va.
Winnebago County, Wis.	Clarence Jeske, 350 Monroe Ave., Oshkosh, Wis.
York County, Pa.	Edward B. Clinch, 18 East South St., York, Pa.
Yuma County, Ariz.	W. A. Gray, Box 3827 Commerce Station, Phoenix, Ariz.

Local Unions

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
83, Highland Park, Mich.	1	5,079	John O'Keefe, 15840 Second Blvd., Highland Park 3, Mich.
520, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	699	James M. McCaffrey, 3612 North Lawrence St., Philadelphia 40, Pa.
1746, Washington, D. C.	1	26	Eve Rubin, Washington, D. C.
1805, Indianapolis, Ind.	1	44	Lester H. Thornton, 1803 Broadway, East Chicago, Ind.
1821, Seattle, Wash.	1	1,361	George Johansen, 84 Union St., Box 42, Seattle 11, Wash.
14712, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	19	Jack Bowman, 125 N. Kingston Ave., Atlantic City, N. J.
16303, New York, N. Y.	1	1,358	Anthony Varrone, 798 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
18007, Chicago, Ill.	1	2,575	James J. McGuigan, 4834 N. Hoyne Ave., Chicago, Ill.
18032, New York, N. Y.	1	565	Milton Weintraub, 25 West 45th St., New York, N. Y.
18205, New York, N. Y.	1	438	Charles Ribando, 41 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
18267, Cleveland, Ohio	1	605	Andrew Kozak, 14717 Benwood Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
18419, Massillon, Ohio	1	318	Martin Gradijan, 700 Lee Rd. N. E., Massillon, Ohio.
18456, (2311 votes) 19322, (1044 votes) Kenosha, Wis.	1	3,855	Paul Whiteside, 7600 10th Ave., Kenosha, Wis.
18527, Chicago, Ill.	1	504	L. E. Disselhorst, 8 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
18671, Cleveland, Ohio	1	225	William R. McCourt, 3515 Prospect Ave., Rm. 207, Cleveland 15, Ohio.
18887, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	1,591	Alex I. Dever, 28 Melrose Ave., East Lansdowne, Pa.
19469, Chicopee Falls, Mass.	1	950	Nello Ricardi, 29 Goodhue Ave., Chicopee Falls, Mass.
19620, Rochester, N. Y.	1	414	Leo Zeller, 700 Thurston Rd., Rochester, N. Y.
19806, Milwaukee, Wis.	1	4,888	Wilbur LeClair, 4471 W. Leon Terrace, Milwaukee 16, Wis.
20467, Chicago, Ill.	1	885	Corinne Currie, 1522 S. Spaulding Ave., Chicago, Ill.
20538, Auburn, N. Y.	1	453	Robert Walter, 7 Spring St., Union Springs, N. Y.
20572, Toledo, Ohio	1	590	William A. TenEyck, 6018 Bryan Road, Toledo, Ohio.
20610, Woodland, Calif.	1	299	Joseph Angelo, 1410 Vin Don Jose, Walnut Creek, Calif.
20665, Baltimore, Md.	1	109	Paul J. Albert, 5411 Pembroke Ave., Baltimore 6, Md.
20711, St. Louis, Mo.	1	18	Maury E. Rubin, 4903 Delmar Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
21432, Boston, Mass.	1	193	Thomas F. Sullivan, 24 Audubon Ave., Braintree, Mass.
21538, Blackwell, Okla.	1	878	O. C. Campbell, 222 West Kansas, Blackwell, Okla.
21664, Syracuse, N. Y.	1	304	Frank Galuski, 62 Frederick St., R. D. 1, East Syracuse, N. Y.
21690, Chicago, Ill.	1	181	Reuben G. Soderstrom, 503 Security Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
21877, Chicago, Ill.	1	16	Irwin E. Klass, 666 Lake Shore Dr., Chicago 11, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
21914, Watertown, Mass.	1	4,604	Salvatore A. Percoco, 25 5th St., E. Cambridge 41, Mass.
22177, Detroit, Mich.	1	2,752	Charles F. Shipp, 26540 Margareta Ave., Detroit 19, Mich.
22254, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	1,009	Eugene Murphy, 7029 Gillespie St., Philadelphia 35, Pa.
22543, Springfield, Ohio	1	118	Helen Overholser, 240 Mt. Vernon, Springfield, Ohio.
22623, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	1,703	Robert J. Golden, 200 Barlow Ave., Merchantville, N. J.
22631, Milwaukee, Wis.	1	2,701	John E. Cudahy, 2118 W. National Ave., Milwaukee 4, Wis.
22636, East Chicago, Ind.	1	2,012	Eugene A. Chlebowaski, 3340 163rd St., Hammond, Ind.
23010, Ludington, Mich.	1	287	Fred Adams, 501 N. James St., Ludington, Mich.
23068, Erie, Pa.	1	278	W. J. Baumgartner, 403 East Ave., Erie, Pa.
23091, Shreveport, La.	1	24	K. G. Flory, 427 Ricou-Brewster Bldg., Shreveport, La.
23132, Passaic, N. J.	1	821	Frank Truatt, 211 Oakwood Dr., R. F. D. 2, Westwood, N. J.
23433, Gowanda, N. Y.	1	234	Joseph Badurek, 70 Chestnut St., Gowanda, N. Y.
23478, Canandaigua, N. Y.	1	235	Sam Manganaro, 96 State St., Manchester, N. Y.
23773, Dayton, Ohio	1	12	Arley J. Ballard, 2417 W. Riverview, Dayton, Ohio.
23823, Newark, Ohio	1	240	Derrell Johnson, Newark R. F. D. 4, Newark, Ohio.
23843, Duluth, Minn.	1	20	Jerome D. Schaller, 9th and Auditorium St., St. Paul, Minn.
23983, Syracuse, N. Y.	1	3,115	Dominic Catalano, 114 Matty Ave., Mattdale 11, N. Y.
24058, Lawrence, Mass.	1	49	John A. Callahan, Lawrence, Mass.
24111, Milwaukee, Wis.	1	16	Ray W. Taylor, Milwaukee, Wis.
24314, Terre Haute, Ind.	1	41	Hobert Autterson, 3238 No. 11th St., Terre Haute, Ind.
24369, Waterbury, Conn.	1	642	Edward Lynch, 1306 E. Main St., Waterbury, Conn.
24410, Climax, Colo.	1	1,367	Clarence W. Gray, Climax, Colo.
24426, Upton, N. Y.	1	317	Ernest M. Stihel, 44 Walnut Ave., Patchogue, L. I., N. Y.
24628, Exeter, N. H.	1	38	Robert Walkinshaw, Prospect St., Ext., Box 290, Medway, Mass.
24760, Bridgeport, Conn.	1	826	James F. Burns, 58 Whittier St., Bridgeport, Conn.

Fraternal Organizations

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
British Trades Union Congress	2	W. B. Beard, 15 Cleve Road, West Hemstead, London, N. W. 6, England. J. O'Hagan, 93 Borough Road West, Middlesborough, England.
Canadian Labour Congress	1	Donald MacDonald, 100 Argyle Ave., Ottawa 4, Ont., Canada.

Recapitulation

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
129	National and International Unions	676	12,717,520
6	Trade and Industrial Departments	6	6
34	State Central Bodies	34	34
134	Local Central Bodies	134	134
56	Federal Labor Unions and Local Industrial Unions	55	52,361
2	Fraternal Organizations	3	...
—		—	—
361		908	12,770,055

Conventions of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

New York CityDec. 5-9, 1955
Atlantic City, N. J.Dec. 5-12, 1957

CONSTITUTION
of the
**American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations**
*As Amended by the 1957 Convention**

PREAMBLE

The establishment of this Federation through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.

We seek the fulfillment of these hopes and aspirations through democratic processes within the framework of our constitutional government and consistent with our institutions and traditions.

At the collective bargaining table, in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the American people.

We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life and the fundamental freedoms which are the basis of our democratic society.

We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul. We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom our unions serve.

With Divine guidance, grateful for the fine traditions of our past, confident of meeting the challenge of the future, we proclaim this constitution.

** Amendments are set in italic type.*

ARTICLE I

Name

This Federation shall be known as the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. It is established pursuant to and as a result of a merger agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It shall consist of such affiliates as shall conform to its constitution and the rules and regulations adopted thereunder.

ARTICLE II

Objects and Principles

The objects and principles of this Federation are:

1. To aid workers in securing improved wages, hours and working conditions with due regard for the autonomy, integrity and jurisdiction of affiliated unions.

2. To aid and assist affiliated unions in extending the benefits of mutual assistance and collective bargaining to workers and to promote the organization of the unorganized into unions of their own choosing for their mutual aid, protection and advancement, giving recognition to the principle that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of union organization.

3. To affiliate national and international unions with this Federation and to establish such unions; to form organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions and to secure their affiliation to appropriate national and international unions affiliated with or chartered by the Federation; to establish, assist and promote state

and local central bodies composed of local unions of all affiliated organizations and directly affiliated local unions; to establish and assist trade departments composed of affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees.

4. To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry to share equally in the full benefits of union organization.

5. To secure legislation which will safeguard and promote the principle of free collective bargaining, the rights of workers, farmers and consumers, and the security and welfare of all the people and to oppose legislation inimical to these objectives.

6. To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled, and to preserve and perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy.

7. To give constructive aid in promoting the cause of peace and freedom in the world and to aid, assist and cooperate with free and democratic labor movements throughout the world.

8. To preserve and maintain the integrity of each affiliated union in the organization to the end that each affiliate shall respect the established bargaining relationships of every other affiliate and that each affiliate shall refrain from raiding the established bargaining relationship of any other affiliate and, at the same time, to encourage the elimination of conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger in consultation with the appropriate officials of the Federation, to preserve, subject to the foregoing, the organizing jurisdiction of each affiliate.

9. To aid and encourage the sale and use of union made goods and union services through the use of the union label and other symbols; to promote the labor press and other means of furthering the education of the labor movement.

10. To protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism.

11. To safeguard the democratic character of the labor movement and to protect the autonomy of each affiliated national and international union.

12. While preserving the independence of the labor movement from political control, to encourage workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the local, state and national communities.

ARTICLE III

Affiliates

Section 1. The Federation shall be composed of (1) affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees, (2) directly affiliated local unions (such as Local Trade Unions, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Industrial Unions) and national councils thereof, (3) state and local central bodies (such as State and Territorial Federations, City Central Labor Unions and Industrial Union Councils), and (4) trade and industrial departments.

Sec. 2. Each national and international union and each federal labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this constitution by reason of a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by that federation and each national and international union, organizing committee and local industrial union affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations at the time of the adoption of this constitution by reason of a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by that federation shall retain its charter or certificate, which shall become and be a charter or certificate of this Federation and, by virtue of the same and as a result of the merger between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be an affiliate of this Federation and subject to its rules and regulations.

Sec. 3. Each such affiliate shall retain and enjoy the same organizing jurisdiction in this Federation which it had and enjoyed by reason of its prior affiliation with either the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In cases of conflicting and duplicating jurisdictions involving such affiliates

the President and the Executive Council of this Federation shall seek to eliminate such conflicts and duplications through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger between the affiliates involved.

Sec. 4. The integrity of each such affiliate of this Federation shall be maintained and preserved. Each such affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. When a complaint has been filed with the President by an affiliate alleging a violation of this section by another affiliate, that has not been settled under the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement referred to in Article XVIII, the President shall endeavor, by consultation with the appropriate officers of both affiliates, to settle the matter by voluntary agreement between such affiliates. In the event no such voluntary agreement is reached within a reasonable time the President shall report to the Executive Council with such recommendations as he may deem appropriate. Upon such report being submitted, the Executive Council shall consider the same, shall hear the appropriate officers of the affiliates involved, and shall make such decision as it believes to be necessary and proper to carry out the provisions of this section. In the event an affiliate shall fail to comply with such decision, the Executive Council shall submit the matter to the convention for such action as the convention may deem appropriate under the provisions of this constitution.

Sec. 5. State and Territorial Federations of Labor and Local Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, and State and Local Industrial Union Councils affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall become and be affiliates of this Federation and shall, as such, continue to exist as state, territorial and local central bodies, each representing the respective federal labor unions or local industrial unions now affiliated to such central body and such local unions now affiliated to such central body as are affiliated with a national or international union or organizing committee affiliated

with this Federation. Provided, however: That a merger of these state, territorial and local central bodies, heretofore affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be effected within two years after the adoption of this constitution, through the process of negotiation and agreement under the guidance of the President of this Federation and its Executive Council.

Sec. 6. Existing departments of the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this constitution shall continue as trade departments of this Federation with the rights of and subject to the rules governing trade and industrial departments provided in Article XII.

Sec. 7. The Executive Council shall have power to issue charters or certificates of affiliation to organizations desiring to affiliate with this Federation. This power may be delegated to the President. Subject to the provisions of Sections 2 and 3 of this Article, charters or certificates of affiliation shall not be issued to national or international unions, organizing committees, or directly affiliated local unions in conflict with the jurisdiction of affiliated national or international unions, except with the written consent of such unions, and shall be based upon a strict recognition that both craft and industrial unions are equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization, and that each affiliated national and international union is entitled to have its autonomy, integrity and jurisdiction protected and preserved.

Sec. 8. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution no national or international union chartered by or affiliated with this Federation may be suspended from membership in the Federation except by a majority roll-call vote at the convention. No such national or international union shall have its charter or certificate of affiliation with the Federation revoked except by a two-thirds majority roll-call vote at the convention.

Sec. 9. No organization officered, controlled or dominated by communists, fascists, or other totalitarians, or whose policies and activities are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program or purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totali-

tarian movement, shall be permitted as an affiliate of this Federation or any of its state or local central bodies.

Sec. 10. Affiliates of the Federation shall be encouraged to eliminate conflicts and duplications in organization and jurisdictions through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger in consultation with the appropriate officials of the Federation.

ARTICLE IV Convention

Section 1. The convention shall be the supreme governing body of the Federation and, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, its decisions shall be by a majority vote.

Sec. 2. The regular conventions of the Federation shall be held every two years, beginning in 1955, at a time during the last four months of the year. The time and the place for holding the regular conventions shall be designated by the Executive Council which shall give at least 90 days' notice of the time and place designated.

Sec. 3. (a) Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council, or on request of national and international unions representing a majority of the total membership of the Federation, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last convention.

(b) In the event a special convention has been called all affiliated organizations shall be given at least 30 days' notice, together with a statement of the particular subject or subjects to be considered at such convention.

(c) Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

(d) A special convention shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

Sec. 4. Each national or international union and organizing commit-

tee shall be entitled to the number of delegates indicated in the following scale:

Less than	4,000 members....	1 delegate
Over	4,000	"2 delegates
"	8,000	"3 "
"	12,000	"4 "
"	25,000	"5 "
"	50,000	"6 "
"	75,000	"7 "
"	125,000	"8 "
"	175,000	"9 "

plus one additional delegate for each 75,000 members over 175,000.

Each directly affiliated local union and each national trade and industrial department shall be entitled to one delegate. Each industrial union council and each state or local central body shall be entitled to one delegate. Directly affiliated local unions, with the approval of the President, may combine with other such unions within a reasonable distance to elect a single delegate to represent such unions.

Sec. 5. Delegates to a regular convention of the Federation shall be elected or otherwise designated by the affiliate at least 30 days prior to the convention, except in cases in which the convention of the affiliate meets within this 30-day period. The names of the delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation immediately after their selection.

Sec. 6. No organization that has seceded or has been suspended or expelled by this Federation, the American Federation of Labor, or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, or by any national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in the Federation, or in any subordinate body thereof, or in any national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section. No affiliate which, at the opening date of the convention, is in arrears to the Federation for per capita tax or assessments for two months or more, shall be entitled to recognition or representation in the convention.

Sec. 7. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at

least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is selected to represent.

Sec. 8. The number of members of each national and international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local unions for the purpose of selecting delegates and for roll-call votes at the convention shall be the average monthly number on which per capita tax is paid for the 24-month period prior to and including the second month preceding the month of the opening date of the convention. Where affiliation has occurred during this 24-month period, the average shall be computed from the month of affiliation, and the number of members shall be deemed to be one twenty-fourth of such average for each month for which per capita tax has been paid. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for the use of the convention and submit to it a printed list showing the number of votes and the number of delegates to which each affiliate is entitled.

Sec. 9. The President shall appoint, in consultation with the Executive Council, prior to the opening date of the convention and subject to the approval of the convention, such committees as are necessary to conduct the affairs of the convention. Such committees may meet before the opening date of the convention and shall proceed to consider all resolutions, appeals, reports, and constitutional amendments submitted to the convention, and shall report thereon to the convention.

Sec. 10. (a) All resolutions, petitions, memorials and appeals to be considered by any convention of the Federation must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such matters have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a national or international union, or state central body, or national trade and industrial department held during this 30-day period in which event such proposals shall be received up to the opening date of the convention.

(b) All resolutions, petitions, memorials and appeals received or submitted after the time stipulated above or during the convention shall be re-

ferred to the Executive Council, and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that consideration of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

(c) Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

(d) Proposals emanating from state central bodies to receive consideration of a convention must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state central body involved. In the case of local central bodies any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor body at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

(e) Each resolution, memorial, petition, or appeal properly received for consideration by the convention, as soon as practical after receipt thereof, shall be classified by the President as to nature, contents and subject matter and referred by him to an appropriate committee, which committee shall make a report thereon to the convention prior to consideration of any such matter by the convention. He shall cause to be distributed copies of such resolutions, petitions, memorials or appeals to the delegates of the convention at the opening session thereof or as soon thereafter as practical, but before any such matters are considered by the convention.

Sec. 11. Not less than 60 days prior to the opening of each regular convention, the Secretary-Treasurer shall furnish each affiliate with credential blanks in duplicate, which must be attested as required on the blanks. The duplicates shall be retained by the delegate, and the original sent to the Secretary-Treasurer. Subject to the provisions of Section 5 of this Article, no credentials shall be accepted later than 20 days prior to the opening date of the convention.

Sec. 12. Prior to the opening date of the convention, the Executive Council shall meet and constitute itself or a subcommittee as the Credentials Committee for the convention. Appeals from its decisions may be

made to the floor of the convention. The convention shall not be constituted for business until after the Credentials Committee shall have examined and reported on credentials of all delegates present at the scheduled time on the opening date of the convention.

Sec. 13. All members of the Executive Council who are not elected as delegates shall be ex-officio delegates to the convention with all the rights and privileges of elected delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 14. Fraternal delegates attending conventions of the Federation shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates but shall not be entitled to vote.

Sec. 15. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

Sec. 16. One-fourth of the delegates seated at any convention shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Sec. 17. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but a call of the roll may be demanded by 30 percent of the delegates present. Upon such roll-call each delegate representing affiliated national or international unions, organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions shall be entitled to cast one vote for every member whom he represents. Each state and local central body and national trade and industrial department shall be entitled to one vote.

Sec. 18. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be enforced from the opening of any convention of the Federation until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

Sec. 19. Unless otherwise specified, any action taken by the convention shall take effect immediately upon adoption.

ARTICLE V

Officers

Section 1. The officers shall consist of a President and a Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be the Executive Officers, and 27 Vice Presidents.

Sec. 2. Each officer shall be a member of an affiliated organization.

Sec. 3. The officers shall be elected by the convention by majority vote. Such election shall take place on the

last day of the convention, unless otherwise determined by the convention. In the event that more than two candidates are nominated for any office and no one candidate receives a majority of the votes cast, all except the two candidates receiving the highest votes shall be eliminated from the list of candidates and a second vote taken.

Sec. 4. Each officer elected at the convention shall take office immediately upon his election and shall serve until his successor is elected at the next regular convention.

Sec. 5. In the event of a vacancy in the office of either the President or the Secretary-Treasurer by reason of death, resignation or otherwise, the remaining executive officer shall perform the duties of the vacant office until a successor is elected. It shall be the duty of such executive officer to issue, within ten days of the date of the vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council of this Federation, upon ten days' notice, for the purpose of electing an executive officer to fill said vacancy for the unexpired term.

Sec. 6. In the event of a vacancy in the office of Vice President by reason of death, resignation or otherwise, the Executive Council shall have the power to fill the vacancy by majority vote of all its members for the period of the unexpired term.

Sec. 7. The national headquarters of the Federation shall be maintained by the Executive Officers at Washington, D. C.

Sec. 8. The Executive Officers shall, by virtue of their office, hold title to the real estate of the Federation as trustees for the Federation.

Sec. 9. The President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation or either of them may retire after reaching age 65 years, and after having served 20 years. Time served as an officer of any organization affiliated with the Federation, or with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be included in determining length of service hereunder. In the event of retirement such officers shall have the title of President Emeritus, or Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus and shall render service to the Federation in an advisory and consultative status. They shall be compensated for such service by the Federation for

life in an amount, payable weekly, equal to 75 percent of the annual salary paid to the corresponding Executive Officer of this Federation.

Sec. 10. No individual shall be eligible to serve either as an Executive Officer or as a member of the Executive Council who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, or who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement.

ARTICLE VI

Duties of the President

Section 1. The President shall function as the chief executive officer of the Federation. He shall exercise supervision of the affairs of the Federation, sign all official documents and preside at regular and special conventions, and at meetings of the Executive Council, Executive Committee and General Board. He shall call meetings of the Executive Council at least three times each year and a meeting of the General Board at least once each year.

Sec. 2. The President shall have authority to interpret the constitution between meetings of the Executive Council and his interpretation shall be conclusive and in full force and effect unless reversed or changed by the Executive Council or a convention.

Sec. 3. The President shall receive for his services a salary of \$35,000 per annum payable weekly.

Sec. 4. The appointment and compensation, direction, suspension and removal of organizers, representatives, agents and employees of the Federation shall be under the direction of the President.

Sec. 5. The President shall make a report of the administration of his office and of the affairs of the Federation to the convention through the report of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE VII

Duties of the Secretary-Treasurer

Section 1. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be the chief financial officer of the Federation and shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation

which moneys shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be in charge of and preserve all moneys, properties, securities and other evidences of investment, books, documents, files and effects of the Federation which shall at all times be subject to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue the call for and act as secretary at conventions, and shall cause the proceedings of all conventions and all sessions of the Executive Council and General Board to be recorded.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of each national and international union, organizing committee, each trade and industrial department, state and local central bodies and each directly affiliated local union, to furnish the Secretary-Treasurer a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations together with a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data in their possession relating to the membership of such organizations as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of this Federation.

Sec. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the biennial convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$33,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 6. The Secretary-Treasurer shall print quarterly, as a separate document, a financial statement of the Federation and forward a copy thereof to all affiliated national and international unions, organizing committees, directly affiliated local unions and local central bodies.

Sec. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be required, from time to time, but no less than semi-annually, to provide for an audit of all books, accounts, records and financial transactions of the Federation by an independent public accountant. Such audits shall be furnished to the Executive Council and a biennial audit shall be furnished to the Convention.

Sec. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall, under the direction and instructions of the Executive Council, invest

the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities or deposit the same in a bank or banks.

ARTICLE VIII

Executive Council

Section 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the President, the Vice Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurer.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall be the governing body of this Federation between conventions. It is authorized and empowered to take such action and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately the decisions and instructions of the conventions and to enforce the provisions contained in this constitution. Between conventions it shall have the power to direct the affairs of the Federation and to take such actions and render such decisions as are necessary and appropriate to safeguard and promote the best interests of the Federation and its affiliated unions, including the organization of unorganized industries by means most appropriate for that purpose.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council shall meet upon the call of the President at least three times within each year at a time and place designated by the President.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, wherever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

Sec. 5. The Executive Council shall prepare and present to the convention in printed form a statement of all matters of interest to the convention and of the activities of the Federation between conventions.

Sec. 6. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters consistent with this constitution and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 7. It is a basic principle of this Federation that it must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of communist, fascist or other totalitarian agencies who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism. The Executive Coun-

cil, when requested to do so by the President or by any other member of the Executive Council, shall have the power to conduct an investigation, directly or through an appropriate standing or special committee appointed by the President, of any situation in which there is reason to believe that any affiliate is dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influence, or that the policies or activities of any affiliate are consistently directed toward the advocacy, support, advancement or achievement of the program or of the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement. Upon the completion of such an investigation, including a hearing if requested, the Executive Council shall have the authority to make recommendations or give directions to the affiliate involved and shall have the further authority, upon a two-thirds vote, to suspend any affiliate found guilty of a violation of this section. Any action of the Executive Council under this section may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that such action shall be effective when taken and shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 8. Subject to the provisions of Article III, Section 7, the Executive Council shall use every possible means to assist affiliated unions in the organization of the unorganized and to organize new national and international unions, organizing committees, and directly affiliated local unions.

Until such time as it is feasible to form a new national or international union composed of directly affiliated local unions or to affiliate such unions with an existing affiliated national or international union within whose jurisdiction they might properly come, the Executive Council may group such directly affiliated local unions, in a particular craft or industry, into national councils or organizing committees which shall be under the direct supervision and control of the Executive Council and the President.

Sec. 9. In carrying out the provisions of this Article the Executive Council shall recognize that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization and that all workers whatever their race,

color, creed or national origin are entitled to share in the full benefits of trade union organization.

Sec. 10. A majority of the members of the Executive Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the Council.

Sec. 11. The Executive Council shall have the power to file charges and conduct hearings on such charges against any Executive Officer of the Federation or other member of the Executive Council on the ground that such person is guilty of malfeasance or maladministration, and to make a report to the convention recommending appropriate action. The Executive Council must serve such officer with a copy of the written charges a reasonable time before the hearing.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council shall have the further power to refuse to seat or to remove from office any member of the Executive Council, or to remove from office any officer, who is found by the Council, by a two-thirds vote after notice and hearing, to be ineligible to serve under the provisions of Article V, Section 10. Any action of the Executive Council under this section may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that such action shall be effective when taken and shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 13. In any case in which an affiliate has been suspended from membership in the Federation by the convention, or by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Council in the cases set forth in Section 7 of this Article, and in which it is shown that the cause for such suspension no longer exists, the Executive Council shall have the power, upon a two-thirds vote, to terminate such suspension.

Sec. 14. No affiliated national or international union or organizing committee shall be permitted to change its title or name without first having obtained the consent and approval of the Executive Council or the convention.

Sec. 15. The Executive Council shall be authorized to reimburse members of the Council for necessary expenses in performing their duties for the Federation.

ARTICLE IX

Executive Committee

There shall be an Executive Committee which shall consist of the

President and the Secretary-Treasurer and six Vice Presidents to be selected by the Executive Council. The Executive Committee shall meet every two months and shall advise and consult with the President and Secretary-Treasurer on policy matters.

ARTICLE X

General Board

Section 1. The General Board of the Federation shall consist of all of the members of the Executive Council of the Federation and the president or other principal officer of each of the affiliated national or international unions and each trade and industrial department.

Sec. 2. The General Board shall meet upon the call of the President of the Federation, but such meeting shall be called at least once each year.

Sec. 3. The General Board shall decide all policy questions referred to it by the Executive Officers or by the Executive Council.

Sec. 4. Questions coming before the General Board shall be decided in accordance with the applicable provisions of Section 17 of Article IV of this Constitution with the president or other principal officer of each affiliated national or international union casting the vote of such union and with the president or other principal officer of each department casting the one vote of such department. The number of members of each national or international union on a roll-call vote of the General Board shall be deemed to be the number of members represented at the last preceding convention except in the case where affiliation has occurred subsequent to such convention or within a 24-month period prior to and including the second month preceding such convention. In such cases the number of members of such affiliate shall be deemed to be one twenty-fourth of the average membership for which per capita tax was paid for each month, prior to the meeting of the General Board, for which such tax was paid.

ARTICLE XI

Department of Organization

Section 1. The organizing work of this Federation as set forth in Article VIII, Section 8, shall be conducted by the Department of Organization

under the general supervision of the President. The Department of Organization shall be provided the staff and resources necessary to conduct such activities.

Sec. 2. The Department of Organization shall be headed by a Director of Organization who shall be appointed by the President after consultation with the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE XII

Trade and Industrial Departments

Section 1. The Trade and Industrial Departments shall be subordinate to the Federation and shall consist of the following: Building and Construction Trades Department, Metal Trades Department; Union Label and Service Trades Department; Maritime Trades Department; Railway Employees Department; and a department of industrial organizations to be known as Industrial Union Department, and such other departments as may be established by the Executive Council or the convention. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs and may establish local councils or railway system federations of departments. Affiliation to the departments in the Federation shall be open to all appropriate affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees.

Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, international unions and organizing committees eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the Federation.

Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils or railway system federations of Departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated to departments or to be directly affiliated to the Federation.

Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the Federation. No department, local council or railway system federation of the same shall enact laws, rules or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the Federation, and in the event of change of laws, rules, regulations

and procedures of the latter, departments, local councils and railway system federations are to change their laws, rules, and regulations to conform thereto.

Sec. 5. Each department is to be considered an official method of the Federation for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with the actions and decisions of such departments, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the Federation. An organization affiliated with one or more departments shall pay per capita tax to each such department upon the number of members whose occupation comes under such department.

Sec. 6. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the Federation of the work done by their department and its general conditions.

Sec. 7. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the Federation, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 8. Departments of the Federation shall have their headquarters in Washington, D. C., and in the headquarters of the Federation unless permitted to locate elsewhere.

ARTICLE XIII

Committees and Staff Departments

Section 1. The President of the Federation shall appoint the following standing committees and such other committees as may from time to time be necessary. The President with the approval of the Executive Council may combine standing committees. The committees, under the direction of the President, and subject to the authority of the Executive Council and the Convention, shall carry out their functions as described herein:

- (a) The Committee on Legislation shall undertake to carry out the policies and programs of the Federation in the Congress and in the legislatures of state and local governments;

- (b) The Committee on Civil Rights shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated in this constitution of non-discrimination in accordance with the provisions of this constitution;
 - (c) The Committee on Political Education shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council in meeting the need for sound political education and in bringing about the effective implementation of the objectives stated in this constitution of encouraging workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the city, state, and national communities;
 - (d) The Committee on Ethical Practices shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council in carrying out the constitutional determination of the Federation to keep the Federation free from any taint of corruption or communism, in accordance with the provisions of this constitution;
 - (e) The Committee on International Affairs shall be concerned with international developments facing our nation and the Federation's relationships with the international trade union movement;
 - (f) The Committee on Education shall promote the widest possible understanding among union members of the aims of the Federation, shall assist affiliated unions in developing their own educational programs and shall implement the Federation's interest in providing the nation with the highest standard of education at all levels;
 - (g) The Committee on Social Security shall have the responsibility of providing guidance and information in the fields of social insurance and welfare;
 - (h) The Committee on Economic Policy shall undertake to recommend programs and policies toward the end of promoting prosperity, full employment and full utilization of our resources;
 - (i) The Committee on Community Services shall stimulate the active participation by members and affiliated unions in the affairs of their communities and the development of sound relationships with social agencies in such communities;
 - (j) The Committee on Housing shall advise on all matters relating to housing programs and policies;
 - (k) The Committee on Research shall have the responsibility of reviewing and appraising the research activities of the Federation to the end that adequate research facilities are available to the Federation;
 - (l) The Committee on Public Relations shall review and appraise the needs of the Federation in keeping the general public informed of the goals and policies of the Federation, the extent to which these needs are being met and shall make recommendations in this field;
 - (m) The Committee on Safety and Occupational Health shall be vested with the responsibility of recommending and promoting ways in which the work places of our nation can be made safe and healthful;
 - (n) The Committee on Veterans Affairs shall keep all affiliates informed of the rights and benefits available to veterans under federal and state laws and shall propose measures to protect such rights and benefits;
 - (o) All other committees shall have the function vested in them by the President, the Executive Council, or the convention, consistent with this constitution.
- Sec. 2. Staff departments shall be established where appropriate under the direction of the President to function in the fields of activity described above and in such other fields as may be determined by the President, the Executive Council or the convention.
- Sec. 3. The Committees and staff departments shall have adequate staff which shall be under the general direction of the President of the Federation.

ARTICLE XIV

State and Local Central Bodies

Section 1. Central bodies subordinate to the Federation may be established upon a city, state or other regional basis as may be deemed advis-

able by the Executive Council and shall be composed exclusively of locals of national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation, directly affiliated local unions, local central bodies within the geographical limits of state and regional bodies, and such other subordinate bodies as the Executive Council may determine are eligible for affiliation.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation to instruct their local unions to join affiliated central labor bodies in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the Federation to all local unions affiliated directly to it.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council of the Federation shall issue rules governing the conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of central labor bodies and providing procedures for the discipline, including suspension and expulsion, of such bodies or their officers. Such rules shall define the powers of the President, or his designee, with respect to disciplinary action against central labor bodies, or their officers. They shall provide for notice and hearing in all cases in which such action is taken, but shall permit emergency action (including the authority to suspend officers and establish a trusteeship over such central bodies and their property) prior to hearing where in the opinion of the President the interests of the Federation so require. The rules shall further provide for appeals to the Executive Council and to the convention, but shall provide that decisions appealed from shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 4. Upon the dissolution, suspension or revocation of the charter of any state or local central body, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the Federation to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the constitution and laws of this Federation. It shall be the duty of the officers of a state or local central body which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, or which has been placed under trusteeship under Section 3 of this Section, to deliver all funds and property to the Presi-

dent of the Federation or his designated representative. In the event of a failure or refusal to so deliver such funds and property, all expenses incurred by the Federation in recovering such funds and property shall be a lawful charge upon the funds and property involved and, on recovery thereof, the Federation shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.

Sec. 5. Merger of existing state and local central bodies of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall be accomplished as provided in Article III, Section 5. Pending such merger state and local central bodies of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall be permitted to continue to exist as state and local central bodies representing the respective local unions or organizations now affiliated to such central bodies.

ARTICLE XV

Local Unions Directly Affiliated to the Federation, Organizing Committees and National Councils

Section 1. Subject to the provisions of Article III, Section 7, the Federation is authorized to issue charters and certificates of affiliation to organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council of the Federation shall issue rules governing the conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of organizing committees, national councils, and directly affiliated local unions, and governing the suspension, expulsion and termination of such organizations. Such rules shall define the powers of the President, or his designee, with respect to disciplinary action against such organizations, or their officers. They shall provide for notice and hearing in all cases in which such action is taken with respect to directly affiliated local unions, but shall permit emergency action (including the authority to suspend officers and establish a trusteeship over such local unions and their property) prior to hearing where in the opinion of the President the interests of the Federation so require. The rules shall further provide for appeals to the Executive Council and to the convention, but shall provide that decisions ap-

pealed from shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Upon the dissolution, suspension or revocation of the charter of any such organizations, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the Federation, which shall to the extent appropriate hold such funds and property in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the constitution and laws of this Federation. It shall be the duty of the officers of any such organization which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended or revoked to deliver all funds and property to the President of the Federation or his designated representative. In the event of a failure or refusal to so deliver such funds and property, all expenses incurred by the Federation in recovering such funds and property shall be a lawful charge upon the funds and property involved and, on recovery thereof, the Federation shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to combine directly affiliated local unions in related fields into national or international unions, organizing committees or national councils when such action appears to be appropriate. Any local union directly affiliated to the Federation or a group of such local unions may request the Executive Council to authorize such combination.

When directly affiliated local unions are grouped into an organizing committee they shall become locals of the organizing committee. The organizing committee shall have the same status as a national or international union under this constitution except that it shall be under the direct supervision and control of this Federation, as provided herein.

When directly affiliated local unions are grouped into a national council they shall remain local unions directly affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 4. The per capita payment to the Federation by local unions directly affiliated to it shall be determined by the Executive Council but shall not be less than *one dollar* per month.

Sec. 5. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and Local Industrial Unions which are affiliated with this Federation pursuant to Article III,

Section 2, of this constitution shall be for all purposes local unions directly affiliated to the Federation under this and all other sections of the constitution.

Sec. 6. The Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Union of the American Federation of Labor, created under its constitution, shall be continued as a defense fund for local unions directly affiliated with this Federation, subject to the rules provided for in Section 2 of this Article and subject to such provisions concerning contributions by and the eligibility of Local Industrial Unions formerly affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations as may be determined by the Executive Council.

ARTICLE XVI

Per Capita Tax and Assessments

Section 1. A per capita tax shall be paid upon the full paid up membership of each affiliated national or international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local union.

Sec. 2. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall pay on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of *five cents* per member per month.

Sec. 3. Each directly affiliated local union shall pay on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of not less than *one dollar* per member per month, as provided for in the rules governing the organization and activities of such directly affiliated local unions. Each directly affiliated local union shall also pay to the Federation a portion, to be fixed by the Executive Council, of the initiation fee received by such union from its members, but such payment to the Federation shall in no case be less than \$1.00 per member.

Sec. 4. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a convention. The Executive Council may also declare an assessment of not to exceed 4 cents per member per month on all affiliated unions for a period not to exceed six months in any one year when the interests of the Federation require and when funds available from per capita tax are insufficient to meet the needs of the Federation.

Sec. 5. Any affiliated organization which does not pay its per capita tax on or before the fifteenth of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of that fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. Any affiliated organization three months in arrears in payment of per capita tax or assessments automatically becomes suspended from membership in the Federation and can be reinstated only after such arrearages are paid in full.

Sec. 6. Each affiliate, upon the issuance of a certificate of affiliation, shall pay to the Federation the sum of \$15.00.

Sec. 7. Each state and local central body affiliated with the Federation shall pay to the Federation an annual fee of \$20.00.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council may exonerate any national or international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local union from the payment of per capita tax or assessments due to the Federation for any month upon a proper showing that, in the opinion of the Executive Council, good cause therefor exists. Exonerated members shall be regarded, for the purposes of this constitution, as paid up members for the period of exoneration.

ARTICLE XVII

Amendments

This constitution can be amended or altered only by the convention, by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting, either by a show of hands, or, if a roll-call is properly demanded as provided in this constitution, by such roll-call.

ARTICLE XVIII

Existing Agreements

Section 1. The agreement for the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, as approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the conventions of both federations is incorporated herein and made a part of this constitution.

Sec. 2. The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement shall be preserved and, with the consent of the signatories, shall be extended for a period of two

years from its present expiration date and amended to make it effective as between all unions signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation. The CIO Organizational Disputes Agreement shall be maintained in force for its term as between the unions which have adhered to it. The AFL Internal Disputes Plan shall be maintained in force for its term with respect to the unions which have adhered to it. A Joint Committee shall be established by the Executive Council to formulate the means for incorporating these three agreements into a combined no-raiding and organizational and jurisdictional disputes agreement which can be effective as between all of the unions becoming signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation and for the purpose of extending, by voluntary agreement, such provisions to all affiliates of this Federation.

ARTICLE XIX

Initial Convention

Section 1. The provisions of this constitution shall govern the initial convention of the Federation except as otherwise provided in this Article.

Sec. 2. The initial convention shall be called, and the time and place determined, by the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the conventions of the two federations.

Sec. 3. The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall act as the credentials committee for the initial convention and shall be empowered to accredit as delegates to such convention all of the delegates who have been duly accredited to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations which approved this constitution. Where the total number of such delegates of any affiliated organization is less than the number of delegates to which such organization is entitled under Article IV, Section 4, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall be empowered to accredit additional delegates from such organization up to such number.

Sec. 4. Delegations representing national and international unions, organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions shall each be

entitled to a total number of votes based upon the membership represented by such delegation at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations approving this constitution. State and local central bodies and national departments shall each be represented by one delegate and shall each be entitled to one vote.

Sec. 5. The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall report to the convention, designate temporary officers for the convention, appoint all convention committees, and take such other action with respect to the conduct of the convention as may become neces-

sary by virtue of the fact that it is an initial convention.

ARTICLE XX

Effective Date

This constitution and the Merger Agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall become effective upon approval by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and shall govern the affairs of the Federation beginning with the first convention of the Federation.

INDEX

Accounting: ethical practices, II:89-91
 Addresses (includes listings of more lengthy
 "from the floor" discussions.)

Ahmed, Tlili, I:49-50
 Altman, Joseph, I:3
 Beard, Wilfred B., I:266-71
 Beirne, J. A., I:321-23
 Borchardt, Selma, I:374
 Borra, Carlo, I:183
 Bouazza, Tahieb, I:48-49
 Buch, Guilhermo, I:31
 Buckmaster, L. S., I:201
 Carrough, Edward, I:80
 Clayman, Jacob, I:341-43
 Cole, Gordon, I:500
 Cross, James G., I:217-22
 Dorfman, Paul, I:451-52
 English, John, I:87-90
 Fagan, Ralph T., I:527-31
 Fewkes, I:376
 Folsom, Marion B., I:34-41
 Geljer, Arne, I:287-90
 Gleason, John S., Jr., I:114-18
 Gonzales, Tellechea, Ignazio, I:361
 Gorman, Patrick, I:90
 Gruenther, Alfred M., I:106-13
 Hartnett, Al, I:452-54
 Hoffmann, Sol, I:74-77
 Kageyama, Misashi, I:184
 Krebs, Paul, I:5
 Lynch, George, I:91-92
 McCurdy, Joseph, I:77-80, 241
 MacDonald, Donald, I:151-54
 Magail, Albin, I:120-21
 Marcante, Lou, I:4-5
 Mazy, Emil, I:481-84
 Meany. See separate listing for Meany,
 George
 Megel, Carl, I:369-71
 Mihura, Avila, Antonio, I:32
 Mitchell, James P., I:23-30
 Mohn, Einar, I:68-72
 Monge, Luis Alberto, I:362
 Moretti, John, I:6
 O'Hagen, Joseph, I:41-44
 Oldenbrook, J. H., I:302-04
 Perez, Leiros, Francisco, I:119
 Perkins, Fred, I:554
 Randolph, Philip, I:81-86, 182, 242-44,
 265-66, 428-31, 472-73, 475-76
 Reuther, Walter P., I:345-51
 Richter, Willi, I:155-57
 Rose, Alex, I:72-74, 224-40
 Roth, I:372-74
 Salazar, Alamo, Rosendo, I:122-23
 Schoemann, I:371-72, 544
 Schuette, I:202
 Segal, I:405
 Stetin, Sol, I:503-05

Tboada, Francisco, I:32
 Tewson, Sir Vincent, I:159
 Umber, I:375
 Winter, Herman, I:222-24
 Yates, Thomas, I:158
 Advertising: highway billboards, II:250
 Affiliation, affiliates, I:595-97
 Resolution No. 8, I:440-42
 Africa, I:429-31; II:300
 Agriculture, I:407, 510
 farm workers, legislation, II:243-45
 Ahmed, Tlili, I:49-50
 Alaska: employment security law (R.2),
 I:283
 statehood legislation, II:234-35
 Alien artists (R.59), I:191
 Alien property: enemy assets, II:242
 Allied Industrial Workers of America:
 Ethical Practices Committee report,
 II:405-20
 mentioned, II:56, 59, 62-63, 68, 69
 resolution by Executive Council, II:421-
 22
 Altman, Joseph, mayor of Atlantic City,
 I:3
 American Federation of Labor and Con-
 gress of Industrial Organizations:
 see also specific subjects, departments,
 names
 objects and principles, I:594
 regional offices; map, II:309
 American Federation of State, County and
 Municipal Employees, II:44
 American Legion, I:114ff
 American Railway Supervisors Association,
 II:42
 American Train Dispatchers Association,
 II:41
 Anti-union propaganda (R.26), I:189
 Appeals Committee:
 Bakery Workers, I:206-53
 Dorfman, Paul, I:446-54
 Laundry Workers, I:518-44
 Teamsters, I:55-105
 United Textile Workers, I:456-61
 Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, I:462-63
 Apprenticeship, II:337, 373-77
 appropriation for U.S. Bureau of (R.52),
 I:364
 Armed forces: medical care for dependents,
 II:208, 257
 personnel doing civilian work (R.116),
 I:188
 reserves, II:257
 selective service, II:256
 survivor benefits, II:257
 UMT commission bows out, II:258
 Assessment, I:443, 606; II:28
 Association of Labor Health Administra-
 tors, II:211
 Atomic energy: bomb tests (R.69), I:437
 domestic developments, II:150
 government's responsibility, II:152
 health and safety, I:411 (R.5); II:153
 international developments, II:149
 Metal Trades Department, II:368-69

Note: I means Volume I.
 II means Volume II.
 R means Resolution.
 Official, rather than popular, names
 are used.

- peaceful use (R.157), I:407-410
see also Radiation
 Audio-visual materials, II:295
 Auditing Department, II:28-29
 Automation, I:345-51; II:181
 railroad industry (R.61), I:360
 Resolution Nos. 86, 140, I:359-60, 357-59
 Automobile industry, II:130
 Auxiliaries, Women's, II:53
 Aviation: certified mechanics (R.66), I:193
 civilian aviation legislation, II:238-39
 licensing of flight attendants (R.67), I:193
 Backward areas, I:432-36
 Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America:
 Appeals Committee report, I:206-53
 Ethical Practices Committee report, II:506-40
 Meany statement, I:254-55
 mentioned, I:501; II:62, 65, 67, 68, 70
 resolution by Executive Council, II:541-54
 roll call vote on expulsion, I:245-53
 Barbers and Beauty Culturists Union of America, II:44
 Beard, Wilfred B., I:266-71, 455
 Beck, Dave, I:163; II:34, 63, 469-502
 (see also International Brotherhood of Teamsters)
 Beirne, Joseph A., I:321-23; II:560, 584
 Belsky, Joseph, I:46
 Benefit programs. *See* Health, Welfare, and Pensions
 Betancourt, Romulo, I:126
 Biegun, Dov, I:381
 Billboard legislation, II:250
 Birthright, William, I:21
 Blake, Eugene Carson, I:53
 Blind persons, representation for (R.39), I:143
 Borchardt, Selma, I:374
 Borra, Carlo, I:183
 Rotherau, Robert, I:381
 Bouazza, Tahieb, I:48-49
 Brewster, Frank, II:473ff
 Bricker, Amendment, II:237
 British Trades Union Congress, I:41-44, 266-71; II:35
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, II:41
 Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America, I:173
 Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, II:42
 Brownlow, James A., I:399
 Buch, Guilherme, I:31
 Buckmaster, L. S., I:201
 Budget (United States)
 Labor and HEW appropriations, II:235-37
 taxes and, II:146
 Building and Construction Trades Department, II:48, 53, 331-46
 jurisdiction (R.81), I:334-35
 Burke, Arleigh, I:54
 Business: depreciation allowances, II:126
 failures, II:130
 government help for expansion, II:126
 internal financing through high prices, II:130
 investment boom, II:124
 investments leveling off, II:121
 officials interests in, II:82-85
 rapid expansion of corporations, II:123
 Bussie, Victor, I:240
 Byers, Sam J., I:520; II:426ff
 Can Workers Federal Labor Union 22623, II:59-61, 584-98
 Canadian Labour Congress, I:151-54; II:35
 Canadian railroads, II:390-94
 Canal Zone, II:246
 CARE (R.4), I:127
 Carey, James B., I:197
 Carlough, Edward, I:80
 Cartoons, II:365
 Charters: new issues, I:163; II:41
 paper locals, II:74-75
 prevention of corruption, II:76
 Child labor legislation, II:281
 Churches and labor, II:232-33
 Cimento, Sol, II:451ff
 Civil defense: cooperation, II:290
 national legislation, II:255, 280-61
 resolution No. 10, I:298-300
 Civil liberties (R.126), I:293
 Civil rights, I:168; II:85, 221-26, 286-87
 Resolution No. 83, I:259-65
 Clark, Jesse, I:173
 Clayman, Jacob, I:341-43
 Cloture rule, II:226
 Coast Guard, I:180
 Cole, Gordon, I:500
 Collective bargaining: attack on, II:136
 benefit programs, II:144-45
 developments, II:141-45
 long term agreements, II:143
 national legislation, II:234
 objectives (R.122), I:343-44
 Colonialism, I:421-23, 430
 Colonies, British, I:269
 Commerce: international trade and tariffs, II:184
 Committee appointments, I:15-18
 Committees: lists of members, II:35-41
 (see note under Departments and Committees)
 Common Market, I:267
 Communism, I:153; II:56, 80-82, 164, 165
 Community services, II:36, 212-33, 287, 353
 Resolution No. 9, I:127
 Compulsory labor, II:179
 Conferences, II:292
 Congressional hearings:
 Allied Industrial Workers, II:407ff
 Bakery Workers, II:511ff
 Distillery Workers, II:450ff
 Laundry Workers, II:425ff
 Teamsters, II:469ff
 Conservation: national legislation, II:261-67
 Constitution (AFL-CIO)
 Committee report: amendments, I:440-16
 disputes processed, II:46
 General Board, I:445; II:600
 per capita tax amendment, I:442-45; II:599-601
 text, as amended by 1959 convention, I:594-608
 Constitution (United States)
 Bricker Amendment, II:237
 equal rights for women workers, II:269-70
 Construction, II:334-35, 339
 Consumer: counselling (R.12), I:257
 protection legislation, II:239-40
 Contracts, Public, II:158
 Contributions, II:21

Convention officers, I:15
COPE. *See* Political action
Corporations. *See* Business
Corporation. *See* Ethical practices
Counselling, II:289
Credentials, I:15, 58, 150, 398, 484, 560
Credit unions; legislation, II:240
Cross, James G., I:206-53; II:510-40
address by, I:217-22
Crossnith, Frank R., I:54
Curran, Joseph, I:182

Deceased members, I:401-04
Defense: national legislation, II:255-61
Resolution (No. 133) on preparedness,
I:295-98

Delegates (list), I:562-93
Democratic processes in unions, II:92-94
Dentists: selective service, II:256
Department store workers: pending strikes
in New York City (R.72), I:194

Department and Committees: *entries will
be found under the distinctive work
of each, e.g., Appeals: Civil rights;
Community service; Constitution; Cren-
dentials; Education; Ethical practices;
Executive Council; General Counsel;
International affairs; Legislation; Li-
brary; Organization; Political action;
Public relations; Publications; Re-
search; Resolutions; Rules; Social
security; State and local bodies; Union
labels*

Depressed areas, I:807; II:160-62
(*see also* Unemployment)

Dio, Johnny (John DioGuardi), II:417ff,
495ff

Disability insurance and payments, II:188,
201

Discrimination in employment:
I.L.O. conference, II:179
older workers, II:276
state legislation, II:276-77

Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers'
International Union:
Ethical Practices Committee report,
II:448-66

mentioned, I:501; II:56, 59, 62-63, 69
resolution by Executive Council, II:467-68
Distressed areas (R.123), I:807

District of Columbia:
fire fighter retirement: legislation;
Teachers College, II:241

Doctors: selective service, II:256
Dorfman, Paul, II:64-65, 560-83

Appeals Committee report, I:446-54
statement by, I:451-52

Doris, Anthony, II:409ff
Draft (selective service), II:256

Dues, I:444
Durkin, Martin A., II:59-61, 584ff

Economic conditions:
consumer buying power, II:139
downward drift, II:117
gap between plant capacity and output,
II:120
hard-goods buying: home-building, II:128
manufacturers' unfilled orders, II:119
resolution No. 134, I:352-56
rising prices, II:129
social welfare measures needed, II:140
technological changes and automation,
I:345-51

tight-money policy, II:118, 133
unbalanced flow of spendable cash, II:125
unbalanced investment and consumption,
II:122

wages and prices, I:166
Economic policy, II:37, 183
Education: I:168, 363, 367; II:217-21, 293-
95, 297-98, 358

address by Sec. Marion Folsom, I:84-41
appropriations for U.S. Office of, II:220
broad program (R. 73 and R. 93) I:890,
892

business-industry education days (R.94),
I:892

Committee, II:37
crisis (R.159), I:386-87
extension service, I:389
federal aid, I:387-88, 390-91 (R.74), 391-
92 (R.92)

higher education, I:389
labor programs (R.88), I:365
public education (R.158), I:386
veterans' benefits, II:259
vocational, I:388; II:373, 379-80

Eisenhower, President, I:261; II:106, 220
message on the 2nd anniversary, I:23-24

Election of officers:
President, I:544-48
Vice-Presidents, I:548-550
Secretary-Treasurer, I:550-54

Employee-management legislation (R.30),
I:419

Employment: Act of 1946, II:161
security law for Alaska (R.2), I:283

service (R.89), I:281-82
statistics; chart, II:135
veterans' rights, II:258-59
see also Unemployment

Enemy alien assets, II:242
English, John, I:87-90; II:34

Equality: women workers, II:269
Ethical practices:

Code for government employees, II:247
Code I adopted, II:57

Codes III, IV and V adopted, II:62
Codes V and VI adopted, II:63

Codes I-VI (texts), II:73-94
Code I—Paper Locals, II:73

Code II—Health and Welfare Funds,
II:77

Code III—Racketeers, Crooks, Commu-
nists and Fascists, II:80

Code IV—Investments and Business In-
terests of Union Officials, II:82

Code V—Financial Practices and Pro-
prietary Activities of Unions, II:85

Code VI—Union Democratic Processes,
II:92

Codes; adoption (R.142), I:474-77

Codes not retroactive, II:70
Committee members, II:38

Committee summation, I:165
Committee's authority, II:72

Constitution (AFL-CIO), II:54
corruption, II:56, 70, 76, 94, 80-82

Fifth Amendment, I:477-78; II:57-58, 500
implementation of constitutional prin-
ciples (R.141), I:470-74

investigations of improper activities
(R.144), I:478-84

racketeers; paper locals, II:75, 80-82, 94-
96

report on Allied Industrial Workers,
II:405-20

- report on Bakery Workers, II:506-40
- report on Distillery Workers, II:448-66
- report on Laundry Workers, II:423-46
- report on Teamsters, II:469-502
- report on United Textile Workers, II:544-58
- resolution adopted Dec. 1955, II:403
- resolution on procedures, II:404
- Executive Committee report, II:30-116
- Executive Council Committee report, I:160-72, 601
- Executive Council report—see Volume II
- Exhibitions, I:339 (R.112); II:363
- Fagan, Ralph T., I:527-31
- Fair Labor Standards Act, I:309-11; II:156-58
- Farmers and farm labor:
 - bargaining rights (R.42), I:510
 - migrant workers (R.132), I:323-26
 - national legislation, II:243-45
 - resolution No. 146, I:406-07
- Fascism, II:80-82
- Federal and state relations:
 - attack on grants-in-aid, II:248-49
 - resolution on grants, I:290-92
- Federal Bureau of Investigation, II:227
- Federal Communications Commission:
 - pay television, II:267
- Federal employees. See Government employees
- Federal grants-in-aid. See Grants-in-aid
- Feller, Karl F., II:34
- Fewkes (delegate), I:376
- Field Representatives Federation (R.14), I:189
- Fifth Amendment, II:57, 500
- Resolution No. 143, I:477-78
- Films, II:296
- Finances: auditing, II:28-29
- ethical practices Code V, II:85-89
- irregularities in 12 locals, II:28-29
- minimum accounting, II:89-91
- per capita fax, II:599-601
- report, II:3-27
- Fire departments (R.25), I:137
- Fire fighters, skilled classification for (R.27), I:138
- Fishing: foreign imports (R.109), I:499
- Japanese fishery products boycott (R.96), I:204
- Flight attendants, licensing of (R.67), I:193
- Flood insurance legislation, II:264
- Folsom, Marion B., I:33-41
- Food additives; legislation, II:239-40
- Food and Drug Administration: appropriations for, II:240
- Forced labor, II:179
- Foreign contract labor (R.132), I:323-26
- Foreign economic policy, II:183
- Foreign relations. See International relations
- Forests, II:266-67
- Freedom, I:424
- Frey, John P., I:398-99, 401
- Gas, Natural, II:263
- Gates, Thomas S., I:45
- Geijer, Arne, I:287-90
- General Board, I:305, 445-46, 602
- General Counsel, Office of, II:324-28
- Genocide (R.34), I:436-37
- Germany, I:155-57, II:171-72
- alien property legislation, II:242
- Gleason, John S., Jr., I:114-18
- Gonzales, Tellechea, Ignazio, I:361
- Gorman, Patrick, I:90
- Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee, II:44
- Government employees: Canal Zone, II:246
- civil service retirement, II:246
- code of ethics, II:247
- federal life insurance, II:247
- health insurance, II:210
- holidays (R.37), I:142
- hospital and medical insurance (R.33), I:141
- interest payments waived, II:246
- legislative program (R.18), I:132-35
- legislative program 1958 (R.21), I:136
- political activity (R.29), I:138-39
- promotional policies (R.31), I:139
- safety functions, II:247
- salary bills, II:245
- Solomon Act (Alabama), II:356
- unemployment insurance, II:247-48
- wage board decisions, II:245
- war risk hazards, II:246
- work week (R.35), I:187
- Government statistical programs (R.124), I:292
- Grajciar, John W., I:330
- Grants-in-aid: II:248-49
- state and local governments (R.121), I:290-92
- Grogan, John, I:182
- Gruenther, Gen. Alfred M., I:106-13
- Hall, Cameron P., I:306
- Harbor workers: compensation act, II:253
- Hartnett, Al, I:452-54
- Hawaii: statehood legislation, II:234-35
- Headquarters building, II:45
- Health, Education and Welfare, Department of:
 - budget appropriations, II:235-37
- Health, Welfare, and Pensions:
 - benefit programs, II:144-45
 - health and welfare funds (Code 2), II:77-80
 - industrial (R.138), I:300-02
 - insurance legislation, II:209
 - legislation, I:280-81 (R.37); II:207-11
 - National Health Fund, II:213, 289-90
 - pension plan; financial statement, II:214
 - railroad workers, II:384
 - resolution No. 6, I:256
 - state legislation, II:277-79
- Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act, I:507 (R.54); II:204-07
- Held, Adolph, I:381
- Hells Canyon, II:261
- Hermann, Lewis, I:506
- Higgins, Magr. George G., I:1-2
- Highways: billboard plans, II:250
- funds for (R.28), I:186
- interstate highway program, I:186-87; II:249-50, 332
- resolution No. 120, I:255
- use of trust funds, II:236
- Hoffa, James R., II:470ff
- Hoffmann, Sal, I:74-77
- Holidays, II:145
- government employees (R.37), I:142
- Hospitals, I:178-79, 498; II:288
- Hours of labor:

government employees, 32 hour week (R.37), I:142
 government employees, 35 hour week (R.35), I:187
 work week, I:509 (R.22); II:145
 Housing, II:38, 214-17, 335-36
 resolution No. 53, I:511, No. 84, I:272-75
 Human rights (R.152), I:271-72
 Hungary: the I.L.O., II:182
 refugees, I:294; II:252
 revolt, II:165-68, 299
 Hurricane Audrey, I:129-30
 Hydrogen bomb test (R.69), I:437
 Immigration: Hungarian refugees, II:252
 legislation reform, II:251-53
 reform (R.127), I:294
 Inciso, Angelo, II:408ff
 Income tax. *See* Taxes
 Industrial health (R.138), I:300
 Industrial migration (R.123), I:307-09
 Industrial Union Department, II:48, 347-60
 Insurance: patronize union companies (R.19), I:337-38
 premiums during strikes (R.40), I:257-58
 Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), II:176
 Inter-American relations (R.128), I:487
 Internal security (R.126), I:293
 International Affairs, Department of, II:38, 299-303
 International Association of Fire Fighters (R.24), I:464-67
 International Association of Machinists, II:43
 International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, II:44
 International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America:
 Appeals Committee report, I:55-105
 Ethical Practices Committee report, II:469-502
 given time to act, II:69
 investigation, II:62
 report, II:65
 resolutions by Executive Council, II:502-05
 roll call on expulsion vote, I:96-105
 suspension, II:66
 International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, I:302-04, 425-28, 432-36, 438 (R.107); II:174-76
 International Labor Organization, I:439 (R. 78 and 104); II:179-82, 185
 International Metal Engravers and Marking Device Workers Union, II:43
 International relations, I:167, 420-36 (R.150); II:163-85
 International Solidarity Fund, I:289
 International trade (R.129), I:490-92
 International Transportworkers Federation (R.107), I:438
 International Typographical Union, I:473
 International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers (R.24), I:464-67
 International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, II:53
 Interstate Commerce Commission (R.64), I:148
 Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies, II:198

Investments:
 corporate plant and equipment outlays 1947-1956, II:131
 officials and, II:82-85
 Invocations:
 Rev. Cameron P. Hall, I:306
 Very Rev. Msgr. George Higgins, I:1
 Rabbi Lipman, I:462
 Rev. Edward McDaid, I:254
 Rabbi Mosheh Shapiro, I:125
 Rev. Oliver H. Spence, I:51
 Irrigation, II:266 267
 Israel (R.130), I:487
 Italian Union of Labor, I:183
 Jacobs, Joseph, I:457ff; II:555
 James, Eugene C., I:520ff; II:426ff
 Japan: fishery products boycott (R.96), I:204
 maritime affairs, II:254
 Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (R.113), I:204
 Jencks Bill, II:227
 Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, II:44
 Jurisdiction: disputes and agreements, I:164
 disputes and boycotts (R.145), I:335-37
 Fire Fighters and Steam and Operating Engineers (R.24), I:464-467
 resolution No. 70, I:333
 Taft-Hartley, I:417
 Juvenile delinquency, I:131 (R.13); II:253
 Kageyama, Misashi, I:184
 Kawawa, R. M., I:382
 Kenya, I:382-84, 428, 430
 Klenert, Lloyd A., I:457ff; II:547-58
 Knight, O. A., I:489
 Kohler strike, I:199-203 (R.131), 482-83
 Kozak (delegate), I:444
 Krebs, Paul, I:5
 Labor, Department of:
 budget appropriations, II:235-37
 registration forms, I:404-05
 Labor education programs (R.88), I:365
 Labor movement (1955-1957), II:30-116
 Labor Organization Registration Form (R.3), I:404
 Latin America, I:487-90; II:172-74
 Laundry Workers International Union:
 Appeals Committee report, I:518-44
 mentioned, II:56, 59, 62, 69
 report of Ethical Practices Committee, II:423-46
 roll call vote on expulsion, I:535-43
 Law: Office of General Counsel, II:324-28
 (*see also* Legislation; Litigation, Taft-Hartley, etc.)
 Lease-Purchase program, II:250
 Lebanon, I:305
 Legislation: anti-labor (R.103), I:420
 Department of, II:303-06
 employee-management (R.30), I:419
 new labor laws (R.151), I:502-07
 Legislation, National:
 Alaska-Hawaii statehood, II:234
 AFL-CIO objectives, II:234
 Bricker Amendment, II:237
 Building and Construction Trades, II:332-33
 civil rights, II:221-26

- civilian aviation, II:238
 Committee summation, I:169-70
 consumer protection, II:239-40
 Davis-Bacon and Walsh-Healey, II:159
 depressed areas, II:160-62
 District of Columbia, II:241
 education, II:217-21
 enemy alien assets, II:242
 Fair Labor Standards Act, II:156-58
 farm workers, II:243-45
 federal employees, II:245-48
 federal grants-in-aid, II:248-49
 health programs, II:207-11
 health, welfare and pension plan, II:204-05
 highway programs, II:249-50
 housing, II:215-16
 immigration reform, II:251-53
 Industrial union department, II:354-55
 I.L.O. ceiling contribution, II:185
 juvenile delinquency, II:253
 longshoremen and harbor workers' compensation act, II:253
 maritime affairs, II:254
 minimum wage, II:156
 national defense, civil defense, veterans, II:255-61
 natural resources and conservation, II:261-67
 old age, survivors and disability insurance, II:186-91
 pay television, II:267
 public assistance, II:191
 public contracts act, II:158
 railroad regulations, II:267
 safety legislation, II:268
 unemployment insurance, II:192-94
 women workers, II:269
- Legislation, State**
 anti-discrimination laws, II:276-77
 anti-picketing legislation, II:274
 anti-union security laws, I:412-13
 child labor, II:281
 Committee summation, I:170
 disputes and arbitration, II:276
 health and safety, II:277-79
 health, welfare and pension plan, II:205-07
 hours for women, II:282
 licensing, II:275
 migratory workers, II:279
 minimum wages, II:280
 older workers, II:276
 political campaigns, II:274
 right-to-work laws, II:111, 271-73
 taxes, II:283-84
 unemployment insurance, II:195-98
 workmen's compensation, II:198-203
- Library and libraries, II:297, 323-30**
 Licensing legislation, II:275
 Life insurance: government employees, II:247
 Lipman, Rabbi, I:462
 Litigation, II:326-28, 356
 Little Rock, I:261
 Lobbying: state legislation, II:284
 Local central bodies, merger, II:52
 Local government, resolution (121) on federal aid, I:290-92
 Local unions, number of, II:29
 Longshoremen: compensation act, II:253
 Louisiana trade unionists (R.11), I:128, 130
 Lynch, George, I:91-92
- McClellan Committee. *See* Congressional hearings
 McCurdy, Joseph, I:77-80, 241
 McDaid, Edward, I:254
 McDonald, David J., I:182, 414
 MacDonald, Donald, I:150-54, 456
 Magail, Albin, I:120
 Malaya, I:305
 Marcianite, Lou, I:4
 Maritime: Canadian unions (R.101), I:497-98
 coastal and intercoastal shipping (R.106), I:499
 50-50 provision, I:179-80, 497 (R.106); II:254
 foreign flag transfers (R.105), I:498
 hiring hall (R.108), I:499
 marine hospitals, I:178-79, 498 (R.102)
 merchant marine, I:173-74
 military sea transportation service (R.99), I:496
 report (1957) and program (1958), I:173-82
 resolutions 98 and 154, I:496, 498-95
 shipbuilding, shipping industry, I:174-75, 175-78; II:370-72
 subsidies (R.97), I:496
 Trades Department, II:366-67
- Masey, Emil, I:481-84
 Mboya, Tom, I:384
 Meany, George
 address (opening of convention), I:7-14
 address (after re-election), I:546-48
 Bakery Workers, I:254
 commendations of, I:468-69
 ICFTU and backward areas, I:432-36
 introductions of:
 Ahmed, Tili, I:49
 Beard, Wilfred B., I:266
 Bouazza, Tahieb, I:48
 Buch, Guilherme, I:31
 Cole, Gordon, I:500
 Folsom, Marion, I:33
 Geijer, Arne, I:287
 Gleason, John S., I:114
 Gonzales Tellechen, Ignazio, I:361
 Gruenther, Alfred M., I:106
 Kageyama, Misashi, I:184
 MacDonald, Donald, I:150
 Magail, Albin, I:120
 Mihura Avila, Antonio, I:32
 Mitchell, James P., I:23
 Monge, Luis Alberto, I:362
 O'Hagen, Joseph, I:41
 Oldenbroek, J. H., I:302
 Perez Leiros, Francisco, I:119
 Richter, Willi, I:155
 Salazar Alamo, Rosendo, I:122
 Taboada, Francisco, I:32
 Tewson, Vincent, I:158
 Yates, Thomas, I:158
 Laundry Workers, I:531-35
 nomination and re-election, I:544-46
 on teachers, I:377-78
 Teamsters, I:92-95
 tribute to deceased members, I:401
 UN delegate, I:164
 United Textile Workers, I:485-87
see also I:19, 20, 21, 44, 86, 118, 160, 265, 305, 343, 454, 501, 506
- Meat inspection, II:240**
 Medical service: armed forces; families, II:208
 benefits, II:200

costs, II:210
 dependents of servicemen, II:257
 Medicare system, II:208
 research, II:208-09
 right to medical care (pamphlet), I:560
 Megel, Carl, I:369-71
 Merchant Marine. *See* Maritime
 Mergers of unions, I:163, 164, 517; II:43, 52
 state and local central bodies (R.160), I:394-97
 Merit Rating plan (R.50), I:385
 Metal Trades Department, II:367-81
 Mexican: migratory workers, II:244
 contract labor (R.132), I:323-26
 delegation, I:122
 Mexico and the U.S., II:178
 Meyner, Governor Robert B., I:2
 Middle East, I:423; II:170-71
 Migratory workers: farm labor (R.132), I:323-26
 state legislation, II:279
 wages and living standards, II:244
 Military forces. *See* Armed forces
 Military preparedness (R.133), I:295-98
 Military Sea Transportation Service (R.99), I:496-97
 Mines: metal, II:370
 safety, II:268,355
 Minimum wage:
 national legislation, II:156, 236, 354
 public contracts act, II:158
 resolution No. 125, I:309-11
 state legislation, II:280-81
 Minton, Lee W., I:394-97; II:33
 Mitchell, James P., I:23-30
 Mobilization (R.133), I:295-98
 Mohn, Einar, I:63-72
 Monge, Luis Alberto, I:362
 Montgomery Ward contract terms (R.80), I:195
 Moretti, John, I:1-6
 Morgan, Edward P., I:195
 Morocco, I:48-49
 Murray-Green award, II:290

 Naddeo, Charles, II:59-61, 584-98
 National Advisory Council, II:291
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I:264
 National Association of Manufacturers, II:99
 National Education Association, I:366; I:369ff
 National forests, II:266-67
 National Health Fund, II:213, 289-90
 National Joint Board for the Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes in the Building and Construction Industry, II:338
 National Labor Relations Board, II:100, 230-31
 National legislation. *See* Legislation, National
 National Trade Union Conference on Civil Rights, II:223
 Natural gas legislation, II:263
 Natural resources: legislation, II:261-67
 Navy Yards, I:188 (R.119); II:372
 Neerology, I:401-04
 Needle Trades Department (R.60), I:192
 Niagara River power plant, II:263
 No-raiding agreement, II:47, 351

 Office Employees International Union, II:43

Officials: Constitution, I:599
 health and welfare funds, II:78
 investments and business interests, II:82-85
see also Ethical practices; Fifth Amendment
 O'Hagen, Joseph, I:41-44, 455
 Okinawa, I:427
 Old age: benefit programs, II:144
 discrimination; legislation, II:276
 Old age, survivors and disability insurance, I:275-79 (R.85); II:186-91
 Oldenbroek, J. H., I:302-04
 O'Neill, Joseph D., II:451ff
 Organization work: Department, II:306-11
 fact-finding, II:96-98
 future possibilities, II:101
 hostile propaganda, II:99
 organizing the unorganized, I:165, 319-23 (R.135)
 O'Sullivan Rubber Corporation:
 consumer boycott (R. 95 and 131), I:199, 199-200

 Panama Canal, II:246
 Paper locals (Code I), II:73-76
 Pastore, Giulio, I:19
 Pence, I:424
 Pensions. *See* Health, Welfare, and Pensions
 Pensions: World War I veterans (R.47), I:258-59
 Perez Leiros, Francisco, I:119
 Perkins, Fred, I:554
 Phillipsborn, Martin, I:207ff; II:515ff
 Phillips, Paul, I:161
 Picketing, I:28, 417-18; II:274
 Pissas, Michael N., I:560
 Police departments (R.25), I:137
 Political action, II:102-16
 analysis of 1956 candidates, II:106-07
 campaign legislation, II:274
 Committee on Political Education, II:311-13
 Committee summation, I:166
 Department of Legislation, II:303-06
 developing COPE's structure and activity, II:103
 education of union members, II:114
 elections of 1956, II:108
 elections of 1957, II:113
 government employees (R.29), I:138-39
 non-partisanship, II:105
 registration campaign, II:109
 resolutions 79 and 136, I:330-32, 327-30
 southern primaries, II:104
 voting records distributed, II:110
 women (R.137), I:332-33
 Women's Activities Divisions, II:115
 Pollock, William, I:517
 Poor relief: surplus food bill (R.65), I:149
 Postal employees: health and accident plan (R.55), I:140
 salary increase (R.32), I:140
 Poultry inspection legislation, II:239
 Powell amendment, II:219
 President (AFL-CIO): election of, I:544-48
 Presidential candidates (1956), II:106-08
 Press, I:555-56
 Prices: causes of rise, II:128
 profit margins, I:353
 unit labor costs stable, II:136
 wages as cause of rise, II:137

Printing of government securities, money and stamps (R.7), I:136
 Professional workers (R.44), I:190
 Prohibition (R.41), I:143
 Propaganda, I:189, 512
 Public assistance, I:279 (R.86); II:191
 Public information, suppression of (R.28), I:186
 Public relations, II:39, 313-14, 357-58, 361-66
 Publications, II:292, 295-97, 314-16, 320 357
 Puerto Rico, I:515-17

 Racketeers. See Ethical practices
 Radiation: hazards, injuries, compensation, I:412 (R.68); II:154-55, 199, 369
 Radio artists (R.59), I:191
 Raiding, II:47, 351
 Railroads: automation (R.61), I:360
 Labor Act amendment (R.62), I:144
 national legislation, II:267
 Railway Employee's Department, II:381-99
 retirement act (R.63), I:145-48
 Randolph, Philip, I:81-86, 182, 242-44, 263-65, 428-31, 472-73, 475-76
 Red Cross, I:110-12
 Research, II:39, 317-21, 358
 Reserves, Military, II:257-58
 Resolutions:
 A-bomb tests (R.69), I:437
 affiliation with state central bodies (R.8), I:440
 aircraft mechanics (R.66), I:193
 anti-labor legislation (R.103), I:420
 anti-union propaganda (R.26), I:189
 apprenticeship and training, U.S. Bureau of (R.52), I:364
 atomic energy (R.147), I:407-11
 atomic energy establishments, health and safety (R.5), I:411
 automation (R.36), I:359-60, (R.140), I:357-59
 automation, railroad industry (R.61), I:360
 blind persons, representation for (R.39), I:143
 building and construction trades department jurisdiction (R.81), I:334
 business-industry-education days (R.94), I:392
 Canadian trade union representation (R.101), I:497
 CARE (R.4), I:127
 civil defense (R.10), I:298-300
 civil liberties (R.126), I:293
 civil rights (R.88), I:259-65
 coastal and intercoastal shipping (R.106), I:499
 collective bargaining objectives (R.122), I:343
 commendation of Pres. Meany (R.17), I:468
 commendation of Pres. Meany and the Executive Council (R.16), I:468-69
 community services (R.9), I:127
 consumer counselling (R.12), I:257
 distressed areas (R.123), I:307-09
 education, broad program (R.73), I:390: (R.93), I:392
 education, crisis in (R.159), I:386-90
 education, federal aid (R.74), I:390: (R.92), I:391-92

employee-management legislation (R.30), I:419
 employment security law of Alaska (R.2), I:283
 employment service (R.89), I:281
 engine mechanics (R.66), I:193
 ethical practices, codes (R.57), I:476: (R.142), I:474
 ethical practices, implementation of Constitutional principles (R.141), I:470-72
 farmer-labor unity (R.146), I:406
 farmers' bargaining rights (R.42), I:510
 federal aid to state and local governments (R.121), I:290-92
 Field Representatives Federation (R.14), I:189
 Fifth Amendment cases (R.143), I:477
 fire departments (R.25), I:137
 fire fighters, skilled classification (R.27), I:138
 Fire Fighters and Steam and Operating Engineers, jurisdictional problem (R.24), I:464
 fishing, foreign imports (R.109), I:499
 flight attendants, licensing of (R.67), I:193
 foreign contract labor (R.132), I:323-26
 Frey, John P., death of (R.115), I:398
 genocide (R.34), I:436
 government employees, holidays (R.37), I:142
 government employees, hospital and medical insurance (R.33), I:141
 government employees' legislative program (R.18), I:132-35
 government employees' legislative program 1958 (R.21), I:136
 government employees, promotional policies (R.31), I:139
 government employees, 32 hour work week (R.37), I:142
 government employees, 35 hour work week (R.35), I:187
 government statistical programs (R.124), I:292
 H-bomb tests (R.69), I:437
 health (R.6), I:256
 health legislation (R.87), I:280
 highway building, funds for (R.28), I:186
 highway program (R.120), I:255
 hiring hall (maritime) (R.108), I:499
 housing (R.84), I:272
 housing program (R.53), I:511
 human rights (R.152), I:271
 ICFIU (R.107), I:438
 immigration reform (R.127), I:294
 importation and employment of non-resident alien artists (R.59), I:191
 income tax exemptions (R.23), I:318-19
 industrial health (R.138), I:300
 industrial migration (R.123), I:307-09
 insurance policies (R.40), I:257
 Inter-American relations (R.128), I:487
 internal security (R.126), I:293
 International Labor Organization (R.78), I:439: (R.104), I:439
 international relations (R.150), I:420-36
 international trade (R.129), I:490
 Interstate Commerce Commission (R.64), I:148
 investigations of improper activities (R.144), I:478-81

Israel and Histadrut (R.130), I:487
 ITF (R.107), I:438
 Japanese fishery products boycott (R.96),
 I:204
 Jefferson National Expansion Memorial
 (R.113), I:204
 jurisdictional disputes (R.70), I:333
 juvenile delinquency (R.13), I:131
 Kohler boycott (R.131), I:199
 labor education programs (R.88), I:365
 Labor Organization Registration Form
 (R.3), I:404
 late resolutions (list), I:47
 Louisiana trade unionists (R.11), I:128.
 130
 marine hospitals (R.102), I:498
 maritime '50-'50' law (R.100), I:497
 maritime: foreign flag transfers (R.105),
 I:498
 maritime program (R.154), I:493
 maritime subsidies (R.97), I:496
 merger of state and local central bodies
 (R.160), I:895
 "merit rating" plan (R.50), I:385
 migrant farm labor (R.132), I:323-26
 military labor performing civilian work
 (R.116), I:188
 military preparedness and mobilization
 (R.133), I:295-98
 military sea transportation service
 (R.99), I:496
 minimum wage (R.125), I:309
 Montgomery Ward contract terms (R.80),
 I:195
 national economy (R.134), I:352-56
 National Education Association (R.15),
 I:366
 Navy Yard operations (R.119), I:188
 Needle Trades Department (R.60), I:192
 new labor laws (R.151), I:502
 not requiring unanimous consent (list),
 I:121
 old-age, survivors, and disability insur-
 ance (R.85), I:275-79
 organizing the unorganized (R.135),
 I:319-21
 O'Sullivan consumer boycott (R.95),
 I:199; (R.131), I:199-200
 pay TV (R.58), I:508-09
 pension plans disclosure act (R.54),
 I:507
 pensions for World War I veterans
 (R.47), I:258
 police departments (R.25), I:137
 political action (R.79), I:330-32; (R.136),
 I:327-30
 political activity of federal and state
 employees (R.29), I:138
 postal employees, health and accident
 plan (R.55), I:140
 postal employees, salary increase (R.32),
 I:140
 printing of government securities, money,
 stamps (R.7), I:136
 professional workers (R.44), I:190
 prohibition (R.41), I:143
 public assistance (R.36), I:279
 public information, suppression of (R.28),
 I:186
 public schools, special "days" in (R.158),
 I:86
 radiation hazards, public information
 (R.68), I:412

Railway Labor Act amendment (R.62),
 I:144
 Railroad Retirement Act; liberalizing
 (R.63), I:145, 146
 reassignment of resolutions 43, 45, 46,
 50, 52, I:46
 re-referral of resolutions 111 and 112,
 I:120
 requiring unanimous consent, I:19-20
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., birthday of
 (R.71), I:149
 Russian propaganda (R.76), I:512
 safety (R.6), I:256; (R.138), I:300
 St. Lawrence Seaway (R.110), I:513
 seven-day work week (R.22), I:509
 social security at age sixty (R.49), I:279
 social security benefits increased (R.48),
 I:279
 state and local education associations
 "company unions" (R.43), I:367
 state anti-union security laws (R.148),
 I:412
 state bodies representation at conven-
 tions (R.56), I:442
 strikes in New York City department
 stores (R.72), I:194
 Sunbeam electric strike in Puerto Rico
 (R.155), I:515
 Sunkist affiliates (R.91), I:197
 surplus food bill to aid the needy
 (R.65), I:149
 Taft-Hartley act (R.149), I:415
 tax exemption (R.1), I:316-18
 taxation (R.139), I:311-16
 teachers affiliated with AFL-CIO (R.46),
 I:368
 teachers, full-time organizers for (R.51),
 I:363
 teachers, prevent promotion of member-
 ship in organizations (R.45), I:367
 teachers, raising standards (R.156),
 I:366, 378-79
 technological change (R.140), I:357-59
 television news and commentary pro-
 gram (R.75), I:195
 thanks to Atlantic City (R.160), I:556
 UN declaration of human rights (R.152),
 I:271
 unanimous consent (list), I:47
 unemployment compensation laws, states
 (R.38), I:284
 unemployment insurance (R.89), I:281
 union-industries show (R.112), I:339
 union insurance companies and agents
 (R.19), I:337
 union label resolution (R.77), I:339
 union label week (R.111), I:338
 university workers' education centers
 (R.157), I:384
 veterans vocational, educational rehabili-
 tation (R.117), I:259
 Walsh-Healey acts (R.125), I:309
 welfare and pension plans disclosure act
 (R.54), I:507
 white collar workers (R.44), I:190
 women workers (R.153), I:492
 women's political activities (R.137),
 I:332
 work jurisdiction, disputes and boycotts
 (R.145), I:335
 workmen's compensation (R.20), I:141;
 (R.90), I:285-87
 World War I veterans, opposition to
 initiative 198 (R.114), I:514

- Retirement: railroad act (R.63), I:145, 146
 Retirement plan (AFL-CIO) financial statement, II:24-25
 Reuther, Walter P.: on economics and automation, I:345-51
 Executive Council committee report, I:160
 Richter, Willi, I:155-57
 Right-to-work laws, I:414, 416-17; II:100, 111, 271-73
 Rilea, Charles L., I:19
 Roll call votes:
 Bakery Workers, I:245-53
 Laundry Workers, I:535-43
 Teamsters, I:96-105
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., birthday (R.71), I:149
 Rose, Alex, I:72-74, 224-40
 Roth (delegate), I:872
 Rubin, George, I:46
 Rules and Order of Business, Committee report, I:21-23
 Russia:
 American military preparedness (R.133), I:295-98
 conditions in, II:169
 Hungarian revolt, II:165-68
 propaganda (R.76), I:512
 Safety: accidents; statistics, II:337
 legislation, II:268
 resolutions 6 and 138, I:256, 300-02
 Safety and Occupational Health Committee, II:40
 state legislation, II:277-79
 St. Lawrence Seaway (R.110), I:513
 Salazar, Alamo, Rosendo, I:122
 Samon, American, II:160
 Saperstein, Louis B., I:520ff; II:426ff, 450ff
 Schlossberg, Joseph, I:381
 Schnitzler, William F., II:4
 re-election, I:550-53
 Schoemann, Peter T., I:371
 Scholarships, II:218, 259, 297-98
 School construction legislation, II:217-20
 School lunch program, I:389
 Schools, Labor, II:294-95
 Schuette (delegate), I:202
 Schwartz, R., I:46
 Secretary-Treasurer, election of, I:550-53
 Secretary-Treasurer's report, I:169; II:8-29
 Segal (delegate), I:405
 Selective service, II:256
 Senate hearings. *See* Congressional hearings
 Service men. *See* Armed forces
 Shapiro, Mosheh, I:125
 Ships. *See* Maritime
 Sims, Curtis R., I:231; II:510ff
 Smith, J. H., I:380
 Social security:
 advances during 1956, II:187
 age sixty (R.49), I:279
 benefits increased (R.48), I:279
 Committee, II:40
 Committee summation, I:167
 Department of, II:321-24
 South America, I:31, 360-61; II:177
 Spence, Oliver H., I:51-52
 Spradling, A. L., I:83
 Standard of living: farm workers, II:248
 (*see also* Economic conditions; Prices)
 State and federal relations, I:290-92; II:248-49
 State and local central bodies:
 affiliation (R.8), I:440
 merger, I:394-97; II:52
 report, I:394
 representation at conventions (R.56), I:442
 State anti-union security laws (R.148), I:412
 State governments, federal aid (R.121), I:290-92
 State legislation. *See* Legislation, State Statistics: Federal Statistics Users' Conference, I:292
 government programs (R.124), I:292
 Steinberg, William, I:182
 Stetin, Sol, I:503-05
 Steuben glass, I:454
 Stevenson, Adlai E., II:31, 107, 108
 Stream pollution, II:265
 Strike relief, II:292
 Stuart, George, I:212ff; II:510ff
 Suffridge, James A., II:33
 Sunbeam Electric strike (R.155), I:515-17
 Sunkist affiliates (R.91), I:197-98
 Supply and demand, I:350
 Supreme Court of the U.S., II:228-32
 Surplus food: legislation to aid the needy (R.65), I:149
 Switchmen's Union of North America, I:467
 Switzerland: alien property legislation, II:242
 Taft-Hartley Act, I:29, 415-19 (R.149), 505; II:227-28, 332, 354
 Tan, Juan C., I:559
 Tariffs, II:184
 Taxes: changes in laws, II:147-48
 exemptions (R. 1 and 23), I:316-19
 grants-in-aid and federal-state relations, II:248
 helping big business, II:126-27
 income tax (R.139), I:311-16
 income tax exemptions (R. 1 and 23), I:316-19
 increase in individual exemptions, II:140
 loopholes, II:146
 millionaires amendment, II:148, 285
 reform needed, II:147
 state legislation, II:283-84
 tax relief (R.139), I:311-16
 Teachers: affiliation with AFL-CIO (R.46), I:368
 merit rating plan (R.50), I:385
 organization (R.51), I:363, 366-70
 prevent promotion of membership of teachers in any teachers' organization (R.45), I:367
 raising standards (R.156), I:366, 378-79
 retirement, District of Columbia, II:241
 state and local education associations
 "company unions" (R.43), I:367
 Teamsters. *See* International Brotherhood of Teamsters
 Technological change (R.140), I:357-59
 Television: actors (R.59), I:191
 news and commentary program (R.75), I:195
 pay tv (R.58), I:508-09; II:267
 Tennessee Valley Authority, II:262
 Test Fleet Corporation, II:486
 Tewson, Sir Vincent, I:159

- Textile Workers Union of America, I:517-18
- Tight-money policy. *See* Economic conditions
- Townsend, Willard S., II:33
- Trade. *See* Commerce
- Treasurer's report, II:3-29
- Treaties: Bricker Amendment, II:237
- Tunisia, I:49-50
- Umber (delegate), I:375
- Unemployment: benefit programs, II:144
distressed areas (R.123), I:307-09
national legislation, II:160-61
survey, II:134
- Unemployment insurance:
Federal Advisory Council, II:192-93
government employees, II:247-48
national legislation, II:194
railroads, II:394-99
resolution No. 89, I:281-82
state legislation, II:195-98
states' laws; strikes (R.38), I:284
- Union-Industries show (R.112), I:339
- Union labels, I:338 (R.111), 339-41 (R.77):
II:861-66
- United Nations, I:429-30; II:164
declaration on human rights (R.152).
I:271
- United Paperworkers of America, II:44
- United States Chamber of Commerce,
II:99
- United Textile Workers of America:
Appeals Committee report, I:456-61
Ethical Practices Committee report,
II:544-58
mentioned, I:485-87, 517; II:63, 65, 67
resolution by Executive Council, II:558-59
- Universal military training, II:258
- University workers (R.157), I:884-85
- Vacations, II:145
- Valente, Anthony, I:457ff; II:547-58
- Vandercreek, John W., I:195
- Veterans: discharges and education, II:258-59
education, vocation, rehabilitation (R.117).
I:259
employment and retention, II:258-59
rehabilitation and education, II:377-79
service-connected disabilities, II:259
Veterans Affairs Committee, II:41
World War I (R.114), I:514
World War I pensions (R.47), I:258
- Vice-Presidents, nomination and election,
I:548-50
- Vocational education, I:388; II:373, 379-80
- Wages: civil defense contracts, II:260
collective bargaining, II:141-43
collective bargaining objectives, I:343-44
farm workers, II:243
government employees, II:245
profits and prices, I:349
real wages declining, II:135
rising prices and, II:137
women workers: equal pay, II:269
see also Minimum wage
- Wagner, Robert F., I:54
- Walsh-Healey Acts (R.125), I:309-11
- Waste Material Handlers Federal Labor
Union 20467, II:64-65, 560-83
- Water pollution, II:265
- Water supply: the 160 acre exception,
II:266
- Watershed protection, II:265
- Webber, Charles C., II:233
- Welfare. *See* Health, Welfare, and Pensions
- Wetbacks, II:244
- White collar workers (R.44), I:190
- Wilkins, Roy, I:183
- Winter, Herman, I:222-24
- Woll, Matthew, II:31
- Women workers: equal pay, II:269
equal rights amendment, II:269-70
hours legislation, II:282
political activities (R.137), I:332-33;
II:115
resolution No. 153, I:492-93
- Women's Auxiliaries, II:53
- Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers International Union:
Appeals Committee report, I:462-63
- Woodcock, Leonard, I:278
- Work week. *See* Hours of labor
- Workmen's compensation:
laws for better protection (R.20).
I:141-42
longshoremens and harbor workers,
II:253
radiation injury, II:155, 199
resolution 90: overhaul nation's program, I:285-87
state legislation, II:198-203
war risk hazards, II:246
- World War I: resolution (No. 47) on
veterans' pensions, I:258
- Yates, Thomas, I:158
- Zimmerman, Charles S., I:381

**"We shall combat resolutely
the forces which seek to under-
mine the democratic institutions
of our nation and to enslave the
human soul.**

**"We shall strive always to win
full respect for the dignity of
the human individual whom our
unions serve."**

From AFL-CIO Constitution



